# INDIAN NEWSPAPER REPORTS, c1868-1942,
## from the British Library, London

## Part 8: Punjab 1896-1924; Sind 1936-1939; Burma 1938-1942; Bihar and Orissa 1920

Adam Matthew Publications

**ADAM MATTHEW PUBLICATIONS LTD**
Pelham House
London Road
Marlborough
Wiltshire
SN8 2AA

**Indian Newspaper Reports, c1868-1942**
**from the British Library, London**

Part 8: Punjab 1896-1924; Sind 1936-1939; Burma 1938-1942;
Bihar and Orissa 1920

All documents in this microfilm edition are held at the British Library, London

Images of the documents are copyright ©British Library 2009

This microfilm edition first published in 2009 by Adam Matthew Publications Ltd
and copyright © Adam Matthew Publications Ltd 2009

Filmed at the British Library, London and by Capita Total Document Solutions,
Bicester

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced without prior
permission

## PUBLISHER'S NOTE

**Indian Newspaper Reports, c1868-1942**
**Part 8: Punjab 1896-1924; Sind 1936-1939; Burma 1938-1942;**
**Bihar and Orissa 1920**

Part 8 consists of newspaper reports for the Punjab 1896-1924; Sind 1936-1939; Burma 1938-1942; Bihar and Orissa 1920. The Indian Newspaper Reports from the Asia, Pacific and Africa Department at the British Library, constitute an important series to be found in the Record Department Papers of the Oriental and India Office Collections. The reports consist of abstracts of Anglo-Indian and Vernacular newspapers for the different regions of India.

### Punjab

### Introduction

After the First Anglo-Sikh War from 1845 to1846, the area of the Punjab between the Sutlej and Beas rivers and Kashmir were ceded to Britain. Some British troops were stationed in the Punjab to oversee the regency of Maharaja Dhalip Singh who was a minor and the Sikh army was reduced greatly in size. In 1848 unrest spread throughout the Punjab between the Sikh troops and the British which developed into the Second Anglo-Sikh War. This resulted in the annexation of the Punjab by the British East India Company in 1849 and the Punjab becoming a province of British India.

The geographical and political predominance of the Punjab made it one of Britain's most important assets with Lahore as a centre of learning and culture and Rawalpindi becoming an important centre for the British army.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the Punjab became a centre for anti-British sentiment and called for independence from Britain, culminating in the Indian National Congress proclaiming independence from Lahore in 1930. The All-India Muslim League grew stronger in this period and in 1940 the Lahore Resolution of the League to work for Pakistan made the Punjab a centre stage for the violence between the majority Muslims and the Hindu and Sikh minorities which was to result in the ultimate partition of the Punjab in 1947.

**Punjab Newspaper Reports, 1896-1924**

The reports were completed weekly and consist of typewritten abstracts of the contents of Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. The early reports contain a list of the newspapers looked at, divided into Urdu, Hindi and Gurmukhi. The place of publication is given and the circulation number. Hamdard-i-Hind for example in 1900 had a readership of 500 which had grown by 1903 to 3,300. The later reports are divided into English, Urdu, Persian and Gurmukhi.

Around 100 newspapers were looked at weekly giving a wide spectrum of opinion, including: *Arya Gazette*, *Jahan Numa*, *Kaisari Akhbar, Lahore Punch, Punjab*, *Punjab Theosophist*. The majority of the reports contain an extra section devoted to topical subjects such as the Punjab disturbances. These give extracts on the subject from extra-provincial newspapers in cities such as Calcutta and Viswamitra.

The earlier abstracts are divided into the following themes:

Political, Home and Abroad
General Administration
Kine Killing
Native States
Legislation

Later abstracts have additional themes of Education and Communal and Religious.

Topics are wide ranging, with much on the call for independence and the growth in popularity of Gandhi. Topics include:

- Famine
- The Congress movement
- Complaints against the police
- Cholera
- The situation in China, Russia, Turkey
- Native Press
- Zamindars
- Assaults by Europeans on Indians
- Visits by the Viceroy
- Punjab Alienation Bill
- Establishment of military colleges
- Railways – expansion, grievances
- Muhammedans and the National Congress
- Political prisoners in India
- All-India Muslim League
- Letter bombs

- Indian Press Act
- Indian students in England
- Hindu University
- Afghan campaign
- Rowlatt Act
- National Congress

## Sind

### Introduction

Karachi was the first part of Sind to be occupied by the British East India Company in 1839, and by 1843 all of the remaining parts (except for the state of Khairpur) were under the jurisdiction of the British. Sind was made part of the Bombay Presidency in 1847 and the British built railways, developed the postal service, constructed canals and opened up education to all.

Sind became a vociferous centre for freedom from British rule. In 1918 the Sind branch of the All-India Muslim League was established by Ghulam Muhammad Bhurgari and Abdullah Haroon was elected President in 1920. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the prominent Muslim leader, was educated at the Sindh-Madarsat-ul-Islam in Karachi and later practiced law there.

In 1936 Sind became a separate province and after the partition of Pakistan and India in 1947 it regained its self rule.

### Sind Newspaper reports, 1936-1939

The newspaper reports consist of typed monthly abstracts of Indian newspapers published in Sind for an important period in its history. Lists of newspapers are not given but the name of the paper and the issue referred to are given next to the abstract.

Newspapers consulted include: *Sind Observer, Public Opinion, Sind Sentinel, Sind Samachar, Karachi Daily, Daily Gazette, Maha Gujerat.*

The material is not divided into themes but all manner of subjects are covered including WW II, self government, foreign politics, the Native Press and Gandhi.

Topics include:

- All-India Muslim League
- Rejection of the Federation by Indian Princes
- Re-election of Subash Bose as President of the Indian National Congress
- Indians' attitude to Britain's involvement in World War II
- Partition of Palestine
- Cotton prices

- Abdication of Edward VI
- Withdrawal of Indian troops from Abyssinia
- Establishment of the Federal Court
- Pandit Jawaharlal's attacks on the Press Laws
- Gandhi's policy of non-violent boycotts
- Gandhi's faith in Dominion status for India
- Congress Party's success in the General Election of 1937

## Burma

### Introduction

After the Third Anglo-Burmese War Burma was made a province of India in 1886, with the capital at Rangoon. After the opening of the Suez Canal the demand for Burmese rice grew and much of the land was taken over for cultivation of the crop. The work was mostly carried out by indentured Indian labourers and whilst the Burmese economy grew all the power and wealth remained in British hands. The civil service and the army were staffed by Indians and the Anglo-Burmese community and there was much discontent among the Burmese.

By the beginning of the twentieth century the nationalist movement, Young Men's Buddhist Associations had begun to take shape and a new generation of Burmese leaders who had been educated abroad began to clamour for more autonomy for Burma. In the 1920's there were strikes by university students and anti-tax protests. This came to a head in 1930 when the Galon rebellion had to be put down by British troops and the Dobama Asiayone (We Burmans Association) was formed. A second university strike by students took place in 1936 which spread to Mandalay and led to the formation of the All Burma Students Union. The unrest culminated with Burma becoming a separately administered territory in 1937. In 1938 discontent in the oilfields of Burma turned into a general strike and in Rangoon and Mandalay protestors were killed by the British.

Ba Maw served as the first Prime Minister of Burma, but was succeeded by U Saw from 1939 until 1942 when he was arrested by the British for communicating with the Japanese.

The Communist Party of Burma was co-founded in 1939 by Aung San. When the Japanese invaded Bangkok in December 1941 Aung San announced the formation of the Burma Independence Army and hoped that the Japanese would rally to his side but instead they asked Ba Maw to form a government. He was declared head of state and his cabinet included Aung San as War Minister. In 1943 the Japanese declared Burma independent but this turned out to be a sham and in 1945 the Burma National Army rose up against the Japanese and Aung San began negotiations with the British which lead to the rout of the Japanese from Burma by May 1945.

## Burma Newspaper Reports, 1938-1942

The newspaper reports are divided into weekly abstracts. The lists of newspapers consulted show a wide variety of opinions. Titles include: *New Mandalay Sun*, *Progress*, *New Light of Burma*, *Deedok*, *Sun*, *Daily Gujerati*, *Thakin Thadinsa*.

Most of the monthly reports begin with a very interesting general introduction which gives an overview of the week's news and the material is then divided into the following themes:

Political
Military
Educational
Communal
Economic
Miscellaneous

Topics covered include:

- Hunger strikes and political unrest
- Independence for Burma
- Immigration of Chinese and Indian workers
- WWII, the Japanese and Nazis
- Burmese Army
- Taxes
- Modernisation of agriculture and industry
- Reform of the education system
- Riots and demonstrations
- Coalition government
- Situation in Mandalay
- Strikes by oil-field workers and students in Rangoon
- Religious disturbances between Hindus and Muslims

## Bihar and Orissa

### Introduction

The territories of Bihar and Orissa were part of the Bengal Presidency, the largest British province in India until 1912 when they were separated from Bengal after a long local campaign forming the Province of Bihar and Orissa. The Province saw much support for the nationalist movement and for Gandhi. In 1936 the Province was divided into two: Bihar which included Bihar and Jharkhand and Orissa and the princely states.

**Bihar and Orissa Newspaper Reports, 9-16 October 1920**

Only two weeks of reports exist. They are divided into:

Foreign Politics
Native States
Home Administration
General
Miscellaneous

There is a separate section for Oriya Newspapers.

Topics included are:

- Police
- Working of the courts
- Jail sentences
- Education
- Railways
- Irish politics
- WW I

Liz Sargut
January 2009

**TECHNICAL NOTE**

Our microform publications are prepared and produced in accordance with recommended and established guide-lines for the production of microform of superior quality. These conform to the recommendations of the standard guides to good microforming and micropublishing practice.

Attention should be drawn to the nature of the material. As with all printed sources the inking is variable. Darker and lighter inks, or a dark ink and a light pencil note, can appear on the same page. There are instances when the paper has been badly stained, discoloured, or faded with exposure to light over a period of time. Some pages are torn, crumpled or cropped. Occasionally volumes have been tightly bound and material is slightly obscured in the inner margin. The curvature towards the spine of such volumes inevitably results in some distortion of the text. Sometimes the original paper is quite thin and this results in showthrough which can make the print difficult to read. Every effort has been made to minimise these difficulties and some openings are microfilmed more than once in an attempt to bring out all the features of the original. Nevertheless these original characteristics present difficulties of image and contrast which stringent tests and variations of density cannot entirely overcome.

The most responsible care has been exercised in the filming of this unique collection and every effort has been made to ensure that this microform publication meets the standards established by the Association for Information and Image Management (AIIM), the American National Standards Institute (ANSI) and prevailing European standards.

**INDIAN NEWSPAPER REPORTS, c1868-1942**
**from the British Library, London**

**Part 8: Punjab 1896-1924; Sind 1936-1939; Burma 1938-1942; Bihar and Orissa 1920**

## CONTENTS OF REELS

**REEL 1**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| IOR/L/R/5/180 | Punjab Newspaper Reports | 1896 |
| IOR/L/R/5/181 | Punjab Newspaper Reports | 1897 |

**REEL 2**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| IOR/L/R/5/182 | Punjab Newspaper Reports | 1898 |

**REEL 3**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| IOR/L/R/5/183 | Punjab Newspaper Reports | 1899 |

**REEL 4**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| IOR/L/R/5/184 | Punjab Newspaper Reports | 1900 |

**REEL 5**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| IOR/L/R/5/185 | Punjab Newspaper Reports | 1901 |

**REEL 6**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| IOR/L/R/5/186 | Punjab Newspaper Reports | 1902 |
| IOR/L/R/5/187 | Punjab Newspaper Reports | 1903-1904 |

**REEL 7**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| IOR/L/R/5/188 | Punjab Newspaper Reports | 1905-1906 |

**REEL 8**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| IOR/L/R/5/189 | Punjab Newspaper Reports | 1907 |

**REEL 9**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| IOR/L/R/5/189 | Punjab Newspaper Reports | 1908 |

**REEL 10**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| IOR/L/R/5/190 | Punjab Newspaper Reports | 1909 |

**REEL 11**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| IOR/L/R/5/190 | Punjab Newspaper Reports | 1909 |

**REEL 12**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| IOR/L/R/5/191 | Punjab Newspaper Reports | 1910 |

**REEL 13**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| IOR/L/R/5/192 | Punjab Newspaper Reports | 1911 |

**REEL 14**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| IOR/L/R/5/193 | Punjab Newspaper Reports | 1912 |

**REEL 15**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| IOR/L/R/5/194 | Punjab Newspaper Reports | 1913 |

**REEL 16**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| IOR/L/R/5/195 | Punjab Newspaper Reports | 1914 |

**REEL 17**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| IOR/L/R/5/196 | Punjab Newspaper Reports | 1915 |
| IOR/L/R/5/197 | Punjab Newspaper Reports | Jan-June 1916 |

**REEL 18**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| IOR/L/R/5/198 | Punjab Newspaper Reports | July-Dec 1916 |

**REEL 19**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| IOR/L/R/5/199 | Punjab Newspaper Reports | 1917 |

**REEL 20**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| IOR/L/R/5/200 | Punjab Newspaper Reports | 1918 |
| IOR/L/R/5/201 | Punjab Newspaper Reports | 1919 |

**REEL 21**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| IOR/L/R/5/202 | Punjab Newspaper Reports | 1920-1921 |

**REEL 22**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| IOR/L/R/5/203 | Punjab Newspaper Reports | 1922 |

**REEL 23**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| IOR/L/R/5/204 | Punjab Newspaper Reports | 1923 |
| IOR/L/R/5/205 | Punjab Newspaper Reports | 1924 |

**REEL 24**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| IOR/L/R/5/206 | Sind Newspaper Reports | 1936-1939 |

**REEL 25**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| IOR/L/R/5/207 | Burma Newspaper Reports | 1938-1942 |
| IOR/L/R/5/208 | Bihar and Orissa Newspaper Reports | 9 -16 Oct 1920 |

[Vol. XXI.] [No. 1.]

[Confidential.]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

Received up to 4th January 1908.

## I.—POLITICS.

### (a)—*Foreign.*

1. The following is from the *Observer* (Lahore), of the 28th December 1907 :—

Oriental immigration.

"The Western people seem to have one code of morality by which to judge their own conduct towards the non-whites and another standard by which to judge the dealings of the non-whites with themselves. They seem to think it their divine right to force their entrance into any country they like, 'to raise its curtain,' to obtain concessions in it and to 'develop' it. But if those who are not blessed with a white skin try to enter territories now inhabited by the whites, the cry is raised that the brown or yellow men are trying to possess themselves of the white man's lands. The Occidentals are at liberty to divide the whole world into 'spheres of influence' for purposes of 'pacific penetration,' but the non-whites should not venture to visit lands where white labour is largely employed, lands where non-white labour is urgently needed and where it would not even compete with white labour. This "dog in the manger" policy naturally irritates the Orientals. As yet they are not powerful enough to retaliate, but the time is fast approaching when they too shall get their innings."

2. The following is from the *Observer* (Lahore), of the 1st January 1908 :—

Indians in the Transvaal.

"The arrest in the Transvaal for non-registration of Mr. Gandhi, Barrister-at-Law, and other eminent Indians marks a crisis in the history of the Indian struggle against the cruel restrictions imposed upon them by their fellow-subjects from Europe and America. The natives of this country will now be in a position to discover whether there is any liberalism worth the name in a Government professedly Liberal, whether the latter-day imperialism means merely the pampering of the white at the expense of the non-white, or something higher, nobler and more spiritual. * * * * Let us see what steps the Indian Government, the British Parliament, nay the King Emperor, will take to protect the persecuted Indians in the Transvaal. The King Emperor has just given his Royal assent to the Act and the British people seem to be indifferent to the Indians. But all is not lost yet. The wrong now done can be righted by His Imperial Majesty and the Imperial Parliament. Time alone will show who will win in the end, the Occidentals in the Transvaal or the Indians in the Transvaal."

3. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 4th January 1908 :—

Indians in the Transvaal.

"Is the proud boast, *Civis Romanus sum*, a mere vain and empty phrase? The Charter Act of 1833, the Proclamation of our late Sovereign of 1858 inspired us with the idea that we are no mean citizens of a mighty Empire. They infused us with the belief that within the bounds of the British Empire our rights and privileges as British subjects are inviolate. But what do we find in practice? In the Transvaal, even enlightened British Indian subjects, who may claim to 'have kindled their modest rushlights at Burke, Macaulay and Mill's benignant lamps' are looked upon as helots and felons; while Indians have been given notice to quit from Canada and Australia, and all this while the Imperialistic drum is being loudly beaten in Birmingham and its neighbourhood by ex-pro-Consuls like Lords Curzon and Milner. But it is in the Transvaal that matters have gone worst. There the economical jealousy and the racial pride of the bigoted Africanders find their fullest scope and the unregenerate Adam shows itself in extremely repulsive features. We are aware that some time ago a Hindu priest, Pandit Ram Sunder Lal, was arrested because he manfully stuck to his post of duty of administering to the religious and spiritual needs of his congregation and refused to quit the Transvaal at the behest of the supercilious Africander. He was sentenced to a term of imprisonment, but was afterwards released on appeal on the ground that the term mentioned in his permit had not expired. Now the turn comes of Mr. Gandhi and other Indians. It will be remembered that some time ago they took a solemn pledge that rather than submit to the galling, obnoxious and un-British provisions of the new Anti-Asiatic Ordinance they would brave arrest and imprisonment and stake all their possessions in the Transvaal. The vow was a difficult and heroic one, but no other course was left to a self-respecting community like the Indians, who reached the highest pinnacle of civilisation when their Africander oppressors were savages, and who became British subjects long before Transvaal came under what Sir Lepel Griffin termed 'the offscourings of the international sewers of Europe.' And our countrymen in South Africa have bravely carried out their vow. Messrs. Gandhi and others—we understand there are 70,000 Indians at present in the Transvaal have refused to comply with the obnoxious requisitions of the Act, have been arrested and at present are undergoing their trial. Now what is the head and front of their offence that they should be thus treated like felons, within British dominions? It is simply because they stand by the pledges of their Sovereign and the covenants of the Imperial Parliament. The spectacle is one which should make every right-minded Britisher hang his head in shame. It indicates the victory of racial pride and hatred over the nobler instincts of mankind. It is the triumph of morbid and purblind selfishness. It is an instance of the lower self in man getting the upper hand over his higher self. Mr. Rees may no doubt laugh over the matter and put all this down to the work of agitators, but how can the Liberal Ministry, which has ever proved itself the friend of progress all over the world, look unconcernedly at this iniquitous oppression of British subjects within British dominions? How can it remain a mere passive on-looker at this scene of unmitigated and wanton defiance of the most solemn and sacred pledges of the Imperial Parliament? The Liberal Press is brimful of radicalism on questions of academic interest such as Turkish atrocities and St. Petersburg horrors, but is it to remain a silent spectator over the enormities practised on British subjects in British territories? Are we to believe that the vaunted boast of a British subject is merely an unpricked bubble?"

4. The *Arya Gazette* (Lahore), of the 19th December 1907, remarks that Christian nations have been destroying the peace of non-Christians under the pretence of spreading civilisation among the latter. They seem determined to sweep those who differ from them in religion off the face of the earth. As an instance in point, the paper refers to the projected invasion of Zululand by Natal and remarks that the sole reason for the contemplated

Natal and Zululand.

attack is that the Zulus are suspected of intriguing against their white neighbours in Africa. In the present day it is not considered objectionable to declare war against a country on mere suspicion. This shows that the teachings of the Bible have made absolutely no impression on Christians, who conduct themselves like atheists in their every-day life. It adds, however, that English Radicals are opposed to the proposed expedition, and advises the whites to treat their coloured fellow-men in a considerate manner.

Egypt and India : a comparison.

5. The *Prakash* (Lahore), of the 17th December 1907, says that an English writer has recently published "A secret history of the British occupation of Egypt." A perusal of the book shows that the liberal minded English have been treating both India and Egypt in the same manner, high-handed measures being adopted in each country in order to stifle the voice of the people. When a nationalist party arose in Egypt and began to acquire influence with the people, the Liberal Ministry, so far from letting it expand, brought guns and cannon into play in order to crush it. The English, adds the paper, occupied Egypt with the sole object of improving its administration, but now they are the absolute masters of the country, the Khedive being a mere puppet in their hands. The Egyptians have received from Lord Cromer treatment similar to that meted out to Indians by Lord Curzon.

Egypt and India : a comparison.

6. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 21st December 1907, reprints the above.

Persia and India : a contrast.

7. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 8th (received on the 18th) December 1907, after stating that the people of Persia are becoming more powerful than the Shah, remarks that the establishment of a Parliament in that country had the effect of greatly irritating Europeans. They gave it as their opinion that Asia was unsuited for parliamentary institutions and that it was meant only to be ruled, looted, bled and starved by Europe. They also foretold that the Persian Parliament would very soon cease to exist and that the Shah would again become as powerful as ever. The predictions of these enemies of Asia have, however, proved false and the Persians bid fair to prevent their country from becoming a vassal of Europe. The paper then continues :—

"Indian Muhammadans, who endeavour to prove that opposition to Government is contrary to their religion, forget the fact that Islam favours democracy. Democratic ideas are dominant not only in Persia, but throughout the entire Asiatic continent with the exception of India alone. When, however, we try to spread these ideas in this country, Sir Harvey Adamson tells us that Indians alone of all nations are unfit for a democratic form of Government. Such a theory, however, can only be proved by trial, though it is foolish to expect the English to give us an opportunity to prove our fitness or otherwise for self-government. We will create the opportunity for ourselves."

Japan and India.

8. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* (Lahore), of the 19th December 1907, publishes a communication in which the writer says that in a speech delivered by him in 1906 Count okuma referred to the boycott movement in India and advised

the Japanese to co-operate with natives and push on the sale of their manufactures in this country. The correspondent, however, asks Government not to let the Japanese obtain a footing in India, as this would certainly prove injurious to the interests of British rule. The star of Japan is on the ascendant now and no power in the world will be able to humble her easily.

*(b)—Home.*

Natives and British rule.

9. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 8th (received on the 18th) December 1907, finds fault with natives and Anglo-Indians who believe that the withdrawal of British rule from this country will be followed by civil war and bloodshed. It endeavours to controvert this belief, and states that, however advantageous foreign rule may be to a country, such rule is to be condemned if it prevents the subject race from aspiring to liberty. It is wrong, it remarks, to assert that Muhammadans have no love for India; the state of subjection in which they live has made such cowards of natives that "they keep silence and are incapable of thinking otherwise. They need only exert themselves, and all their imaginary difficulties will disappear in a moment."

The awakening in India.

10. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 8th (received on the 18th) December 1907, says that foreigners are perfectly right in thinking natives are merely meant to minister to the comfort of others. It is a matter of surprise to the English that, while all other nations in the world are exerting themselves in order to improve their condition, the people of India alone are locked in the arms of sleep; consequently it is impossible for them to respect inert and lifeless natives. The paper goes on to say that Americans shed their blood in order to throw off the yoke of the English, who were their close relations, and that the Canadians do not brook interference in their self-government, but are ever ready to shower abuse on England over mere trifles. The same is the case with the Australians, while the people of the Transvaal have succeeded in obtaining a Parliament of their own only two years after their conquest by the English. The Irish raise disturbances daily and the result is that they get whatever they ask for: they are ready to maintain their honour even at the sacrifice of life and have made things extremely unpleasant for their rulers. Even the tyrannical Czar has had to bend to the will of his Russian subjects. The latter killed thousands of their officers and an equal number of them also lost their lives, but the Duma is now more powerful than the Autocrat of all the Russias. When the English contrast all this with the state of affairs in India they are driven to the conclusion that natives are less than human beings. The *Aftab* next remarks that while no other nation allows Indians to settle down in its country foreigners of all nationalities are appointed to high posts in India. Again, all foreign countries impose heavy duties on Indian-made articles, but imported goods sell freely in this country. Now, however, a flutter has been caused in the world. Indians have made up their minds to become a nation and regain their lost honour. The paper finally reminds Indians that the way to liberty is very difficult and that the Russians have had to suffer death, imprisonment and exile in order to obtain parliamentary institutions.

The unrest in India.

11. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 16th December 1907, commenting on Sir Harvey Adamson's speech at the recent St. Andrews' dinner at Calcutta, says that the unrest prevalent in the country is not ascribable to the partition of Bengal or any other official measure. It is the direct result of the spread of education among the people. The educated classes have learnt to realise their position and demand a large share in the government of their country. The paper is of opinion that it will be the reverse of wise on the part of the authorities not to grant this demand.

Release of the deportees.

12. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 8th (received on the 18th) December 1907, offers hearty congratulations to Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh on their return home. It also thanks God for the event and prays him to bless the "efforts of Indians and enable them to produce heroes capable of convulsing the whole world, and plant in their hearts such a love for truth that even every native child may be ever ready to sacrifice its life for the country." "O, Almighty God," it adds," rid our country of these pests, so that we may again lead a life of, peace." Reverting to the subject of the release, the Editor writes that there is no truth in the story that the prisoners were released in honour of the King Emperor's birthday. They have been restored to liberty merely because no offence could be proved against them. If Government had been of opinion that it could reign in peace while keeping them prisoners it would never have set them free. The Editor further remarks that the only object of the English in ruling over India is to minister to the comfort of their nation and have 300 millions of human beings to slave for them. If their government of this country were to entail pain and hardships on them and the Englishmen out here were apprehensive of attacks from natives every night, they would have nothing to do with Hindustan. It was, therefore, to please the people that they released Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh. Sir Denzil Ibbetson should, however, bear in mind that natives have now sufficiently regained their senses and can see through such tactics very well. The paper continues :—" Our subjection to oppression by Government only stiffens our backs and strengthens our resolve. We are strong in the righteousness of our cause, and the present head of the administration in the Punjab should have engraved on his table the words " Natives no longer fear deportations." We still adhere to our resolution of achieving what we desired to accomplish before (Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh were deported) and will not look back till we have gained our object. His Honour may let fly every one of the arrows in his quiver, (but) we will not mind the missiles. We know that in his efforts to preserve British rule (*lit.* for the sake of the cup of rule) he may imprison, deport and hang us, but he should remember that we number 30 crores and cannot be killed off."

The paper then goes on to say that the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh had the effect of leading some foolish Muhammadans to believe that Government would exterminate the Hindu community. They began to denounce Hindus and parade their devotion to Government, quite forgetful of the fact that Islam and Christianity had been measuring swords for centuries past. They threw the teaching of the Quran overboard

and displayed no hesitation in giving evidence that was grossly false against their Hindu fellow-countrymen. After enquiring whether it was under inspiration from God or from Sir Denzil Ibbetson that Barrister Abdul Majid gave false evidence against Lala Amolak Ram of Rawalpindi, the *Aftab* observes that the reprehensible doings of a few foolish Moslems should not lead Hindus to regard all the Prophet's followers with distrust. It also asks Muhammadans to bear in mind that Government cannot afford to displease Hindus, who are ed ucated and form the majority of the country's population, by excluding them entirely from public service. The Editor regrets that his ignorant co-religionists should have grossly deceived themselves and created lasting disunion between Hindus and Muhammadans. In conclusion, he says that the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh has raised them immensely in the estimation of the public.

Government and the Press.

13. The *Civil and Military News* (Ludhiana), of the 16th December 1907, publishes a communication from one Muhammad Husain Azad, who says that it is rumoured that the Government of India is thinking of passing a law forbidding the publication of newspapers except under a license. After remarking that native newspapers do not represent the views of the Indian people, the writer observes that to pass a law of this sort at a time when famine is raging in all parts of the country will be tantamount to taking the bread out of the mouths of those whose sole means of support is obtained by publishing newspapers. He considers that the measure will have the effect of driving sedition underground.

The Decentralization Commission.

14. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 16th December 1907, writing about the Commission on Decentralization, says that Mr. Hobhouse's speech explaining the aims and objects of the Commission has caused considerable excitement in Anglo-Indian circles. To say that the machinery of the Government of India has become rusty or that it stands in need of repairs is nothing short of a sin in the eyes of this community and the remarks made by the President of the Commission have, therefore, had the effect of irritating and stunning Anglo-Indians. After taking the *Pioneer* to task for adversely criticising the speech referred to, the Editor asks the people to seize the present opportunity to lay their views on the British administration of India before the Commission in a most thorough manner.

The Hindu deputation to Sir Denzil Ibbetson.

15. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 20th December 1907, says that the Hindu deputation which recently waited on Sir Denzil Ibbetson represented neither their co-religionists in the province nor the 40 Hindu gentlemen who issued a manifesto shortly after Lala Lajpat Rai's deportation. The members of the deputation were not elected by any association, while there was no natural leader of the people or member of the *Rais* party among them. The deputation was formed in hot haste, the reason for which was that the gentlemen composing it wished to beat all rivals in flattering Government.

16. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 28th December 1907:—

Extremists and the National Congress.

"A national calamity of no small magnitude has occurred. A scene of unprecedented humiliation and disgrace has been witnessed in the National Assembly of India and it must be said to our lasting disgrace that it has been enacted by men who pride themselves in the name of patriots, who boast of a welling love of the motherland, who talk of national emancipation and individual sacrifice to the interests of the country. The sad and humiliating intelligence comes that the opening session of the Indian National Congress was made impossible by the uproarious and disgraceful conduct of the Extremists and the Congress had to be adjourned. The grave and significant magnitude of the disaster can only be realised after a time."

* * * * * *

"The country has passed through a grave crisis. The repressive policy of the Government during the year just closing had to come under review and a united and determined protest required to be entered by the National Assembly. The so-called Council Reforms trotted out by the Government after a protracted delay of decades have gone on entirely a new line, and have threatened to introduce class distinctions, while they do not go far enough in any direction. The Executive and Judicial functions have too long remained in one hand to the standing danger and detriment of the sons of the soil, and the question of their separation has long hung fire. The spectacle of the heavy and almost unprecedented famine which has once more come in to stalk over the land should have goaded our patriots to greater exertions. Yet the sad confession has to be made that it almost looks as if our Nationalist friends have entirely forgotten the gravity of the situation in which we stand and would spare no pains to make it impossible for the Congress to speak out at this juncture. Surely it means a poor tribute to their common sense and their patriotism if they are determined at any cost to throttle the one National Assembly that can speak with force and eloquence all its own at this critical juncture in the history of the Indian nation. It is indeed a humiliating spectacle, a confession of weakness to which the Nationalists, of all, should not have been a party. Do the Nationalists want to wreck the Congress by abolishing once for all all rules of constitution and order. Is it that the nation is in future to be guided by the noisy declamations of the most clamorous amongst us, irrespective of the sense of the majority? Is it wanted that friends of India like Dr. Rutherford and Mr. Nevinson should carry their views of our fitness to have self-government and *Swaraj* from these silly and impatient exhibitions of lack of restraint and self discipline that we are being treated to even in the Congress pandal?"

17. The following is from the *Observer* (Lahore), of the 1st January 1908:—

The end of the National Congress.

"The National Congress is no more: this has been the result of its Surat session. A gulf, both wide and deep, now separates the Extremists from the Moderates, and at the present moment there seems to be little likelihood of its being easily bridged. The Nationalists want that the goal of the Congress should be an absolutely independent India, the boycott of British goods and the establishment of National schools, the means to this end. The Moderates, while expressing a desire to have an autonomous India on the lines of the British Colonies, deprecate the adoption of the boycott throughout India and insist on the employment of constitutional methods The breach between the two schools was very great at the outset. The events at Surat only served to widen it. And the consequence has been the destruction of the Congress. * * Whatever claims it had to represent Indian opinion have been shattered to the ground through its own demolition. Its ignominious end at Surat has conclusively demonstrated how our countrymen need more of political training and discipline before they should proceed to make extravagant political demands. The Persian poet says

iat the foolish do the same thing as the sane, but they do so after undergoing much iumiliation. The Mussalmans have always been for moderation. Let us hope the Congress Moderates will profit by the lesson they received at Surat and f llow a policy of cautious and genuine moderation for the future."

## II.—AFGHANISTAN AND TRANS-FRONTIER.

18. The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 14th December 1907, adverting to the dacoities which Afridis have of late been committing in British territory, says that the patience displayed by Government in the matter is undoubtedly deserving of praise. It is, however, difficult for the victims of the dacoits to view with satisfaction the course of conduct which Government has elected to follow. After requesting the authorities to look at the matter from the standpoint of the people, the paper states that four Afridi sowars, belonging to a regiment stationed at Bannu, deserted a few days back and took away their guns and uniforms with them. It finds it difficult to assign the motive of their conduct and cannot say what the other Afridis employed in the Army intend doing. It would, however, like to know how long Government intends treating Afridis in a lenient way and whether the policy now followed by it is not calculated to lower its prestige in the eyes of the public. In conclusion, it says that Government should adopt more effective measures to deal with Afridi brigands.

Afridi raids into British territory.

## IV.—KINE-KILLING.

19. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 28th December 1907, says that a Sargodha correspondent reports that a shop for the sale of beef was opened on the 19th idem in the market at Sargodha. The incident, he adds, has created great sensation among the local Hindus and arrangements are being made to hold a protest meeting very soon.

The opening of a beef shop in the market at Sargodha.

Commenting on the above, the Editor remarks that universal indignation prevails among the Hindus of Sargodha and that they held a protest meeting on the 21st instant at the house of Lala Bhago Ram, Pleader. The audience were in a state of frenzy and after several speeches it was resolved to despatch telegrams to His Excellency the Viceroy and His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. The Editor would most humbly request the local authorities to look into the matter, and adds that the location of the shop in the market, where Hindus buy things for use in their houses, constitutes an outrage on their religious feelings, which a peaceful and impartial Government like the British should not tolerate. If Muhammadans are subjects of Government, Hindus also live under its protection, and the deflection of the scales of justice in favour of either community spells disaster.

20. The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 28th December 1907, publishes similar remarks.

The opening of a beef shop in the ma ket at Sargodha.

21. The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 2nd January 1908, reports that the shop has been closed under orders from His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.

The opening of a beef shop in the market at Sargodha.

## V.—Native Societies and Religious matters.

The Arya Samaj.

22. The *Arya Gazette* (Lahore), of the 19th December 1907, publishes a communication from Mr. Tahl Ram Ganga Ram, who urges the Arya Samaj to collect funds to send preachers to America and Japan in order to convert the people of those countries to the Vedic religion.

## VII.—General Administration.

### (*a*)—*Judicial.*

The Rawalpindi rape case.

23. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 20th December 1907, after publishing the news of the dismissal of Moore and Fazal Din, says that although the punishment inflicted on the men will go some way to reassure the public, it is a matter for surprise that culprits should have been, after their acquittal by the Chief Court, held guilty by their superiors.

The *Tribune* defamation case.

24. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 16th December 1907, writing about the conviction of the accused in '*The Tribune*' defamation case, says that the fact that the writings complained against mentioned no names and that there was no previous enmity between the complainant and the accused had led all thoughtful persons to conclude that the complaint would be dismissed. The Magistrate's decision has, therefore, pained and surprised the public, while it constitutes an injurious precedent under the law of newspaper libel. The paper asks the trustees of the *Tribune* to take up the case to a higher court and leave nothing undone to have the order set aside.

### (*b*)—*Police.*

Outrages on women in East Bengal.

25. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 8th (received on the 18th) December 1907, says that the English are in the habit of boasting that the elementary rights of man are sufficiently safeguarded under their rule. This is, however, merely a pretext on their part in order to continue to lord it over their fellowmen. A certain district in Ireland once raised the standard of rebellion. The rising was put down by British forces, and the officers afterwards took great pride in giving out that there was not a single woman in that district who had not been dishonoured. In these days Eastern Bengal furnishes a specimen of British rule. Reports of the commission of outrages there on women are received daily, and it seems that the English can no longer administer India in a satisfactory manner. After remarking that Ajit Singh was at Amritsar in May last for full twenty days without the knowledge of the authorities and that this fact should suffice to enable the public to form an idea of the vigilance of Government, the paper says that in the new province women are carried off by *badmashes*, but the culprits remain at large for long periods of time. No religion or civilised country in the world, it adds, tolerates such atrocities; but the British Government does not exert itself to put them down. It next condemns the retention of Moore in his post at Rawalpindi, and observes that wounds like these (which Government inflicts on the people) do not heal by the application of ointment. They grow worse from day to day and finally become festering. Europeans, it says, are ignorant of the fact that na-

tives are not "dogs of the world" and prize the chastity of their women above everything else, but "Silence, O pen! It is foolish to seek other's help in preserving one's honour. The times are such that we should look after our lives and property ourselves. The English, who are drunk with power, obey no law in India. They know that since they are the conquerors, their word is law."

*(c)—Municipal and Cantonment officers.*

Enhancement of Municipal taxation at Delhi.

26. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 8th (received on the 18th) December 1907, says that the tax on wooden platforms in front of shops at Delhi has been doubled, and that the residents of the city are also full of complaints over the enhancement of the house tax. The paper calls upon the local citizens' union to bestir itself and try to have the evils remedied.

*(d)—Education.*

Education in the Punjab.

27. The *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 14th December 1907, publishes the substance of the Lieutenant-Governor's review of the annual report for 1906-07 submitted by the Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab. It adds that in view of the requirements of the country it would request His Honour to spend more money on the Educational Department than has hitherto been done. The paper next refers to the useful character of technical education and says that the opening of industrial institutes in the country will be likely, not only to benefit the people, but to prove of much help in improving the political situation in the country. In conclusion it remarks that it is a matter for unalloyed joy that both the Director and the Local Government have expressed satisfaction at the progress made by Muhammadans in education during the last five years.

*(e)—Agriculture and questions affecting the land.*

The Colonies Committee.

28. The *Zamindar* (Karmabad), of the 6th December 1907, publishes an open letter from "A zamindar" to Mr. Leslie Jones, the Secretary, Colonies Committee. The writer protests against the practice of imposing fines on colonists for trivial offences and remarks that the amount realised in such fines in a short time comes to as much as 13 or 14 lakhs. Three or four times the amount, he adds, is paid in "tips" to Patwaris and other subordinate officials. After referring to the causes of the recent discontent in the Chenab Colony and expressing satisfaction at the appointment of the Committee, the writer suggests that all grantees in the colony should be invested with proprietary rights; that only good mannered and sympathetic officers should be posted to the colony; that the powers now wielded by Patwaris and other officials below the rank of Naib Tahsildar should be curtailed; that the reports submitted by these officials should be carefully scrutinised before action is taken on them; that all Lambardars should be paid a *pachotra* at the uniform rate of Rs. 5 per cent. on both the canal and land revenue; that the work of distributing water, collecting land revenue and water rates, determining the *kharaba* areas, &c., should be entrusted to the Revenue Department; and that land revenue should be permitted to be remitted by postal money order, no commission being charged for the remittances.

29. The following is from the *Observer* (Lahore), of the 28th December 1907 :—

The impending famine.

"'The situation shows no signs of improvement. The distress reveals no symptoms of abatement, scarcity is deepening into famine. Prices of food grains are fast mounting up. Necessaries of life are daily growing dearer and more dear.' Such is the burden of most of the agricultural reports that have been received by Government for the last two or three weeks from almost all parts of Northern and Central India. Go to the North-West Frontier Province or the Punjab, the United Provinces or Behar, the Central Provinces or Orissa, the black spectre of famine is found stalking everywhere in the land, affecting not only the food grains, but every necessity of life. * * * * Every family is feeling the pinch of distress. Every household is straining its utmost to make both ends meet. But no sooner have arrangements been made to get out of one difficulty, than all calculations are upset by fresh reports of a fresh rise in prices. People are getting bewildered. What grievous sins have they committed that famines should have grown so frequent of late? What divine commandments have they broken that they should fall so ready a prey to plague and malaria? They compare the character and conduct of the inhabitants of other lands with their own. They do not find them much superior to themselves from the moral standpoint. Why then should they be specially marked out for these heavenly visitations? Why should the bubonic plague differentiate between brown races and the non-brown? Why is it that with the exception of Russia—one of the admittedly worst governed countries in the world—famine should abstain from assailing the lands of the West, lands where agriculture is dwindling, where food grains are imported from other countries? Such are the thoughts which oppress the minds of the people as they think of the good old times when famines were scarce and plague non-existent, when the necessaries of life were few in number and luxuries still fewer, when the poorest man possessed a tenement of his own and paid nought for the grazing of his cattle or the warming of his house. The village moralist tries hard to account for this startling change, and baffled in his attempts to discover the right cause throws the entire responsibility for the change on the shoulders of an "alien and unsympathetic bureaucracy."

"Government no doubt does a great deal to alleviate distress. It advances *takavi* to agriculturists, it grants remissions for failed crops, and suspends the payments of revenue. But it would be futile to disguise the fact that these concessions do not satisfy the people. * * * At the present moment the amount of food grains produced in the land is far greater than that grown fifty years ago. It is much larger even when due allowance has been made for the increase of population. Notwithstanding this rise in production, however, famines show an increasing tendency to recur and prices of food grains are going up every year. The officials assert that this rise of prices is a good sign, it brings greater money to the zamindar. If this assertion were founded on facts, no unselfish man would have much cause to complain. About 80 per cent. of the population of this country is engaged in agriculture or occupations connected with agriculture. And if four-fifths of the inhabitants of a land were perfectly happy, it would constitute a paradise on earth. But no man really in touch with agriculturists can say that they sell the produce of their lands at high prices. On the contrary, they are forced to sell them at normal prices at the utmost. They have to pay revenue to Government and interest to the *sowcar*, hence all the profit goes to middlemen, to *banias*, to shopkeepers, to the exporters, of grain. It might be contended that even after allowing for these things, a wide margin of benefit is left to the zamindar. But it should not be lost sight of that all other necessaries of life have become much dearer than before, that many things which were formerly regarded as luxuries are now reckoned among the necessaries of life.

Moreover, the forests can no longer be used by the agriculturist to meet his wants. A short time back whenever he wanted timber for the manufacture of his agricultural implements, he could get it *gratis* from the forests. Now he has to pay for it. Formerly people could graze their cattle freely. Now they have to pay heavily for this. Hence the rise in the prices of agricultural implements, of milk and of *ghee*.

"Drastic remedies are needed to cure this sad state of affairs. What is wanted is protection of some sort. The authorities, however, seem to be so wedded to their own theories of free trade that it would be too much to expect them to abandon them at once. But if the masses are to be made happy and free from discontent, these ideas will have to be changed. The masses wish that some restrictions should be imposed on the export of food grains as soon as the prices reach warning rates. They desire that the *banias* should not be allowed to raise the prices of food grains when their stocks of grains have undergone no deterioration, simply because rain has not fallen for a few days. The residents of cantonments are protected from the depredations of these men by fixing the prices of grains. Could not some restriction of this sort be introduced in civil stations? The license at present allowed to *banias* and foreign speculators might be regarded by Government as free trade, but it is termed freebootery by those 'old fashioned' people, the Indian masses. Islam forbids the practice of withholding grain in the expectation that it might be sold at higher profits when scarcity deepens into famine. Other religions of India too, we believe, condemn this. The neighbouring kingdoms, nay the Native States of India, prohibit the export of grains in times of scarcity. Why should not the British Government of India imitate them, and thus appreciably relieve the calamitous consequences of chronic famines?"

### (*f*)—*Railways and Communications.*

The recent collision near Ludhiana.

30. In a Supplement, dated the 26th December 1907, the *Civil and Military News* (Ludhiana) says that several railway collisions have taken place in India during the last two months through the negligence of Railway servants. This has been the case on the North-Western Railway in particular, the recent collision near Ludhiana being the third during the above period. The authorities of this Railway should take most effective steps to prevent further collisions and the consequent great loss of life. The occurrence, it adds, of repeated collisions on the same line reflects the greatest discredit on the Railway Administration. It then publishes an account of the last collision, as also a picture of the wrecked trains, supplied by a representative specially deputed by it to the scene of the disaster.

The recent collision near Ludhiana.

31. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 31st December 1907:—

"SIR,—I was travelling in the ill-fated 12 Down with my son and three servants, and luckily we all escaped without even receiving a shock. The accident occurred between Ladhowal and Ludhiana about a mile from Ladhowal Station, at about 4 A. M., our train colliding with the Up Hardwar Passenger. On our train the front brake-van, one horse box, one second class carriage (of which one compartment was reserved for Patiala), and one 3rd class were smashed into pieces, and one 3rd class telescoped into the engine, the two engines standing up erect like two giants on their heels. The Engine Driver and the Second Guard of our train, two boys of the reserved compartment and a large number of third class, I cannot say how many, were killed. Good many 3rd class passengers in other carriages were injured, chiefly because they tried to jump out of the windows, the doors of carriages having been locked by the Railway staff.

"On an occasion like this, I think it is a duty I owe to the public that I should express my opinion as to the general causes which have led to this catastrophe, such accidents having become too frequent on this Railway (three in the last two months, Kot Lakhpat, Jagadhri and Ladhowal), resulting in such terrible loss of life.

* * * * * * * *

'Now I cannot too strongly condemn the Railway Management, who are, I think, entirely to blame for such unheard of series of accidents, resulting in such a terrible loss of life. Whether it is the fault of the Management, or the *centralised* system of administration, I cannot say, but the fact remains that the North-Western Railway have neither the rolling stock nor the staff qualified or even adequate to meet demands of the traffic, both passenger and goods. This accounts for the fat surpluses that are gained every year by this Railway. I suppose it is managed on the meanest mercenary principles, namely, 'earn as much as possible but spend as little as possible.' To explain my meaning, take the passenger traffic first. Who has not seen the passengers being carried, on the occasion of fairs and festivals, in goods waggons, packed in men, women and children, like a herd of sheep? Who has not heard the bewailing of traders at all stations clamouring for waggons, and when a Station Master happens to get a few empties, he has a lively time to show his patronage or favour (which in most cases goes to the highest bidder). As to the inadequate and unqualified staff, go to any station after mid-night and see for yourself a miserable clerk, half asleep, on perhaps Rs. 20 to 25 a month, wrapped in a quilt, lying on a charpai in the Telegram-room, thence directing all line-clear messages, thus carrying in his hands valuable lives of all passengers The Station Masters on fat pay simply parade themselves in the day time with their glittering badges, and give the night duties to those miserable ill-paid and ill-educated clerks, who can hardly understand the meaning of a message. Come to the Loco staff and Guards, you will find every one of them overworked, and therefore half asleep at night, only working themselves to death for the sake of earning overtime, which is a rule rather than the exception on this Railway.

"Now, Sir, we will soon hear of a message of sympathy from the kind hearted Viceroy, but the time has come for action now and therefore, we all, Europeans and Indians (as after all every one's life is in danger in such a state of things), unite in demanding a public enquiry into the administration of this Railway on the points I have raised above, which to recapitulate are—

"*1st.*—Serious shortage of rolling stock, both passenger and goods.

"*2nd.*—Inadequacy of Loco staff.

"*3rd.*—Miserably ill-paid Assistant Station Masters doing night duties. To say the least, the order should be reversed.

"*4th.*—Overtime should be an exception rather than the rule so as to give the Driver and Guards ample rest.

"*5th.*—Reserved 1st and 2nd class compartments should as a rule be attached to the back of the train and not in the front.

"I forgot to say that the accident occurred at 4 A. M., and absolutely no help was received from the Railway Department till 7-30, when the District Traffic Superintendent and the Civil Surgeon made their appearance. There happened, however, an Indian Military Hospital Assistant travelling in the Hardwar train with his family who came and voluntarily dressed the wounds and did all he could for the injured.

"I might, in conclusion, suggest that the line from Amritsar to Saharanpur and from Lahore to Raewind should be doubled without any further delay.

"Yours, etc.,
"GANGA RAM,
Rai Bahadur, C.I.E."

"*Dated 28th December* 1907."

32. The following is from the *Observer* (Lahore), of the 1st January 1908:—

The recent collision near Ludhiana.

"The popular anxiety to ascertain the details of the disastrous railway collision that occurred in the early hours of Christmas morning at Ladhowal has only just been relieved by an authoritative statement on the subject. Before Sunday last no one knew the exact number of the killed and injured and the public were openly accusing the Railway authorities of shutting down all information. The Railway Board have promised that in the event of any such disaster occurring on any Railway line in India the newspapers will immediately be provided with full particulars of the accident. But although since the assumption of this responsibility by the Board many collisions have occurred, yet no early official details have been forthcoming. The catastrophe at Ladhuwal, however, occurred on Wednesday last and full particulars ought to have been received much earlier. The dilatoriness, to say the least of it, displayed by the Railway authorities in this matter has caused keen anxiety to the public and it is only now that the suspense has been somewhat appeased.

"From accounts published in the Anglo-Indian papers it appears that the Down Passenger from Lahore was running some 2½ hours late. The disaster occurred near the bridge over the Sutlej through the alleged neglect of the Indian Assistant Station Master, who, it is said, did not observe the strict rules governing the working of the line clear system. The man has disappeared, but the results of his neglect remain to the horror of the public. Both the opposing trains, it is asserted, were travelling at a united pace of eighty miles an hour, their passengers, mostly holiday folks, locked in the embrace of sleep, unconscious of the fact that this was to be their last sleep on earth, a sleep that would know no awakening. The trains clashed into each other with terrific force, the engines collided and the rest followed. Official details of the killed and the injured are only now obtainable: many of the bodies were so crushed as to make identification impossible. But before the publication of the official version it was surmised that at least 200 people had been killed and injured, including an entire European theatrical company, a European lady and four children and twelve soldiers, all of whom were represented as killed. A correspondent who came to Lucknow the same day thus describes the scene in the *Indian Daily Telegraph*:—

"At the scene of the accident, as we passed by, the spectacle that presented itself to us was one of the most harrowing description. The engines were found telescoped at a height of some thirty to forty feet from the ground, resembling, as it were, two fighting cocks when they attack each other, standing on their hind legs and remaining in the same position for some time. All about the place smashed compartments, components of carriages, permanent way, etc., were scattered. A large fire was burning near by and many of us suspected that the poor victims of the catastrophe were being disposed of there. Despite my endeavour to find out the cause of the accident, the number of casualties and the whereabouts of the injured, nothing could be elicited from the station staff.

* * * * * *

"The official report seems to make it clear that the deaths do not go beyond 20, this figure including 3 of the European staff and 17 Indian passengers. Rai Bahadur Ganga Ram had a miraculous escaps. Among those killed are four constables of the Punjab Police and a prisoner they were escorting, and two students of the Khalsa College. There is no confirmation of the report that a theatrical company were among the victims, nor do we hear anything further of the European school children who were reported to have been in the collision. But a British sergeant and two gunners are among the injured. As the *Pioneer* says, the reality is bad enough, but it almost comes as a relief after the rumours.

33. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 25th December 1907:—

**Anglo-Indian newspapers' attitude towards European and Native strikers.**

"Curious are the workings of a section of the Anglo-Indian mind. The attitude of the Anglo-Indian Press with reference to the recent E. I. R. strike and the present strike of Indian drivers in the E. B. S. Railway presents a moral which any one who runs may read and profit by. The Anglo-Indian Press found themselves brimming with the milk of human kindness towards the E. I. R. strikers, lengthy paragraphs detailing the hardships of the men and their long list of grievances, and admiring their wonderful patience and perseverence in submitting to the iniquitous treatment so long appeared daily in the Anglo-Indian organs and their 'young lions' thundered and fulminated against the devoted head of Mr. Dring, the Agent. We do not for a moment say that the grievances of the Guards and Drivers of the E. I. Railway were imaginary; indeed we have already said that a large body of men can seldom go to strike for the mere fun of the thing. But we are here dealing with the fondling and doting attitude of the Anglo-Indian Press towards the strikers of the E. I. R. and contrasting the same with its rigid and unrelenting attitude towards the strikers of another Railway line, where they happened to be Indians. It cannot be truthfully said that picketting and other deeds threatening a breach of the peace have been confined to the Indian strikers. Indeed what the latter have done in this direction is nothing compared with the extensive picketting and deeds of violence—costing even the lives of one or two railway men, who stuck to their post in spite of the threats of the malcontents. But the Anglo-Indian Press, at least a section, has been smelling sedition and is calling for fire and brimstone on the latest batch of strikers. The story has a moral which we hope will not be lost upon them. Meanwhile we hope that the Railway Board which moved with such commendable expeditiousness in the matter of the E. I. R. strike will not fail to redress the more pressing grievances of the unfortunate Indian strikers and thus earn its reputation for impartiality and equitable treatment."

F. ISEMONGER,

*Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*
*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

LAHORE:
*The 4th January* 1908.

Punjab Government Press, Lahore—15-1-08—51—95—J. B.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 2. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

Received up to 11th January 1908.

## CONTENTS.


I.—Politics.

Page.

*(a)—Foreign—*

1. Denshawi affair (*Tribune*) ... ... ... 21
2. Indians in the Transvaal (*Tribune*) ... ... 23
3. Indians in the Transvaal (*Hitkari*) ... ... *ib.*
4. Indians in the Transvaal (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... *ib.*

*(b)—Home—*

5. Lord Curzon on Indian affairs (*Aftab*) ... ... *ib.*
6. Unrest in India (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 26
7. Extremists (*Sat Dharm Parcharak*) ... ... *ib.*
8. Extremists (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... ... *ib.*
9. Split in the Congress Camp (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... *ib.*
10. Split in the Congress Camp (*Aftab*) ... ... 27
11. Split in the Congress Camp (*Sat Dharm Parcharak*) *ib.*
12. Split in the Congress Camp (*Punjab Times and Frontier News*) ... ... ... ... *ib.*
13. Muhammadans and politics (*Jhang Sial*) ... 28
14. Muhammadans and politics (*Prakash*) ... ... *ib.*
15. Students and politics (*Sat Dharm Parcharak*) ... *ib.*
16. Students and politics (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... *ib.*
17. Indian students in England (*Jhang Sial*) ... *ib.*
18. The attendance of the Police at public meetings (*Aftab*) ... ... ... ... 29
19. The attendance of the Police at public meetings (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... ... ... *ib.*
20. Warning to the *Jhang Sial* (*Jhang Sial*) ... *ib.*
21. The *Hitaishi* sedition case (*Prakash*) ... ... 30
22. *Justice* and the *Indian Sociologist* (*Sat Dharm Parcharak*) ... ... ... ... *ib*

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

*Nil.*

III.—Native States.

*Nil.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

*Nil.*

V.—Native Societies and Religious matters.

Page.

*Nil.*

VI.—Legislation.

23. Government and the Press (*Hindustan*) ... ... 30
24. Government and the Press (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... *ib.*

VII.—General Administration.

*(a)—Judicial—*

*Nil.*

*(b)—Police—*

25. The attack on Mr. Allen (*Aftab*) ... ... 31
26. The attack on Mr. Allen (*Paisa Akhar*) ... ... *ib.*

*(c)—Municipal and Cantonment affairs—*

27. District Boards in the Punjab (*Tribune*) ... ... *ib.*
28. House tax at Delhi (*Aftab*) ... ... ... 32

*(d)—Education—*

*Nil.*

*(e)—Agriculture and questions affecting the land—*

29. Export of grain from India (*Sadiq-ul-Akhbar*) ... *ib.*
30. The Colonies Committee (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... *ib.*
31. The Colonies Committee (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 33

*(f)—Railways and Communications—*

32. The railway collision near Ludhiana (*Tribune*) ... *ib.*
33. The railway collision near Ludhiana (*Hitkari*) ... *ib.*
34. The railway collision near Ludhiana (*Jhang Sial*) ... 34
35. How to stop railway collisions (*Tribune*)... ... *ib.*

*(g)—Postal matters—*

*Nil.*

*(h)—Miscellaneous—*

*Nil.*

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 2. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 11h January 1908.**

---

## I.—POLITICS.

### (*a*)—*Foreign.*

1. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 8th January 1908:—

Denshawi affair.

"'It is announced in Cairo,' telegraphed Reuter on the 24th December, 'that with the consent of the British the Denshawi prisoners will be released on the anniversary of the Khedive's accession on the 8th January.' The somewhat tardy justice done by a Liberal Government to the unfortunate men referred to in the above message induces us to recall their sad history and the tragic, not to say scandalous, circumstances connected with their trial and condemnation.

"Less than two years ago Egypt was electrified by the startling news that the inhabitants of Denshawi, a village situated somewhere between Cairo and Alexandria, had seriously assaulted five English officers of the Army of Occupation while employed on a march. The history of the assault and the mock trial and condemnation which followed may be summed up thus: The five officers referred to above started to shoot pigeons at the village Denshawi which was situated at a distance of about six miles from their camp. Pigeon breeding is a favourite hobby with the Egyptian Fellah and these birds are protected by the villagers very much in the way peacocks are by Indian peasants in certain parts of India. Shooting of their tame birds by the officers was naturally objected to by the Fellaheen, whereupon a dispute arose in the course of which a woman and three men of the village were wounded. Having wounded these people the officers attempted to leave the village and the consequence was that they were attacked and injured, though not seriously. Three of them were captured and detained, while of the remaining two, one Captain Bull, after running 4½ miles, fell down overcome by the heat near a village called Sersena, while the other reached the camp and gave the alarm. An English patrol left for the village where the affray had taken place. On the way they found Captain Bull being tended by a villager of Sersena. This villager they promptly shot and thence proceeding to Denshawi liberated the captured officers. The events that followed were truly remarkable. 57 villagers were put upon their trial before a so-called official tribunal, established in 1895 to try

offences 'committed against officers or soldiers of the Army of Occupation in uniform in the execution of their duties.' It was perfectly clear to unprejudiced observers that pigeon shooting could by no stretch of imagination or legal perversity be construed as an execution of their duty by the officers concerned, but in the most cynical manner possible the authorities sanctioned the trial of the villagers before the Special Tribunal! It did not matter that the officers were engaged in sport—the fact that they were in khaki clothes was enough to make the objections of the unfortunate villagers *a military offence.* The Special Tribunal in this particular case was composed of three Englishmen, one Egyptian Christian and only one Muhammadan. We are informed on credible authority that the Tribunal is bound by no legal code, either in its handling of evidence, its theory of jurisprudence or in its sentence—'an ideal Court from the point of view of a certain school of Anglo-Indian statesmen, but not quite what elementary ideas of justice and fair play seem to demand from Englishmen.' The composition and the procedure of the Tribunal were truly remarkable no doubt, but what followed was equally wonderful. Three days before the trial began, the announcement was made in London by an enterprising journal that the villagers would be severely dealt with and those condemned to death shot in public. As a matter of fact four were hanged in public, the gallows having been installed at Denshawi four days before the trial commenced. The condemned men were allowed no appeal and their sentences of flogging and hanging were carried out in public in the presence of a large concourse of Egyptian peasants. The execuses put forth for so tragic and un-English a performance will be easily understood by the people of India. It was alleged that the attack upon the officers was an outburst of 'fanaticism'—Moslem fanaticism, entirely unprovoked. The dual bogeys of 'sedition' and 'fanaticism' were successfully invoked to hide the real facts of the case. The intelligent reader will recall how useful the same bogeys have proved in quite recent times in counteracting certain legitimate demands of the progressive section of the Indian people. The Imperialistic principles of Lord Cromer and his great underlings in the land of the Pharoahs blinded them to the elementary facts that though British Power had done an incredible amount of good to the Egyptian peasant, yet rank and unblushing injustice was a poor accompaniment for a power so potent and irresistible. But the curious thing was that while punishing the poor ignorant villagers in so savage a manner, Lord Cromer felt the necessity of prohibiting pigeon shooting in future! The following words of an English journalist on the above incidents will prove interesting to Indian readers who are not likely to have forgotten the stirring events of the last few months. 'There are two ways of governing an Empire. The one is the method which appeals to certain noisy Anglo-Indian journals and more than one English newspaper which ought to know better—to be for ever painting a picture of gloom, to imagine that a systematic propaganda of disloyalty is being eternally preached and to magnify into treason every protest and irresponsible utterance which their constant goadings are no doubt intended to provoke. The other method is to conciliate and help, to recognise the folly of unnaturally arresting the development of a people, to perceive that it is impossible to ignore the demand for larger rights and responsibilities which proceeds from a population that is advanced enough to read newspapers and to choose leaders who are much more able and well-educated than the Anglo-Indian journalists who decry them.' The writer goes on to point out that incidents like those of Denshawi are unhappy illustrations of the victory of the baser over the noblest elements of British national character. That morals should never be subordinated to politics is now almost a platitude and to mention righteousness in connection with political affairs is to provoke a shrug of the shoulders. But though the mills of God may be slow to grind, they in the long run do grind and grind very fine. In Egypt, in India, in South Africa and in distant Canada, the injustice dealt out to the so-called inferior races within the Empire is sooner or later bound to produce its evil consequences. Tardy justice, however; like that contemplated in Egypt, may serve for some time to delay the grinding process whereat the mills of Providence are no doubt busy. Can it be doubted that there is a good deal of truth in these sentiments?"

2. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 8th January 1908 :—

Indians in the Transvaal.

"The news from Transvaal indicates, if anything, that the arrogant Africander is determined to pursue his game of oppression of the Indian subjects of His Majesty to the bitter end. He has declared an open war and does not apparently mean to stop short of the utmost rigour which the ordinance prescribes. But is the Indian Government going to leave its devoted and loyal subjects, some of whom have shed their blood in fighting for the British Crown, to the mercy of these remorseless creatures, whom Sir Lepel Griffin aptly described as 'the very off-scourings of the international sewers of Europe'? Much as we admire the heroism and the self-reliant attitude of our countrymen in the Transvaal, we think that the Indian people and the Government have in their hands adequate means for retaliation which might in the end bring the arrogant colonist down on his knees. Let there be meetings all over the country to express indignation at the enormities that are going to be practised over our countrymen in South Africa. Let the Government show that it has got both the power and the will to hoist the engineers of this iniquitous ordinance with their own petard. Natal has joined in an unholy combination with the Transvaal and Australia seems to be following suit. Let all these colonies feel that the Indian Government has got the needed antidote in its hands, that it can pay them back in their own coin. Mr. Morley some time ago declared that the ordinance was a bar sinister against the millions of His Majesty's subjects. Let him now take courage into both his hands and turn the tables upon the Africanders. The remedy was first suggested in a meeting at Madras presided over by Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, who proposed that no inhabitant of any colony which refused to treat Indians on a footing of equality should be allowed to enter civil or military or any other service in India, nor should be allowed to acquire land or establish plantations in this country or enjoy any of the benefits of labour legislation, and that such of them as are here already, be allowed to do the above only on certain restrictive conditions."

3. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 6th January 1908, regrets that the British public should pay no heed to the cries of Indian immigrants in the Transvaal and that the Press of Great Britain should be hostile to His Majesty's Indian subjects.

Indians in the Transvaal.

4. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 21st December 1907, remarks that the Sikhs, Pathans and Gurkhas residing in the Transvaal have applied to Lord Melbourne for permission to join the expedition which is about to be despatched against the Zulus. It is a matter for regret that such loyal Indians should be subjected to gross oppression in the ex-Boer Republic. The English (*lit.* Europeans) miss no opportunity of injuring Indians, but the latter are always ready to sacrifice their lives for them.

Indians in the Transvaal.

(*b*)—*Home.*

5. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 22nd December 1907, publishes a long article regarding a speech recently delivered by Lord Curzon at Birmingham in the course of which he said that the English did not hold India with the sword, but that willing allegiance was rendered them by natives owing to their high code of morality. The Editor first ironically remarks that the oppression practised on Indians by their Moghul Emperors drove them to repair to England in order to entreat the English to save them from ruin by consenting

Lord Curzon on Indian affairs.

to govern their country, which they did out of pity for them. He then observes that man sticks at nothing in order to gain his object and that European statesmen drink in lying with their mother's milk, and says that the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai, the parading of Lahore by British soldiers with drawn bayonets, the promulgation of the Meetings Ordinance throughout the Punjab, and the setting of the Secret Police to watch every house, ought to have enabled Lord Curzon to decide whether or no British rule in India rested on the superior morals of his fellow-countrymen. These incidents should have convinced him that the English retain this country by the power of the sword alone. If Government were to grant any province or city complete independence, it would never ask to be placed under British protection again. Mr. Haldane only recently remarked that if the people of India grew greatly seditious they would find the British arms as effective as they found them on the occasion of the Sepoy Mutiny. After observing that this statement is incompatible with Lord Curzon's contention that India is held by moral force, the Editor says that either Mr. Haldane or Lord Curzon must be a liar. He next ironically remarks that of late the people have been speaking highly of the morals of the English and refers to the character of Moore by way of illustration. Although the ravisher of Viranwali, he adds, confessed his guilt, he was acquitted by the (Chief) Court. This case and that also of Mr. Sterling constitute specimens of British justice. Again, the ex-Viceroy branded all natives, their ancestors and spiritual leaders as liars and deceivers, showing thereby what English morals were like. And is it on such justice and morality that British rule in India is based? The *Aftab* further remarks that Lord Curzon also expressed the opinion that India should not be granted even the amount of liberty enjoyed by the Crown Colonies adding that the departure of the English from the country would undoubtedly be followed by bloodshed. The English resort to various means in order to keep natives in a fool's paradise and make themselves out to be benefactors of the people as though they held a lease of India from God and stood to this country in the relation of God to the world. They will not evacuate a country in which they once set foot, but convert it into a happy hunting ground on the pretext of establishing peace in it. Why should they feel uneasy at the prospect of natives shedding blood by fighting among themselves? Why should they love Indians to the exclusion of all other people in the world? They should now place some other nation under their protection. Natives are a poverty-stricken people who have been dying from plague and starvation in lakhs and have enough to do in order to keep body and soul together. There is consequently no fear of the poor wretches ill-treating one another. They should be left to themselves by the English and allowed to have some rest and enjoy the world. After remarking that they owe their creation to the same God who created the English, the Editor enquires why they should be despised and treated worse than dogs by their present rulers and why England should hold possession of this country. Natives and Englishmen are brothers in the eyes of God and He cannot be so unjust and tyrannical as to make the one slaves of the other or to grant one the sceptre and hand over the beggar's bowl to the other. The paper next remarks that Lord Curzon's statement that the departure of the English from India would be followed by bloodshed was meant only to deceive natives. The English have not been very long in India and bloodshed was no matter of daily occurrence before their advent

here. Even now Hindus and Muhammadans live peacefully under the rule respectively of Muslim and Hindu Chiefs, and have so far never attempted to kill their masters. Indeed, the people of India have always been peace-loving and will continue to be so. They should be given a trial and should be condemned only if they prove themselves unworthy of the trust reposed in them. The English accuse the Muhammadan rulers of India of having been in the habit of shedding blood, but how did they themselves obtain the possession of this country ? The sands of the Deccan are still red with the innocent blood of her stalwart sons. The English put lakhs of Mahrattas to the sword for no reason. Again, the blood shed by them at Plassey reddens the waters of the Ganges to this day, while their doings during the Sepoy Mutiny are known to every child in the United Provinces. They also shed rivers of Sikh blood at Chillianwala, and have blown away thousands of natives from the cannon's mouth. They should remember that every conqueror has to do such things, and that if the Moghul Empire had lasted a little longer thorough peace would assuredly have been established in the country. To tell the truth, however, the Editor does not feel enamoured of the peace which now prevails in India for the reason that it has crushed all energy in her sons. Besides, the continual struggle between the rulers and the ruled rends one's heart and allows neither party any rest. The English should so manage matters that they may return " Home " and live in comfort there, while natives may enjoy themselves in their own country. The English should cease to covet the property of others and should place their trust in God, who will keep them provided for without their having to leave their country. They profess the Christian religion, but nowhere has the founder of their faith asked His followers to fill their houses with things looted from others. The Bible teaches that if a man possesses a loaf of bread he should part with half of it in favour of others. So far from acting up to this teaching, however, the English want to deprive natives even of their portion of the loaf. They should fear God's wrath. The world has seen mightier rulers than they. Some of these laid claims to Godhood and made men bow to them, but all of them were brought to naught and punished for their misdeeds. * * *
The rise and fall of natives should serve as a warning to the English. There was a time when the former were the equals of their present rulers and the English Queen Elizabeth sent presents to their King Akbar the Great. To-day, however, they are the subjects, nay the slaves, of the English, and have to starve their children in order to pay the latter's dues. The English should remember that the stick with which God punishes man gives out no sound in the process and that his wrath involves nations in ruin. They should not oppress the already heart-sore natives, but should fear their cries to God.

Finally, the Editor points out that Lord Curzon admitted in the conclusion of his speech the reason for not granting dependence to India, *viz.*, because such a step would put an end to England's glory. This the Editor asserts is perfectly true. The English hold India merely because their possession of the country adds to their dignity and secures them the world's respect. *

* * * Indians knew already that they were regarded by the English as vassals intended to minister to the latter's comfort. Lord Curzon has confirmed their belief and placed it beyond doubt that they are meant by nature to slave for their present rulers without uttering a word of complaint.

Unrest in India.

6. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 28th December 1907, says that a member of the Liberal Social Council, Simla, has contributed an article to an English newspaper on the causes of the unrest in India. He says that unrest is bound to prevail in a country in which justice is conspicuous by its absence. The law, he adds, has conferred on natives all the rights of British citizens, but there is no one to respect these rights. The Extremist leader, Bepin Chunder Pal, was imprisoned for six months for contempt of court, but a European charged with the same offence was let off with only a fine of Rs. 50. If a native is prosecuted on any charge his fate is decided by a single person, while an English offender is tried with the help of a jury and not infrequently escapes scot-free. Unrest is the sign of life. Natives have shaken off their sleep and have come to understand their rights. The English should feel proud that their once ignorant subjects have been awakened. So far, however, from doing so, they have begun to resort to repression, which has never led to good results in any country.

Extremists.

7. The *Sat Dharm Parcharak* (Jullundur), of the 27th December 1907, disapproves of the Extremist methods of work and remarks that if the ultimate goal of the Nationalists is to free their country from foreign rule, and that if they are sincere in their desire to boycott everything British, why do they defend themselves when they are prosecuted for sedition? They have only read the word *swaraj*, independence, and the like in books, and are still far from realising the true meanings of the terms. These worthies should remember that when they prove themselves fit for independence no power in the world will be able to crush them.

Extremists.

8. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 4th January 1908, reprints the above.

Split in the Congress Camp.

9. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 3rd January 1908, writing about the recent events at Surat, regrets that the calamity which had been dreaded for the last 18 months has at last befallen the country. The Congress, which deserved to be called the greatest political society of the people, has ceased to exist and a thousand and one hopes regarding the welfare of India have been dashed to the ground. The Editor adds that neither the convention of the Moderates nor the conference of the Extremists can lay claim to the dignity and importance which the Congress had come to acquire. He regrets that the men who had been working shoulder to shoulder for the last 22 years should have parted company in a manner calculated to put even the uneducated to shame. In conclusion, he says that the free-fight between the two parties must have lowered natives in the estimation of Dr. Rutherford and Mr. Nevinson.

Split in the Congress Camp.

10. The *Aftab* (Delhi) of the 5th January 1908, writing on the same subject, observes that the split in the Congress Camp is no matter for regret, seeing that honest differences of opinion are a sure sign of life. At one time the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was favourably disposed towards the Congress, but on discovering later on that his co-religionists were certain to be gainers by remaining aloof from the movement he induced them to have nothing to do with the propaganda. Hindus have borne the entire brunt of the fight, and have been imprisoned, deported and otherwise punished for their political activity. All the concessions secured by them from Government are, however, shared by the Prophet's followers also. The Moderates, too, have decided to follow in the footsteps of Muhammadans; and henceforth the Extremists will have to work and suffer, while the fruit of their labour will be plucked by others. After referring to the events at Surat, the Editor welcomes the separation of the Moderates and Extremists. The two parties could no longer work together since of late the Moderates had been maligning the Nationalists to the authorities in order to involve their opponents in trouble. Henceforth the Moderates will not only help Government with their opinions, but will co-operate with it in exterminating the Nationalists. The truth will, however, triumph in the end.

Split in the Congress Camp.

11. The *Sat Dharm Parcharak* (Jullundur), of the 3rd January 1908, disapproves of the doings of the Extremists at Surat, and remarks that if natives cannot conduct the meetings of the Congress in a peaceable manner how can they convince the civilised world of their fitness to govern themselves. The Moderates and Extremists should have worked shoulder to shoulder at a time when the authorities are practising considerable oppression on the people. If natives sincerely wish for political power they should show by work that they are fit to exercise it.

Split in the Congress Camp.

12. The following is from the *Punjab Times and Frontier news* (Rawalpindi), of the 8th January 1908:—

"Every man who assisted, directly or indirectly, in breaking up the Congress Meeting at Surat is an enemy to his country and a disgrace to his species.

"For however we may agree or disagree with some of the sentiments and objects of the Congress Party, we are still convinced that it is a very good and useful thing for men to meet together to discuss the affairs of their country. It is also a lawful and reasonable thing to do, especially when even a small portion of those who come together are animated by a sincere wish for the welfare and progress of their fellow-men. Charges of vanity and love of notoriety may be made against them; selfishness may be cast in their teeth; still, by meeting to discuss the affairs of their country, they are doing good.

"Therefore their countrymen who, aided by the representatives of local and imported blackguardism, broke up the meeting, deserve neither admiration nor applause, but sincere contempt and loathing. They kicked the representative of the *Times of India* into unconsciousness, and assaulted an esteemed old Parsi gentleman in the most insulting manner; and they are 'patriots.' May heaven protect India from such despicable and ruffianly patriots! Curs like these, of the lowest breeding, know as little of patriotism as of good manners."

13. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 28th December 1907, says that the establishment of the All India Moslem League shows clearly enough that Muhammadans have begun to realise their mistake in eschewing politics. The appointment of the Nawab Vikar-ul-Mulk, who was the first Muhammadan to ask his co-religionists to interest themselves in politics, as Secretary of the Aligarh College, also tells the same tale. In short, Mussalmans have begun to do the very thing for doing which they have been finding fault with their Hindu fellow-subjects. And the time is not far off when they will favour extremism most, for they have not the patience of Hindus, and if any of their demands is not granted they will be certain to resort to objectionable methods. After remarking that history bears witness to this, the paper says that Muhammadans have begun to follow in the footsteps of Hindus.

Muhammadans and politics.

14. The *Prakash* (Lahore), of the 24th December 1907, says that signs are not wanting to show that Muhammadans also have begun to evince interest in politics. They should feel thankful to Hindus for showing them the way and learn to join hands with the latter in bettering the country's political condition. They will discover now what true loyalty means and that political rights cannot be obtained without making sacrifices.

Muhammadans and politics.

15. The *Sat Dharm Parcharak* (Jullundur), of the 3rd January 1908, approves of Mr. Justice Chatterji's advice to students to abstain from taking an active part in politics. The Extremist leaders should abstain from employing students in settling scores with their Moderate opponents.

Students and politics.

16. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 28th December 1907, takes the Hon'ble Mr. P. C. Chatterji to task for his recent advice to Indian students to eschew politics. If students, it adds, who are the future hope of the Indian Nation, are to learn nothing of politics, how is India to know its rights.

Students and politics.

17. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 28th December 1907, says that the English have always stood in the way of natives tasting liberty in their own country. Some Englishmen have now founded an Indian Students' Association in England with the ulterior object of preventing native students in Great Britain from knowing anything of liberty. The English have come to believe that these students imbibe ideas of liberty and on their return home preach the same to their fellow-countrymen. After remarking that the new association will make this impossible, the paper says that the present rulers of India wish natives to continue to live in a fool's paradise. They should, however, remember that times are changing.

Indian students in England.

18. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 22nd December 1907, remarks that all public meetings recently held at Lahore were watched by policemen bearing arms. The Police are also in the habit of attending meetings convened at Delhi and in Bengal; and recently a meeting at Mymensingh was watched by both Police and soldiers, the latter having a battery of guns with them. All this shows that, instead of prohibiting the holding of meetings, Government now wishes to frighten people into staying away from such gatherings. The Editor was told by an able Police officer a few days back that the Police attended public meetings in order to prevent the audience from breaking out into rebellion. He was greatly pleased to learn that the English have at last come to regard natives as human beings and to believe that the people of India also are capable of showing fight in their efforts to obtain their rights. He then goes on to say that Englishmen out here fear lest some speaker at a meeting should inflame his hearers into attacking their bungalows. * * * After referring to the occurrence and causes of the Lahore and Rawalpindi riots, the *Aftab* goes on to say that if Government had been on the alert from the very outset it would neither have offended the people, nor would Anglo-Indians have had to pass sleepless nights. The authorities had, however, quite a different object in view at the time. At Rawalpindi a riot was instigated of set purpose, while at Lahore satisfactory arrangements were not made in order to facilitate a breach of the peace. This has led some persons to conclude that Government desired that the people should lay themselves open to some serious charge which would furnish it with an excuse to crush them. Indeed, if Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh had been deported or the Regulation of Meetings Ordinance had been promulgated without any riot having occurred previously, the English would have been disgraced in the eyes of the whole world. After instigating a riot at Rawalpindi and facilitating another at Lahore, however, they can practise every oppression on Indians with a show of reason. The people's duty, therefore, consists in so conducting themselves as to confound their rulers and give the latter no occasion to pass any new (repressive) law or subject them to any new oppression.

The attendance of the Police at public meetings.

19. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 28th December 1907, writing on the same subject, says that if the Police present themselves at public meetings under the Lieutenant-Governor's orders it would be far better to extend the Seditious Meetings Act to the Punjab. In case, however, they have been doing so on their own initiative, Sir Denzil Ibbetson should take steps to put down the scandal. It is an anomaly to allow the Punjab the liberty of speech and at the same time to employ the Police to gag the people.

The attendance of the Police at public meetings.

Warning to the *Jhang Sial*.

20. In the issue of the 21st December 1907, the Editor of the *Jhang Sial* (Jhang) reports the fact that he has been warned for publishing inflammatory articles, but states that in view of the policy of the paper, which consists in loyalty to Government, while advocating the rights of the people and expressing its grievances, he is at a loss to understand why the warning has been conveyed to him. If truth is unpalatable to Government it should

Warning to the *Jhang Sial*.

cause it to be publicly proclaimed that no one under it should speak the truth. As long, however, as the *Jhang Sial* feels convinced that British rule in India is based on truths and justice it will not refrain from publishing the truth. It cannot become a flatterer and express approval even of oppressive official measures.

In another place the Editor reports that the warning has created quite a sensation among his friends, who regard the event as a percursor of his prosecution by Government. Some of them encourage him to stand firm, while others advise him to give up his present policy, reminding him that the days of truth and righteousness have gone by. He will, however, stick to his guns for he has nothing to reproach himself with in connection with his writings. He always keeps in view the interests of both Government and the people; and if Government is displeased with him still and wishes to prosecute him there is no help for it. He is ready to sacrifice even his life for the sake of truth.

The *Hitaishi* sedition case.

21. The *Prakash* (Lahore), of the 24th December 1907, remarks that the severe sentences passed on the youthful Editor and Printer of the *Hitaishi* show that Government wishes to suppress strong writing by getting the persons concerned heavily punished. The Editor cannot approve of this policy and says that it is likely to have the effect of intensifying the evil which the authorities wish to suppress.

Justice and the *Indian Sociologist*.

22. The *Sat Dharm Parcharak* (Jullundur), of the 3rd January 1908, re marks that some time back Government forbade the entry of *Justice* and the *Indian Sociologist* into this country. After remarking that the prohibition has been removed so far as *Justice* is concerned, the Editor asks why the *Sociologist* should be accorded different treatment. Is it because that paper is edited by an Indian? Will the invidious distinction made between the two periodicals enhance the prestige of the British Government in India?

## VI.—LEGISLATION.

Government and the Press.

23. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 27th December 1907, says that it is rumoured that a new law is about to be passed to muzzle the Native Press. After remarking that Sir Denzil Ibbetson is said to be the author of the measure, the paper summarises the alleged provisions of the contempleted law.

Government and the Press.

24. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 21st December 1907, writing on the same subject, says that if the provisions of the contemplated law are actually what rumour represents them to be, the days of justice and righteousness are over in India. The Local Governments will never allow persons of independent opinion to start newspapers and may be relied upon to favour only flatterers and back-biters. Again, newspapers will degenerate into mere trade concerns, leaving truth to take care of itself. Government

has already earned a bad name by passing the Seditious Meetings Act and should abstain from bringing itself further disgrace by amending the press law. The people wish for peace, but if the authorities continue following the present repressive policy there is no hope of this.

## VII.—General Administration.

### (*b*)—*Police.*

The attack on Mr Allen.

25. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 5th January 1908, referring to the murderous attack on Mr. Allen of Dacca, says that the relations between the people and the authorities in Eastern Bengal continue strained. This is chiefly due to haughtiness and oppression on the part of Anglo-Indian officers in the new province, and the sins of the whole community have been visited on Mr. Allen. If the rulers were to consider it their bounden duty to keep the ruled pleased with them the latter would always bend the knee to them. After stating that the Prime Minister of Persia was shot recently for standing in the way of the people, the Editor remarks that the love of liberty is inborn in man and that no one has the right to crush it. English officers (in India) should so conduct themselves that the whole world may bow before their superior morals.

The attack on Mr. Allen.

26. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 6th January 1908, writing on the same subject, says that the whole country deeply sympathises with Mr. and Mrs. Allen. Anglo-Indian newspapers are wrong in ascribing the incident to racial antipathy and representing Mr. Allen as a victim of the enmity which, they say, has existed between a certain class of natives and European officers for some time past. After remarking that some personal grudge was at the bottom of the occurrence, the paper observes that to however low a pass natives have come they entertain greater fear of God and respect for their officers than Europeans, and that no political spirit can induce them to break the laws of religion and morality. In conclusion, it expresses the hope that the culprit will be run to earth soon, and that he will meet his deserts and disclose the motive of his conduct.

### (*c*)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs.*

27. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 7th January 1908:—

District Boards in the Punjab.

"In the scheme of local self-government as enunciated by Lord Ripon the District Boards were designed to play a very important part in the administration of the district. The intention of Lord Ripon was that the District Boards should be fully utilised in order to give the people a training in self-government. In order to carry out this excellent intention it was necessary that the people should be given a real share in the management of their local affairs. The impression among our countrymen of all classes is however general that the local officials never gave these Boards a fair trial. From the very beginning of their existence the Boards were under the domination of the head of the district. During the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon the Local, District and Municipal Boards all began to feel their subordination also to the various departmental heads in the Province. The result of this official domination has been to paralyse all effort and initiative on the part of the Boards. * * * The Commission on Decen-

tralisation which is touring in the country at present will deal with the subject in order to determine the extent to which real powers can be entrusted to the Boards. It will not do at all merely to increase the power and authority of these Boards, because if no change is made in their constitution and their relations with the Deputy Commissioners, the enhanced power would mean an addition to the autocracy of the head of the district—an addition to be deprecated in the best interests of the country. Too much power and authority is at present centred in the Deputy Commissioner, and the fact of his being also the Magistrate of the district is not only detrimental to progress on sound lines, but leads often to miscarriage of justice. * * * If Lord Minto is anxious to give self-government in this country a fair trial, he should order the gradual replacement of official Chairmen by non-official persons in all kinds of Boards. The elective element in these Boards is again not as prominent as it should be. In large towns not only the number of officials appointed as members should be as small as possible, but orders should also be issued prohibiting officials of Government from standing as candidates for election."

House tax at Delhi.

28. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 5th January 1908, remarks that the agitation against the house tax at Delhi seems to have borne fruit. Efforts are being made to reassure the residents and the Deputy Commissioner has begun to hear objections. It is a pity that although Delhi has been under British rule for about 100 years the local public should still be ignorant of the fact that it is by united efforts alone that they can secure their rights or successfully oppose the Municipal Committee. The authorities should bear in mind that nothing short of the repeal of the tax will satisfy the people and that smooth words or petty reductions will not keep them quiet for long.

### (e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land.*

Export of grain from India.

29. The *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar* (Rewari), of the 2nd January 1908, says that free trade has made India poor. After remarking that crores of natives live only on one meal a day, it adds that Government ought to be fully aware that India is a very poor country; that the people's means of earning their livelihood are greatly limited; that drought and famine have become endemic in the land; and that the people have been reduced to such a pitiable condition that they cannot withstand even an ordinary famine. The authorities do not listen to popular complaints and think of the good of their fellow-countrymen before everything else. Government should prohibit the export of grain from the country and maintain large stores for sale to the people at cheap rates in times of scarcity. There can be no objection to such grain as may be over and above the requirements of the population, being exported to England and Australia. It is, however, a matter for shame that the grain produced in the country should be taken away to feed the English and Australians and that those who grew it by the sweat of their brow should be left to starve. The Editor then goes on to say that as Government is not likely to do anything in the matter the people should gird up their loins and exert themselves to save their country from being ruined by British capitalists.

The Colonies Committee.

30. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 28th December 1907, regrets that the Colonies Committee should have visited Lyallpur at a time when sowing operations were in full swing. Nevertheless, thousands of colonists

went to submit written statements to, or to give oral evidence before, the Committee. After wasting two days at Lyallpur, however, they were put off with the promise that they would be heard on the occasion of the Committee's second visit to the place. After remarking that they were greatly disappointed at this and that the witnesses examined by the Committee in the Chenab Colony consist of toadies, the Editor finds fault with Sir T. Gordon Walker and his colleagues for not consulting the Bar Zamindars' Association. He also requests Sir Denzil Ibbetson to specially ask the Committee to give a few representatives of the Association an opportunity to lay their views before it.

The Colonies Committee.

31. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 28th December 1907, says that of all the witnesses examined by the Colonies Committee at Sargodha the Lambardar (Sardar Labh Singh) of Chak No. 101 alone had the moral courage to expose the illegal and high-handed doings of the officers of the Jhelum Colony. The Editor regrets that other native witnesses should have abstained from voicing the grievances of the colonists. Indians, he adds, never speak out their mind at the right time, but go about grumbling afterwards. This conduct only tends to strain the relations between the rulers and the ruled.

### *(f)—Railways and Communications.*

The railway collision near Ludhiana.

32. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 9th January 1908:—

"Sir,—I fully endorse the suggestion made by Rai Bahadur Ganga Ram, Executive Engineer, Patiala State, to put a stop to the railway accidents like the one that took place between Ladhowal and Phillaur. But I am afraid that the suggestions offered do not go to the root of the evil—and I take the liberty of suggesting that the Imperial Government should be moved to fix some pecuniary compensation for each life lost in such accident. This is not difficult at all. The railway are responsible for the careless working of their staff and there is not the least doubt but that such accidents are due to the carelessness of the working staff of the railway. I do not know if the Government has done anything to relieve the miseries of the people whose dearest and nearest relations were the victims of the three ghastly accidents of Kot Lakhpat, Jagadhri and Ladhowal—I dare say the Government would be ready to help them in a legitimate manner if any representation is made—I shall be glad to render them any assistance I can in this matter. But it would be better if a few public-spirited men like Rai Bahadur Bakhshi Sohan Lal would come forward and organise an association for the express purpose of obtaining relief for the heirs of the unfortunate victims of these accidents.

Yours, &c.,

B. PARDUMAN SINGH."

The railway collision near Ludhiana.

33. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 6th January 1908, publishes a translation of the official communique on the subject of the disaster, and alleges that the public believe that the number of casualties mentioned in the document does not represent even one-tenth of the actual number of cases of death and injury. The fact that the communique contains the names only of Government servants killed or injured and of certain Europeans and natives is likely to confirm the people in their belief that official reports never disclose the truth.

34. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 4th January 1908, writing on the same subject, say that it is rumoured that the list of casualities published by Government is fictitious and that the correct number of the killed and wounded comes to about 250. The paper adds that the year 1907 was very inauspicious for the people of India. Several railway collisions entailing considerable loss of life occurred during the past twelve months. The public have now cause to believe that the number of casualties in such catastrophies is always understated by the Railway Board.

The railway collision near Ludhiana.

35. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 9th January 1908:—

How to stop railway collisions.

"Sir,—Rai Bahadur Ganga Ram, C.I.E., while searching for the causes of the deplorable catastrophe at Ladhowal, has been led astray, though unintentionally, to wrong the Station Masters as if their abuse was the panacea for all evils. * * *

"I think your readers will bear with me that plenty or scarcity of rolling stock has nothing to do with accidents, nor attaching of first and second class carriages in rear of trains will, in any way, minimise the possibility of such a mishap in future. I, therefore, dismiss these two points with the remark that they have no bearing on the causes of accidents. * * * * * * *

"As to the condition of Assistant Station Masters I submit that ill-paid they may be, but overworked they are not, if an eight hours' daily work cannot be considered as such.

"At the same time no amount of big fat salaries will mend matters unless fairly educated men capable of realising their heavy responsibility are taken on without any consideration of favouritism, patronage or expediency, and instead of the shadow, real, substantial authority is vested in Station Masters to control the staff under them.

"For the immediate attention of the Railway authorities I respectfully submit that the scene that was witnessed between Okara and Satghara in the beginning of nineties has been repeated at Ladhowal in all its details. The same causes which were known to have brought about that accident appear to have operated to the same end here also. I, therefore, submit that the system of entrusting the line-clears to the menials to be handed over by them to drivers of non-stopping trains at the facing points should be done away with. Line-clears should be handed over by Station Masters themselves at a point opposite their offices.

"The levers of starting signals should be removed from the facing points and located on the platform along with those of the home signals under direct control of the Station Master on duty and the rules dealing with the cancellation of line-clears should be so modified as to reduce the chances of cancelling a line-clear when once given to the lowest possible minimum.

Yours, &c.,
A STATION MASTER."

F. ISEMONGER,

*Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*
*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

LAHORE:
*The 11th January* 1908.

Punjab Government Press, Lahore—23-1-08--161—95—J. B.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 3. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB

**Received up to 18th January 1908.**

---

## CONTENTS.


I.—Politics.

Page.

(a)—*Foreign*—

1. Whites and the coloured races (*Arya Gazette*) ... 35
2. Ill-treatment of the Indians in the Transvaal (*Observer*) ... ... ... ... *ib.*
3. Ill-treatment of the Indians in the Transvaal (*Tribune*) ... ... ... ... 36
4. Ill-treatment of the Indians in the Transvaal (*Panjabee*) ... ... ... ... *ib.*
5. Ill-treatment of the Indians in the Transvaal (*Sat Dharm Parcharak*) ... ... ... 37
6. The Denshawai affair in Egypt (*Panjab Times and Frontier News*) ... ... ... ... *ib.*

(b)—*Home*—

7. Handcuffing of political prisoners (*Panjabee*) ... 38
8. Handcuffing of political prisoners (*Tribune*) ... *ib.*
9. Split in the Congress Camp (*Jhang Sial*) ... 39
10. Split in the Congress Camp (*Jhang Sial*) ... *ib.*
11. Split in the Congress Camp (*Sat Dharm Parcharak*) *ib.*
12. The fresh prosecution of the *Yugantar* for sedition (*Sanatan Dharm*) ... ... ... 40
13. The fresh prosecution of the *Yugantar* for sedition (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... ... ... *ib.*
14. The fresh prosecution of the *Yugantar* for sedition (*Hindustan*) ... ... ... ... *ib.*
15. *Justice* and *the Indian Sociologist* (*Jhang Sial*) ... *ib.*

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

*Nil.*

III.—Native States.

*Nil.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

*Nil.*

V.—Native Societies and Religious Matters.

*Nil.*

VI.—Legislation.

Page.

*Nil.*

VII.—General Administration.

(a)—*Judicial*—

16. Administration of justice in the Punjab (*Tribune*) ... 40
17. Sentence on Kishan Singh (*Aftab*) ... ... 41

(b)—*Police*—

*Nil.*

(c)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs*—

18. Complaint against the Delhi Municipality (*Aftab*) ... 42
19. A fire at Campbellpur (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... *ib.*

(d)—*Education*—

*Nil.*

(e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land*—

20. The Colonies Committee (*Zamindar*) ... ... 42
21. The Famine. A fooder circular (*Panjabee*) ... 43
22. The Colonies Committee (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... 44
23. Famines in India (*Hindustan*) ... ... *ib.*

(f)—*Railways and Communications*—

24. The railway collision near Ludhiana (*Hindustan*) ... *ib.*
25. Railway collision near Ludhiana (*Sanatan Dharm Gazette*) ... ... ... ... *ib.*
26. Railway comp laint (*Panjabee*) ... ... *ib.*
27. A complaint (*Hindustan*) ... ... ... 46

(g)—*Postal matters.*

*Nil.*

(h)—*Miscellaneous*—

28. Sir Denzil Ibbetson's retirement (*Observer*) ... *ib.*
29. Worn coins (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... ... *ib.*
30. The proposal to transfer some villages in the tahsil of Jhang to that of Shorkot (*Zamindar*) ... *ib.*
31. Help for Pindi Das' family (*Jhang Sial*) ... 47

[ Confidential. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

Received up to 18th January 1908.

### I.—POLITICS.

#### (a)—*Foreign.*

Whites and the coloured races.

1. The *Arya Gazette* (Lahore), of the 2nd January 1908, remarks that although the whites have the coloured races under their thumb they are now and then alarmed at an imaginary "black" or "yellow" peril. After remarking that one feels compelled to ascribe this conduct on their part to twinges of conscience, the paper says that they look upon themselves as the sole creation of God and inheritors of all the good things of the world, treating the coloured races like contemptible vermin. They entertain feelings of hatred for others and this leads them to apprehend danger from the latter, whence the conjuring up of the perils referred to.

Ill-treatment of Indians in the Transvaal.

2. The following is from the *Observer* (Lahore), of the 18th January 1908 :—

"The intelligence that prominent Indians, who took a leading part in the agitation against the Asiatic Registration Act, have been hurled into prison by the Transvaal Government will be received with feelings of indignation throughout India. The arbitrary way in which the rights of Indians as citizens of the British Empire are flagrantly violated by the Act has been reprobated by every section of Indian Society and the measure has been universally condemned by all communities in this country. * * One is amazed to think that while theoretically all citizens of the British Empire are granted equal rights and opportunities without any distinction, the Imperial Government does little to enforce these rights in practice. We cannot help observing that the Government of India have not satisfactorily discharged their duty in this connection. Knowing, as they must do, the real sentiments of Indians towards this degrading measure, and well aware of the fact, as they cannot but be, that the people of this country ask for the amendment of those clauses only which rank them among criminals and suspects, the Indian Government should have made vigorous representations to the Imperial Government; while it is significant that the British Secretary of State for

the Colonies is an ex-Viceroy of India, though Lord Elgin ought to have been the last person to assent to the Act. The imprisonment of the Indian leaders in the Transvaal comes at a very unfortunate moment when Extremist views in politics are being openly preached in India and when such high-handedness is likelier than not to give the agitators a handle with which to work upon the feelings of the masses with a fair chance of success. The Government of India, we learn, are now considering the matter, and we hope they will realise their responsibility not only to India, but also to the Empire as a whole. For the large Imperial interests involved in the question imperatively demand strong action on their part with the object of securing justice for Indian settlers in the Transvaal."

3. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 14th January 1908:—

Ill-treatment of Indians in the Transvaal.

"The news from Transvaal indicates the triumph of the forces of purblind racial bigotry and narrow selfishness over the forces that so long constituted the glory of *Pax Britannica*. The arrogant Afrikander has thrown his gauntlet of the most outrageous form of racial hatred fully capable of any length of depravity. Mr. Gandhi and five others have been sentenced to two months' imprisonment without hard labour, while seven Indians at Pretoria have been sentenced to three months' hard labour, for disregarding expulsion orders. Four other Indians with large business connections are also fined fifty or a hundred pounds with the alternative of a further three months in default. The telegram further says that the Court was crowded with Indians, whose conduct was most exemplary. So the Afrikander has done his worst. But is the Imperial Government merely to look on unconcernedly and submit passively to this scene of unmitigated oppression which should make every right-minded Britisher hang his face down in shame? Here are men, possessed of the highest culture and the most devoted and loyal subjects of His Majesty, being dragged to prison for the dire offence of standing by the pledges of their late Sovereign and the statutes of the Imperial Parliament, which made them British citizens long before the Transvaal came to be invaded by 'the off-scourings of the international sewers of Europe.' Here are Indians who have shed their life-blood for the prestige of the British flag, now being incarcerated to terms of imprisonment with hard labour by men who only a few years ago were the sworn enemies of England. Is this the reward for loyalty, for steadfast devotion to the British throne? Is the Imperial Government to passively acquiesce in this most wanton flouting of the solemn pledges given by our late Sovereign to her Indian subjects and the ruthless trampling under foot all the time-honoured traditions which the proud phrase 'British citizen' implies? Does not the Imperial Government realise that by its conniving at this great wrong it is putting a severe strain upon Indian loyalty? The news of the incarceration of Mr. Gandhi and others is sure to produce" the most profound indignation throughout the length and breadth of the country. It will not do to say that the Imperial Government is helpless in the matter as the rights of self governing colonies are affected. We have already seen that the Imperial Government has ample means in his power for an effective measure of retaliation and it is only the use of those measures that will bring the Afrikander down on his knees. In the meantime we are grateful to Lord Ampthill for the timely concern he has displayed in this matter. But we do not think any amount of cajoling or coquetting with the arrogant Afrikanders will solve the situation. Let the Imperial Government leave off its supplicating attitude and taking courage into both its hands, apply the needed pressure on the Transvaalers, and as sure as anything the swaggering and arrogant Afrikanders will climb down."

4. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 18th January 1908:—

Ill-treatment of Indians in the Transvaal.

"Thrilling details have been coming in during the last few days of the struggle being carried on by the brave band of Indians in the Transvaal against the inhuman

treatment receiv·d at the hands of General Botha's oligarchy misnamed a Republic. At Johannesburgh Mr. Gandhi and five others have been sentenced to two months' imprisonment; at Pretoria seven Indians have been imprisoned, four of them being fined in addition; while day after day news of fresh arrests of Asiatics are being received. The latest list includes the Chairman and Treasurer of the British Indian Association, the Chairman and Secretary of the Islamic Society, and some prominent Indian merchants and leaders of the Chinese Association. * * * . The South African Indian Association has sent a piteous appeal to India, addressed to the Government as well as others, imploring the former to intervene on behalf of its subjects in the Transvaal, who are undergoing 'galling treatment' But from the reply already given by our Government to the resolution of the All-India Conference, we have but little hope of relief from a quarter whose best instruments are forged only for terrorising weak and helpless Indians in their own country, but are impotent before a powerful Government and unable to afford any material help to its own subjects here or elsewhere. The most painful feature of the situation is that Mr. Smuts, the Transvaal Attorney-General, to whom the Indians appealed for relief, has declared against them, saying that there is no ignominy implied in thumb impressions, and that the Government is determined upon keeping the Transvaal a 'white man's country.' * * . The state of things has called forth a vigorous protest from eminent Anglo-Indians in London, and it was a remarkable meeting held at the Caxton Hall last week in which Lord Roberts, Lord Ampthill, Sir M. Bhownuggree and Sir William Wedderburn took part. One of the resolutions adcpted at the meeting disapproved of the restrictions impcsed upon the Indians and regretted that the Imperial Government should have sanctioned the legislation * * But while we have cause to congratulate ourselves on this meeting, we cannot forget that the Imperial Government, which is so ready and bold in promulgat ing repressive ukases for poor India, is as helpless before the defiance of any of its Colonies as the weak-kn·ed Administration of India itself. The ultimate relief must c·me from unity amongst the Indians themselves, both abroad and at home."

Ill-treatment of Indians in the Transvaal.

5. The *Sat Dharm Parcharak* (Jullundur), of the 10th January 1908, remarks that since Indians are subjects of His Majesty Edward VII there is no reason why they should be ill-treated in British dominions. They should be told in plain language whether or no they are citizens of the British Empire, in order that they may know once for all what to expect from their present Government. It is not only unjust but impo:itic on the part of Government to keep quiet over the oppression of Indians in the Transvaal at a time when considerable unrest prevails in this country. It is a pity that Government should, by its own acts, swell the ranks of Extremists in India.

The Denshawi affair in Egypt.

6. The following is from the *Punjab Times and Frontier News* (Rawalpindi), of the 15th January 1908:—

"Whatever view of the facts which led up to the Denshawi sentences may be taken (and no good is done by recalling them now), there is no serious dispute that they were utterly excessive on the merits of the case. They could be justified only, as Sir Edward Grey himself has practically admitted, by the state of the country at the time when they were passed. That is a humiliating confession as the best. It can never be pleasant to Englishmen—still less to Liberals—to have it proclaimed from the house-tops in this manner that their rule anywhere is upheld only by naked force. We may hope, therefore, that there is good ground for the statement that the Denshawi sentences have been, in accordance with Sir Edward Grey's undertaking, reconsidered, and that the prisoners are to be released on the anniversary of the Khe-

dive's accession. There are other signs too that matters are mending. Reuter's Cairo correspondent speaks of 'the improved feeling which has been growing lately between Europeans and Egyptians,' and anticipates, no doubt justly, that it will not be diminished by clemency and justice. We can only hope that this action may mark the beginning of a new epoch in our rule in Egypt, in which such tragedies as that of Denshawi may be not merely impossible but inconceivable."

(*b*)—*Home.*

7. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 15th January 1908 :—

Handcuffing of political prisoners.

"Mr. Morley is, perhaps, having his eyes opened little by little. It is announced in the *Englishman* that 'as the result of the agitation in the Indian Press against the handcuffing of two editors while under trial at Lahore, the Secretary of State has issued orders prohibiting the practice in similar cases unless there is a probability of the prisoner being violent or his being released from Police custody.' Mr. Morley is to be congratulated on his returning good sense, though there appears to be still some confusion in his mind when he speaks of political prisoners 'being violent or being released from police custody' in India. It may be that the risk of such chances was adduced before him as justification for the treatment of the Lahore prisoners, but it is time the Secretary of State knew that the political prisoners apprehended and tried up till now in India, far from being men disposed to violence themselves or having friends or associates who might be expected to use violence on their behalf, have been some of the mildest and most inoffensive of men, not to speak of the high culture and respectable position in society of some of them. They were neither cut-throats nor incendiaries who have been in the last few months imprisoned, refused bail, handcuffed and subjected to all sorts of indignities. It is to be hoped that Mr. Morley will be led to make enquiries in this regard, and on discovering the very mild nature of the politics of India and the class of Indians who indulge in it, he will be led to overhaul the entire system of treatment of prisoners charged with political offences; so that the horrors of the Rawalpindi and Lahore trials may not recur again to disgrace the records of our Courts. Months in the lock-up, handcuffing and severe terms of imprisonment are not the proper treatment for this class of men, some of whom bear the highest character and enjoy general esteem in their community."

8. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 15th January 1908 :—

Handcuffing of political prisoners.

"The treatment that was accorded to editors charged with 124A and 153A in the Punjab while under trial was most uncalled for and quite unworthy of a civilised Government. It is satisfactory to find that the matter has at last attracted the attention of the Secretary of State for India, thanks to the agitation in the Indian Press, and that Mr. Morley has issued orders prohibiting the practice in similar cases unless there is a probability of the prisoner being violent or his being rescued from Police custody. We are glad of it because it is an instance of Mr. Morley's response to agitation in the press. But handcuffing is a small part of the indignity to which the editors charged under the seditious sections have to undergo. The demands of justice and equity require that offences of this description should be differentiated from the offences committed by ordinary felons and that the offenders should be treated on a different footing from ordinary criminals. We believe that in England and other civilised countries, editors charged with offences of this description are treated as first class misdemeanants and there is no reason why the Secretary of State should not issue similar orders in the case of Indian editors. Opinions are still divided even among the highest official circles as to the utility of press prosecutions, and under these circumstances it is very much to be desired that Mr. Morley should extend the English principle of treating editors as first class misdemeanants in India also. But will Mr. Morley rise to the occasion?"

9. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 4th January 1908, writing about the split in the Congress Camp, remarks that there is no reason to feel disappointed at the occurrence. Such events are inevitable in India in her present period of transition and betoken an awakening of the country. Besides, the split has made it thoroughly clear that the people have decided to assert themselves and discontinue following their self-constituted and tuft-hunting leaders (the Moderates). They have thrown in their lots with the Extremists and are anxious to save the country from being ruined. The paper then goes on to say that natives are now fully awake and wish to tread the straight path which leads to true liberty. The way is difficult, but they are determined to manfully face all difficulties.

Split in the Congress Camp.

10. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 11th January 1908, also publishes similar remarks and adds that those who have openly acknowledged themselves to be Nationalists must be considered to be desperate and ever ready to sacrifice their property and their lives for the welfare of their dear country. It requires great courage and is tantamount to courting death to acknowledge oneself an Extremist in these days, when not only the Moderates, but also the authorities from the Secretary of State downwards, are bent on exterminating those who favour extremisim. The split in the Congress Camp is a good omen for the country, inasmuch as it will have the effect of opening the eyes of the British public and bringing home to them the truth that the Indian authorities are pursuing a wrong policy and have thereby caused the formation of the Extreme Party in the country, and that if they persist the entire population will assuredly become Nationalists. The Moderates, who only hunt after places and titles, have lost all influence with the people, and the latter are not prepared to accept the advice of Dr. Ghosh, to continue following a mendicant policy. This policy has led to the country losing the little liberty it formerly enjoyed. It has already been decided to establish a Council of Notables, which will consist of persons who will merely echo the sentiments of the authorities and help to deprive the people of their existing rights. The paper then goes on to say that since the English are a brave people they will not listen to mendicants, but only to those who are possessed of bravery. As long as natives do not show themselves to be a brave people they must not expect a hearing from England. The recent occurrences at Surat are likely to alarm Britons and turn their homes into houses of mourning for some time to come. They betoken an awakening in India, and will make the present rulers of the country realise the stern fact that natives are thoroughly in earnest in demanding their rights and will take no denial. The article concludes with an endeavour to lay the blame for the wrecking of the Congress on the Moderate leaders.

Split in the Congress Camp.

11. The *Sat Dharm Parcharak* (Jullundur), of the 10th January 1908, lays the entire blame for the occurrences at Surat, which, it says, have covered educated natives with shame, at the door of Mr. Tilak. It also finds fault with the Extremists for teaching young students to disgrace the leaders of the people. Those students who cried shame on Dr. Rash Behari Ghose at more than one railway station on that gentleman's way back from Surat

Split in the Congress Camp.

should be adequately punished by their parents, who should also prevent their sons from imbibing the poison of the "new spirit." Persons connected with the teaching of youth should also look to this.

The fresh prosecution of the *Yugantar* for sedition.

12. The *Sanatan Dharm Gazette* (Lahore), of the 8th January 1908, says that the conviction of the accused in the *India* sedition case has had the effect of inducing the Punjabi newspapers to moderate their tone. Their Bengali contemporaries have, however, shown more grit. The troubles which have come thick and fast on some Bengali journalists have failed to frighten their *confreres* into changing the policy of their papers. Two Editors of the *Yugantar* have been sent to jail within six months, but that brave paper continues to stick to its guns and has now been prosecuted a third time for publishing a seditious article in its issue of the 14th December last.

The fresh prosecution of the *Yugantar* for sedition.

13. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 4th January 1908, remarks that although the authorities and the Police have done their utmost to put an end to the existence of the *Yugantar*, that paper is in such strong hands that it continues to be published and to be conducted on the same lines as before. Even the *Pioneer* has had to admit this, and recently quoted extracts from the columns of the *Yugantar* in support of the admission. The Editor concludes by reprinting the same extracts.

The fresh prosecution of the *Yugantar* for sedition.

14. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 10th January 1908, publishes similar remarks and quotes an extract from the article for publishing which the *Yugantar* has been prosecuted for sedition a third time. It also reprints the substance of the statement made by the Printer of the prosecuted journal on the 6th instant, and observes that it is wrong to say that the man has shown the white feather. Cowards can have nothing to do with the *Yugantar*.

*Justice* and the *Indian Sociologist*.

15. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 11th January 1908, says that *Justice*, which is edited by an Englishman, has again been allowed to circulate in India, but that the *Indian Sociologist*, the Editor of which is a native of this country, continues under a ban. Such invidious distinctions are calculated to destroy British prestige in India.

## VII.—General Administration.

### (*a*)—*Judicial*.

Administration of justice in the Punjab.

16. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 16th January 1908:—

"The reports on the civil and criminal administration of justice have recently been published. The Judges of the Chief Court in submitting their report to the Local Government have disclosed facts which reflect seriously on the administration of justice in the Punjab. The training of Assistant Commissioners has occupied the minds of the Judges for some years past and their endeavours to impart to young officers a sound training in law cannot too highly be commended, but on account of circumstances over which the Judges have no control their endeavours have not borne good results. The Judges remark:—"That they are constantly impressing on District Judges the desirability of giving Assistant Commissioners a fair proportion of civil work during the first

two years of their service. A familiarity with leading rules of procedure and evidence gained at the outset of his service cannot fail to be of great assistance to a young officer when he is called upon to decide more important cases. One reason why so many Assistant Commissioners take little interest in civil work is that owing to the exigencies of the service they have frequently to be transferred from the district in which they have decided a case before the result of appeal from their decision can be communicated to them. It must obviously be unsatisfactory to go on deciding cases without knowing what happens to them on appeal. Appellate Courts should, therefore, invariably see that a copy of their order is sent to the officer whose judgment has been appealed against even when he has been transferred from the district. *It is only in this way that mistakes in law and procedure can be corrected.*" From the above lengthy quotation, but none the less remarkable, it is obvious that the mode of training is not a very satisfactory one. It is only by decisions in cases appealed that the young officer is to receive instruction in law. The inconvenience and annoyance caused by wrong, hasty and arbitrary judgment and expense of the unfortunate parties whose cases have been committed to the inexperienced Judge seem to form no part of the mode of dealing with the instruction of young judicial officers. The demand for justice is growing more and more serious in India, and instruction imparted in the crude way as suggested in the report cannot fail to bring justice into contempt. The time has arrived when the executive and judicial functions must be separated. By the spread of education and feelings of nationalism a much higher standard of justice is required than a haphazard primitive form as is now administered. The growing discontent and feelings of unrest and alarm are chiefly to be traced to constant delays and failures of justice in the subordinate law courts. It scarcely needs exposure that law can be administered by lawyers only and not by young inexperienced men. * * *. The unwillingness of the Government of India to recruit its Judges and Magistrates from the practising lawyers has attracted little public attention. For some reason or other lawyers have been in bad odour with Government officials, but they cannot much longer be neglected. Recent events must have impressed the fact on the Government that lawyers occupy a very important position in the administration of the country and to wholly exclude them from taking any part from the most important functions of Government, namely, the administration of justice, can only be characterised as blind prejudice, fraught with danger. Notwithstanding the dislike of the Government officials the lawyers hold a very prominent position in nearly every large town and the people invariably look to them for guidance and support. It is more than evident that it is in their power to lead or mislead the people. It is now left to the Government to decide which part they desire them to play."

Sentence on Kishan Singh.

17. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 29th December 1907 (received on the 10th January 1908), remarks that no sensible Indian can refrain from characterising as oppressive the sentence of two years' imprisonment passed on Kishan Singh, an accused in the Lahore riot case. Not a few Anglo-Indians guilty of murdering natives or violating the chastity of native women have escaped scot-free. It is such occurrences which are at the bottom of the unrest prevalent in the country and help to create estrangement between the rulers and the ruled. Did not the devilish Moore, who outraged a young girl, deserve to be hanged, and ought Sterling to have been let off with only six months' imprisonment? The paper then goes on to say that Kishan Singh has been guilty of no offence, and that if he did commit one it was solely to promote the welfare of his fellow-countrymen. It was, therefore, anything but wise and just to pass such a severe sentence on him for his trivial offence, especially when Government has changed its policy, and even a ferocious officer like Sir Denzil Ibbetson has come to favour leniency and reconciliation. The *Aftab* concludes by expressing a hope that the Chief Court will reverse the sentence passed on the accused.

*(c)—Municipal and Cantonment affairs.*

Complaint against the Delhi Municipality.

18. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 29th December 1907 (received on the 10th January 1908), after referring to the enhancement at Delhi of the tax on wooden platforms in front of shops, says that high-handedness on the part of the Municipality, let alone Government, has hit the residents of the city very hard. They were assured by the local authorities and Municipal Commissioners on the occasion of the recent unrest that the tax would never be enhanced, but its recent enhancement has shaken their faith in the latter. After remarking that this is tantamount to asking them to resort to agitation, the paper complains of the manner in which house tax has been assessed at Delhi by the officer told off for the purpose. Objections filed, it alleges, are not heard and considerable uneasiness prevails among the people of the town.

A fire at Campbellpur.

19. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 11th January 1908, says that a correspondent reports that at about 11 P.M. on the 30th ultimo a fire broke out in the cantonment bazaar at Campbellpur and burnt down between 30 and 35 shops. The European soldiers who were sent to extinguish the fire conducted themselves in an extremely reprehensible manner. The gunners (*lit.* European soldiers and batteries) looted the shops and carried away more property than was lost in the fire. Even those shops to which the fire did not extend were broken into and despoiled. The Cantonment Magistrate (*Sahib Bahadur Chhawani*), who was present on the spot, asked the soldiers to desist from looting, but in vain. They openly raised shouts of "Loot! loot! and that to your heart's content!" every one going near them being also told to resort to looting. They also grossly insulted and stripped of their ornaments the women whom the fire had compelled to seek refuge in the bazaar.

Commenting on the above, the Editor says that the foregoing allegations remind one of the days of Nadir Shah. The correspondent further reports that the soldiers dishonoured women by force. Finding that they persisted in misbehaving themselves the Cantonment Magistrate is alleged to have remarked, "Let them loot; where, after all, will they carry away (the booty) to?" After enquiring why he did not arrest the men forthwith, the paper says that apparently the whole thing was done with his consent and that he remonstrated with the culprits in order only to keep up appearances and reassure the people. If he had seriously tried to stop the looting, he would assuredly have succeeded in doing so. It is the bounden duty of the higher authorities to enquire into the allegations and take due notice of the conduct of the soldiers. If nothing is done in the matter it will be no offence to say that India is now ruled by Nadir Shah. It is occurrences of this sort which set the ruled against the rulers.

*(e)—Agriculture and questions affecting the land.*

The Colonies Committee.

20. The *Zamindar* (Karmabad), of the 8th January 1908, publishes a communication from one Rupa Singh, a lambardar, who writes about the appointment of the Colonies Committee, and recapitulates the usual griev-

ances of the colonists. He suggests that "intermediate water-cuts (*darmiani khal*)" should be filled up, as they unnecessarily interfere in the work of cultivation. He adds that at the time of the distribution of land on the Jhang Branch lambardars were not required to keep mares for breeding purposes. Now, however, they have been asked to do so. The sons of permanent lambardars are not given the same status as their fathers on the death of the latter. Lambardars on the Jhang Branch should also be granted half a square of land each in consideration of the responsible and onerous character of their duties. The correspondent further suggests the advisability of conferring proprietary rights on colonists in respect of all trees planted by them, as also that *kamins* and the relations of grantees should be exempted from the payment of *tah-zamini*. After remarking that the duties of Canal and Revenue Patwaris should be combined in one and the same person, he says that as the Gojra *rajbaha* cannot irrigate chaks Nos. 369, 368 and 363, some other arrangements should be made for irrigating the same, or that the colonists in these places should be granted other land in exchange for their present holdings.

The famine. A fodder circular.

21. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 15th January 1908 :—

"The Government is faced with such a situation that it has to push its measures of relief, and a scheme for the cheap supply of fodder for cattle is announced. Dealers in fodder will have the benefit of Government help in the matter of Railway freight, and a Press Memo. over the signature of Mr. D. J. Boyd, Under-Secretary, Revenue Department, Government of Punjab, hopes that this concession will stimulate private trade in fodder so that all available supplies may be fully utilised and as much loss of cattle life prevented as possible.

* * * * * * * *

This is undoubtedly a move in the right direction. But the Government will not have done its duty in the matter of preventing distress from these frequently recurring scarcities until it devises means for regulating the export of food-grains and other necessaries of life from the country. It is the duty of a paternal Government, such as ours claims to be, to see that the food supplies of the country are not subject to the fluctuations of trade speculations and can always be depended upon to meet the country's normal demand. In olden times Rajas took upon themselves the duty of storing grain to meet emergencies caused by failure of rains, while private storage by agriculturists as well as householders was also a traditional custom. And thus in the worst of years a reserve supply was available. Now-a-days, however, the Government has left the vital matter of food supply to the mercy of free trade, not within this country alone, but all over the world. And the result is that while wheat is exported from India to cheapen prices in England, prices in India itself keep up an average high figure and sometimes, as in the present year, rise to famine rates. It is the Government's duty, therefore, to regulate this export trade by collecting reliable statistics as to the production and consumption in the different Provinces, the quantities that ought to be reserved for storage purposes in the different areas, and the surplus (if any) that may be allowed to be exported after meeting the needs both of normal consumption and storage. It is the Government which should buy up surplus grain from the farmers instead of allowing it to get into the hands of exporters. In this way both the farmers and the people at large would benefit. Any loss that the Government may have to incur in such transactions, for supplying cheap grain to the people in bad years, may be met from such institutions as the Famine Insurance Fund and the Famine Trust.

* * * * * * * *

'A shrewd correspondent suggests that the Government may in another way help both itself and the people in this matter of export. It should levy an excise duty of 5 per cent. on all exports of food-grains and thus make good the loss with which it is threatened by the decline of its opium trade with China, which is one of the contingencies of the near future."

The Colonies Committee.

22. The *Faisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 8th January 1908, publishes a copy of the petition submitted to the Colonies Committee by the zamindars of the Kachhi ilaqa, Jhang district, praying for a reduction of the land revenue assessed from them. The document enumerates the difficulties of the petitioners and the Editor expresses a hope that the Local Government will grant their prayer.

Famines in India.

23. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 10th January 1908, quotes figures to show that an immense quantity of wheat has been exported from the Punjab and the United Provinces alone during 1907, in spite of the destruction of both the *rabi* and *kharif* crops in that year. It would be a matter of surprise if famine did not rage in the country under the prevailing conditions. After remarking that natives have to starve in order to feed foreigners, the paper says:—

"O, India! recover thy senses. It is not wise for thee to deprive thy children of food in order to fill the stomach of the starving in Europe and America."

## (*f*)—*Railways and Communications.*

The railway collision near Ludhiana.

24. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 10th January 1908, questions the correctness of the figures given in the official report of the railway collision at Ludhiana and says that the Anglo-Indian Daily of Delhi (the *Morning Post*) estimates the number of deaths at hundreds. The Editor also has received an anonymous letter from an eye-witness, who fixes the number at a much larger figure than twenty. He suggests that the relatives of those who have been killed in the collision should communicate to him the names of the dead. These communications will be published in *Hindustan* and reveal the correct number of deaths.

Railway collision near Ludhiana.

25. The *Sanatan Dharm Gazette* (Lahore), of the 8th January 1908, writing on the same subject says that 400 of the passengers were killed and a still larger number of them received different injuries. It is disgraceful that the official report should put the number of the killed and wounded at only 20 and 13 respectively. After condemning the authorities of the North-Western Railway for the catastrophe, the paper observes that the repeated occurrence of collisions on the line is due to the inefficiency of the staff employed, most of the members of which enter the railway service through back-door influences

26. The following is from the *Punjabee* (Lahore), of the 18th January 1908 :—

Railway complaint.

"As Rai Bahadur Ganga Ram, C.I.E., rightly drew attention to in his letter to the Press on the Ladhowal collision, the ill-paid and hard-worked lower staff is not the only miserable feature in the management of our railways, whose officers travel like princes in saloon carriages, hobnob with Viceroys and Governors, and are counted among the notabilities of the land, and the insolence of whose upper subordinate staff is proverbial. The chronic shortness of the primary requisites for facilitating traffic, namely, carriages and wagons, is another sign of the melancholy meanness of the Railway Administrations, which take people's money without giving them adequate convenience and sometimes causing them direct loss in person as well as property. The complaint of traders about the difficulty of wagons is a perennial one, and the losses which both consignors and consignees are sometimes put to on this account are incalculable, making them sometimes sigh for the days of the bullock cart; but the authorities are never tired of speaking of the impetus and facilities given to trade by railways. The Canal Colonies are a boast of the Administration by reason of the trade in grain and other agricultural produce they have created; but the grain and cotton merchants of Lyallpur, Sangla, and other places are always crying that they don't get wagons to clear their goods, their appeals to the Manager being invariably met by the reply that the matter is receiving 'his best attention,' but that he can't help as the 'demand for wagons is in excess of the supply.' This is exactly what the Grain Market Traders' Association of Lyallpur were told the other day in response to a piteous appeal from them that 37,000 of their bags were lying in the station, while there were 80,000 more in the market; but there was absolutely no arrangement of wagons to clear all this traffic The telegram goes on to say that 'the Railway admits goods only 2 days in the month, but that even is not cleared in months. Thousands of bags lying since 20th December. Immediate arrangements solicited, specially in days of famine and fodder scarcity, to save human and cattle lives, as well as loss to traders.' Now, the Government has just congratulated itself, and has been congratulated by the public, on the issue of a fodder circular cheapening the railway rates for fodder for the benefit of famine-stricken tracts But what is the good of this circular if for want of wagons the fodder cannot reach destination until the famine is over, and perhaps another one has begun?

* * * * * *

"But short supply of wagons does not appear to be the only grievance of the traders. When wagons come after all, little heed seems to be paid to priority of claim of different applicants, and whims of District Traffic Superintendents, or perhaps stronger influences, would appear to play no insignificant part in allotting preference. After the piteous appeal of the grain traders to the Manager, and the latter's reply referred to above, the circumstances calling for the following further telegram from the Lyallpur men to the Manager cannot but be regarded as significant:—'Your No. 92 M,, dated 9th January, shows Railway authority will pay attention to our grievances. Contrary to this the District Traffic Superintendent, Multan, *as usual*, ordered Station Master to load only for Karachi. It does not seem justice *to give preference to goods for foreign countries*, causing damages and loss to traders dealing for India. If the Railway justifies doing such horrible partiality then there seems no need keeping register of priority. It is the system that immediately after Karachi is cleared the gate is opened, and, similarly, *'Karachi will have preference, leaving behind goods lying before.'* The italics in the above are ours. * * * Are we to understand from the state of things implied by the above telegram that the Railway is more concerned *in helping exporters* (probably of food-grains and other agricultural produce) than in meeting the crying and dire needs of the people of the country? Here on the one side the Government issues a circular offering to facilitate the supply of fodder to famine-stricken areas, and everybody knows what need there is of prompt supply of fodder as well as of food-grains to these regions. But while fodder as well as grain meant for internal supply in the country are rotting in the station and the market, finding no means to reach destination, the Railway is busy in facilitating

the export of food stuffs to foreign lands. In view of the present circumstances of the country, caught tight in the grip of famine, such partiality to export trade at the cost of internal distribution of grain in the country is not simply *horrible*, but positively *inhuman*. And the matter wears an *outrageous* aspect when it is considered that the claims of priority of application for wagons on the part of internal traders are ignored in order to show favour to foreign exporting firms."

A complaint.

27. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 10th January 1908, remarks that the income from Indian Railways for the half-year, from April to November last, is estimated at about 30½ crores. It is shameful that in spite of their being in the enjoyment of such large incomes these railways should do nothing to improve the position of their native employees. Again, the bulk of this income is contributed by third class passengers, who consist exclusively of natives, but very little regard is paid to their comfort. The Editor concludes by observing that railways are one of the causes of the poverty of India.

### (*h*)—*Miscellaneous.*

Sir Denzil Ibbetson's retirement.

28. The following is from the *Observer* (Lahore), of the 18th January 1908:—

"The news of Sir Denzil Ibbetson's resignation has been received with the deepest regret not only in the Punjab but all over the Indian continent. The announcement of his retirement, regrettable as it would have been at all times, comes with a sudden shock at present, and the resignation creates a void in official circles in filling which perhaps no other public servant in this country can display equal energy, judgment or courage. Sir Denzil Ibbetson's retirement brings to a premature close one of the most brilliant careers in India, and the Punjab is being deprived of the control of an officer than whom none knew it more intimately. The Viceroy certainly does not exaggerate when His Excellency speaks of the loss as irreparable—all the more irreparable for the affairs of this province still requiring the guide of a strong and capable hand."

Worn coins.

29. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 11th January 1908, states that every Government treasury has orders not to return such coins as have become smooth by wear that may be paid into it. These coins are to be weighed and accepted at their face value less the amount of depreciation shown in comparison with the standard weight. This is very hard on the public, and particularly in the case of a person who receives a rupee after hard work, but is paid only 14 annas on presenting it at a treasury. The coins struck by Government are meant for circulation, and there is no reason why the public should suffer for a reduction in their weight through use. Besides, Government is paid their full value when they issue from the mint.

The proposal to transfer some villages in the tahsil of Jhang to that of Shorkot.

30. The *Zamindar* (Karmabad), of the 8th January 1908, publishes a communication in which the writer reports that it is contemplated to sever some villages in the Kachhi ilaqua from the Jhang tahsil and attach them to the tahsil of Shorkot. The villagers concerned intend to submit a representation to the Deputy Commissioner, the Commissioner and the Financial Commissioner on the subject. They wish

for the continuance of the existing arrangements, because Jhang is much nearer to their villages than Shorkot, and the proposed change is consequently likely to prove a source of great inconvenience to them.

Help for Pindi Das' family.

31. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 11th January 1908, adverting to its appeal for help to the family of Pindi Das, reports that the wife of the prisoner lives at Harpoke, Gujranwala district, with her father Lala Maya Das Kapur. His mother and two younger brothers reside at Gujranwala and have been passing their days in great distress. Sardar Lal Singh, lately a zilladar, and now a sufedposh in chak No. 100 (Partabpur), Lyallpur district, has promised to forward to the family of Pindi Das any money collected for their benefit. After remarking that the contributions will be acknowledged in the *Jhang Sial*, the Editor exhorts the public to assist the wife, mother and younger brothers of Pindi Das, especially in these days of scarcity.

F. ISEMONGER,

*Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*

*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

LAHORE :

*The 18th January* 1908.

Punjab Government Press, Lahore—31-1-08—368—95—J. B.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 4. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB

Received up to 25th January 1902.

---

## CONTENTS.


I.—Politics.

Page.

(a)—*Foreign*—

1. Indians in the Transvaal (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... 49
2. Indians in the Transvaal (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... *ib.*
3. Indians in the Transvaal (*Zamindar*) ... ... *ib.*
4. Indians in the Transvaal (*Rajput Gazette*) ... *ib.*
5. Indians in the Transvaal (*Punjab Samachar*) ... 50
6. Indians in the Transvaal (*Army News*) ... ... *ib.*
7. Indians in the Transvaal (*Parkash*) ... ... *ib.*
8. Indians in the Transvaal (*Parkash*) ... ... *ib.*
9. Indians in the Transvaal (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... *ib.*
10. Indians in the Transvaal (*Hindustan*) ... ... *ib.*
11. Indians in the Transvaal (*Vakil*) ... ... 51
12. Indians in the Transvaal (*Tribune*) ... ... *ib.*

(b)—*Home*—

13. India under British rule (*Aftab*) ... ... 52
14. India's Military expenditure (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... *ib.*
15. Complaint against a class of English visitors to India (*Wafadar*) ... ... ... 53
16. The Royal Decentralization Commission (*Victoria Paper*) ... ... ... ... *ib.*

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

17. Tribal raids into British territory (*Aftab-i-Hind*) ... 54

III.—Native States.

18. Jaipur affairs (*Sadik-ul-Akhbar*) ... ... 54

IV.—Kine-Killing.

*Nil.*

V.—Native Societies and religious matters.

19. Parasnath Hill (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 54

VI.—Legislation.

20. Proposed Press Law (*Tribune*) ... ... ... 54

VII—General Administration.

(a)—*Judicial*—

21. Magistrates and the Police (*Aftab*) ... ... 55

Page.

(b)—*Police*—

22. Handcuffing prosecuted Editors (*Punjab Samachar*) ... ... ... ... 56
23. Handcuffing prosecuted Editors (*Rajput Gazette*) ... *ib.*
24. Handcuffing prosecuted Editors (*Sadik-ul-Akhbar*) *ib.*

(c)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs*—

25. House tax at Delhi (*Aftab*) ... ... ... *ib.*

(d)—*Education*—

*Nil.*

(e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land*—

26. The famine (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... ... 57
27. The famine (*Zamindar*) ... ... ... *ib.*
28. The Colonies Committee (*Akhbar-i-Am*) ... *ib.*
29. The Colonies Committee (*Nazim-ul-Hind*) ... *ib.*

(f)—*Railways and Communications*—

*Nil.*

(g)—*Postal matters*—

*Nil.*

(h)—*Miscellaneous*—

30. Sir Denzil Ibbetson's retirement (*Tribune*) ... *ib.*
31. Sir Denzil Ibbetson's retirement (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... 58
32. Sir Denzil Ibbetson's retirement (*Vakil*) ... *ib.*
33. Sir Denzil Ibbetson's retirement (*Hakam*) ... *ib.*
34. Sir Denzil Ibbetson's retirement (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... *ib.*
35. Sir Denzil Ibbetson's retirement (*Hitkari*) ... *ib.*
36. Sir Denzil Ibbetson's retirement (*Rajput Gazette*) ... *ib.*
37. Sir Denzil Ibbetson's retirement (*Victoria Paper*) ... 59
38. Sir Denzil Ibbetson's retirement (*Municipal Gazette and Sada-i-Hind*) ... ... ... *ib.*
39. Sir Denzil Ibbetson's retirement (*Army News*) ... *ib.*
40. Sir Denzil Ibbetson's retirement (*Zamindar*) ... *ib.*
41. Sir Denzil Ibbetson's retirement (*Akhbar-i-Am*) ... *ib.*
42. Sufi Amba Persbad (*Hindustan*) ... ... 60

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 4.]

[ Confidential. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

Received up to 25th January 1908.

---

### I.—POLITICS.

#### (*a*)—*Foreign.*

Indians in the Transvaal.

1. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 13th January 1908, regrets that the piteous appeals from 30 crores of His Majesty's loyal Indian subjects should go unheeded and that Indian immigrants in the Transvaal should continue to be grossly oppressed by the Local Government. After referring to the sentences of imprisonment and fine recently passed on Mr. Gandhi and others, the paper says that these gentlemen have submitted to the punishments for the benefit of their fellow-countrymen and with the object of putting the Transvaal authorities to shame. It next publishes a brief report of the proceedings of a protest-meeting recently held in London and asks the Imperial Government to safeguard the rights and interests of Indians in the ex-Boer Republic.

Indians in the Transvaal.

2. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 14th January 1908, says that it is a matter for extreme regret that the Transvaal Government continues to oppress Indian immigrants. The latter's unanimity in opposing the registration law in a determined but peaceful manner has failed to shame it into abandoning that degrading measure. All thoughtful people not only in India, but in England and America also, condemn the conduct of the Transvaal Government and sympathise with its Indian victims.

Indians in the Transvaal.

3. The *Zamindar* (Karmabad), of the 16th January 1908, also condemns the present ill-treatment of Indians in the Transvaal.

Indians in the Transvaal.

4. The *Rajput Gazette* (Lahore), of the 16th January 1908, regrets that the people of India should be subjected to unbearable oppression in the Crown Colonies, and finds fault with the Imperial Government for its silence in the matter, although England derives her present dignity from the possession of India.

5. The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 21st January 1908, remarks that all classes of the people should combine and request Government to put an end to the ill-treatment of Indians in the Transvaal. Natives are His Majesty's loyal subjects and there is no reason why they should be oppressed in any part of the British Empire. It is to be hoped that their humane instincts will compel Lord Minto and Mr. Morley to interfere in the matter and bring the Transvaal Government to its senses. Should the authorities fail to do so, the people should appeal to the King Emperor to ensure better treatment for his native subjects in the Transvaal.

Indians in the Transvaal.

6. The *Army News* (Ludhiana), of the 18th January 1908, writes in a similar strain, and adds that the registration law is a mark of slavery and that the meanest person cannot submit to the restrictions sought to be imposed on Indians in the Transvaal.

Indians in the Transvaal.

7. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 21st January 1908, reprints the above.

Indians in the Transvaal.

8. The *Parkash* (Lahore) of the 14th January 1908, writing on the same subject, regrets that the Imperial Government should hinder the improvement of the relations between the rulers and the ruled in India. After remarking that the oppression practised on Indian immigrants in the Transvaal makes the blood of every native boil, the paper says that if the Imperial Government had so desired it could have easily averted the present trouble in the Transvaal. As it is, the mistake committed by it will be visited on the Government of India, for it will incur the hatred of the people and thus find it increasingly difficult to carry on the administration. It is, however, still possible for the Imperial Government to mend matters.

Indians in the Transvaal.

9. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 18th January 1908, says that the treatment which is being accorded to Indians in the Transvaal is calculated to put a strain on their loyalty. After deploring the apathy displayed by Government in the matter it remarks that every Government in the world affords protection to its subjects, but that neither the Imperial Government nor the Government of India cares a brass farthing for the sufferings of Indian immigrants in the Transvaal. The Indian Government merely advises the people of India to abstain from emigrating to foreign countries. Does it wish them to starve at home rather than go abroad in order to better their lot? After remarking that it is ridiculous on the part of Government to say that it cannot protect Indians living under British rule, the Editor says that occurrences like those which are taking place in the Transvaal are likely to make Indians disloyal. Indeed, should a Government expect loyalty from a people whose distress it cannot relieve and whom it cannot protect from oppression?

Indians in the Transvaal.

10. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 17th January 1908, says that Lord Minto is undoubtedly powerless to interfere with the laws in force in the Transvaal. Can he not, however, close the doors of this country against the white

inhabitants of that part of South Africa. If His Excellency were to pass a law to prohibit their entry into India they would be brought to their senses in no time. The paper next refers to Mr. Smuts' recent utterances and says that they show that the Boers bear Indian immigrants deep malice. It then publishes a report of the proceedings recently held in London to protest against the registration law of the Transvaal, and says that mere expression of sympathy can confer no good on the natives of India. In conclusion, the Editor requests the Government of India to lay the people under obligation by taking prompt steps to remedy the evil, adding that its inactivity in the matter will be certain to swell the ranks of those who wish to be independent of the British Government.

Indians in the Transvaal.

11. The *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 18th January 1908, say that Europeans are in the habit of indulging in tall talk about the equality of man. In practise, however, they display such feelings of racial bigotry that in contrast to them savage tribes appear to be angels of mercy and humanity. The paper then goes on to say that the Transvaal Government has deprived Indian immigrants of their natural rights to live in comfort and freedom. They enjoy none of the rights belonging to respectable people, and have been subjected to restrictions which are not imposed on criminals even in a half civilised country like India. After remarking that racial bigotry and commercial jealousy are at the bottom of all this, the *Vakil* says that the Transvaal Assembly has proved to be a veritable engine of oppression for Indian immigrants. All their hopes were centred round the Imperial Government, but the Royal assent to the Asiatic Registration Act has shown that the white man's racial bigotry is the determining factor in the politics of the world. They were wrong in expecting redress from the Imperial Government, and should have remembered that in the twentieth century no one supports the weak against the strong. Beside black men have no right to ask Government to oppose persons of her own nationality in a struggle between white and black. The Editor concludes by remarking that the Registration Act is an oppressive measure and that no self-respecting Indian can comply with its degrading provisions.

Indians in the Transvaal.

12. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of 19th January 1908 :—

"There have been few things in human history which possess such a sad and tragic interest as the recent petition of 116 Indian ex-soldiers to Lord Elgin. These war-scarred veterans had been in charge of transports and ambulance carts during the dark days of the Transvaal War and often they had to be in the firing line in the performance of their onerous duty. Their ranks had been thinned by the dreadful artillery of the enemy, but their loyalty and devotion to the British Crown shone out with even greater lustre under the ordeal of the Boer cannonade. The silent heroism of these men drew forth chorus of praise from the obdurate and callous heart, and their deeds stand emblazoned in the pages of Lord Roberts' despatches. But what has been the reward of all their devotion and loyalty? How are their gallant services requited by the Imperial Government? Why, the Imperial Government has tacitly and without hesitation sanctioned a measure of the Afrikander Government which relegates these brave men to the status of felons and slaves? But these men, although humble in their station of life, possess the hearts of true soldiers. They refused to submit to the

degrading demands of the obnoxious ordinance and stood by their honour and rights as British soldiers. Now they appeal to Lord Elgin that if the Imperial Government is unable to protect them from degradation, they would ask the former to have them shot on the same South African battle-fields where they had been under fire. Nothing can exceed the heart-rending agony of this appeal. It is the cry of brave souls steeped in despair, yet too proud to budge an inch from the straight path of rectitude and honour. The enemy against whom they fought and bled for England's honour are now persecuting them most inhumanly and the Imperial Government is silently acquiescing at the spectacle of outraged honour and dignity. Is not the situation sufficiently gruesome to wreathe the stoutest heart in the coils of despair? And it is thus that they appeal to the Imperial Government to give a quietus to them and their degradation by shooting them in the same fields where they won their laurels. How will the present Liberal Government respond to this anguished cry of these brave souls? Will England suffer her good name to be eternally tarnished with the degradation of her own soldiers? Or is this the offshoot of the proud boast of imperialism?"

### (*b*)—*Home.*

India under British rule.

13. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 12th January 1908, remarks that although some of the Muhammadan rulers of India used undoubtedly to oppress and plunder Hindus, still they never tried to sweep the latter off the face of the earth. Again, no Muslim King of the country disarmed Hindus, and thus it was that brave and warlike races like the Mahrattas and Sikhs arose in the country. The British Government, however, has completely disarmed natives, with the result that they are being emasculated and rendered helpless rapidly. If this state of affairs continues the time is not far distant when they will become extinct, and their present cowardice and idle habits will serve as a lesson to other peoples. The Editor then goes on to say that it is a law of nature that a nation can preserve itself only by being brave. The Greeks, and Romans, he adds, were great people at one time, but they became insignificant as soon as they ceased to be brave. After referring to the extermination of the Red Indians by the white man he says that the British Government has converted natives into a subject race and ruined their arts and industries, with the result that they have become extremely poor and are falling easy victims to famine and plague. He then exhorts his fellow-countrymen to shake off their lethargy, follow the example of Japan and Persia, and better their condition and revive their arts and industries. If they fail to bestir themselves they will remain slaves for ever and their descendants will have to sweat for, and minister to the comforts of, others.

India's Military expenditure.

14. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 13th January 1908, reproduces from the *Hindi Punch* of Bombay a cartoon which discloses Lord Kitchener standing in front of a tent with his arms folded across his chest. To the right of His Excellency is to be seen a weak specimen of humanity labelled "Indian Tax-Payers", sinking under the weight of a cannon designated. "The Military Expenditure."

The letter-press runs as follows :—

"*An unbearable burden.*

"Poor Indian rayat—Sir, this burden has become unbearable. My back is about to break. For God's sake have pity (on me) and lighten my burden a little in honour of your receiving the title of G. C. I. E.

"Commander-in-Chief—Silence, go on carrying the burden. My business does not admit of a display of feelings of pity. You have been carrying this burden till now and will have to carry a heavier burden in future. Backs do not break but carry burdens."

Complaint against a class of English visitors to India.

15. The *Wafadar* (Lahore), of the 14th January 1908, complains that Englishmen who come out to attend the meetings of the Congress are in the habit of advising natives to cease conducting themselves in a submissive manner. Do they wish the people to oppose Government and to refuse to obey its orders? After deprecating the giving of such advice to natives, the Editor calls upon Government to take prompt steps to prevent Englishmen from making mischief in the country.

The Royal Decentralisation Commission.

16. The *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), of the 16th January 1908, suggests that the Royal Decentralisation Commission should call for evidence as to whether the appointment, transfer, &c., of Cantonment Magistrates should rest with the Military authorities or the Local Governments. To the best of the Editor's knowledge the duties which the Magistrates have to perform are of three kinds, *viz.*, (1) and (2) the disposal of civil and criminal cases, and (3) the registration of deeds and the supervision of excise arrangements. All these works are supervised by officers working under the Local Governments, and it is through the former alone that the latter can derive information about the manner in which Cantonment Magistrates perform their duties or treat their subordinates and residents of cantonments. The Military authorities do not hear appeals from the judicial orders of Magistrates and have, therefore, no opportunity of forming an opinion as to how far the latter act up to law and further the ends of justice in their judgments. Information on this point can only be obtained through District Magistrates and Judges, Divisional and Sessions Judges, Judges of the High or Chief Courts, Inspectors General of Registration and Excise, and Financial Commissioners. There is consequently no reason why the appointment and transfer of Cantonment Magistrates should rest with the Military authorities. These Magistrates should, like their *confreres*, be placed under the Local Governments, which should also have the power to appoint a Civilian to the post of Cantonment Magistrate when and where they deem proper, as also to transfer a Cantonment Magistrate from one province to another. After remarking that it will prove highly beneficial to the people to place Cantonment Magistrates under the Local Government, the paper says that these Magistrates should possess the same knowledge of law and experience of judicial work as is expected of other Magistrates. They should be examined in all subjects prescribed for the Departmental Examination of Assistant Commissioners and Extra Assistant Commissioners. The Editor further suggests that the Decentralisation Commission should also call for evidence as to how long it is desirable for a Magistrate to be attached to one and the same cantonment, and whether, as in the case of Civilians, Cantonment Magistrates should not be prohibited from incurring debts in their jurisdictions.

## II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

17. The *Aftab-i-Hind* (Jullundur), of the 16th January 1908, publishes the details of the recent Waziri raid into Jalozai, Peshawar district, and says that it remains to be seen how long Government will wink at such occurrences and when it will make up its mind to punish the brigands.

Tribal raids into British territory.

## III.—Native States.

18. The *Sadik-ul-Akhbar* (Rewari), of the 10th January 1908, is gratified to learn that some students at Jaipur intend founding a '*Bande Mataram*' club in that city. The institution will preach the gospel of *Swaraj*, boycott and "India for the Indians," and the Editor wishes it success in its efforts. He would, however, ask the organisers of the proposed club to try to improve the administration of Jaipur first.

Jaipur affairs.

## V.—Native Societies and religious matters.

19. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 18th January 1908, says that Government has not refrained from wounding the feelings of the Jains, who will not hurt even a worm. After referring to the Bengal Government's decision to allow Europeans to build bungalows on the Parasnath Hill, as also to the unavailing efforts on the part of the Jains to have the decision re-considered, the paper says that the latter have begun to resort to boycott by way of retaliation. Some notices recently issued by them afford an idea of their spirit of independence and of the feelings of indignation which the above decision has roused among them. In conclusion, the Editor observes that although Government is busy in injuring the feelings of some native communities, still it expects them to remain loyal to it.

Parasnath Hill.

## VI.—Legislation.

20. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of January 24th, 1908 :—

Proposed Press Law.

"It was hoped that the new year would witness at last a clarifying of the atmosphere and disperse the remnant of the dark clouds that place themselves like a pall between the rulers and the ruled. The expectation was general that the new year would be marked by the inauguration of the long-promised, but still deferred, instalments of progressive reforms. We have yet to see how the latter part of our expectation is realised, but the former part of our fond hopes is evidently not to be. The atmosphere has not cleared up. On the contrary, it seems that the pent-up clouds are bursting at last. The latest measure of the Government is directed against the Press and is said to be on the *tapis*. The following telegram from our Calcutta correspondent shows that the threatened measure is coming at last:—'The Government of India,' says the telegram, 'is engaged in seriously considering the sedition law with a view to amend it in such a way as to secure the conviction of the real writers. The various points are, it is said, under the consideration by the Law Officers of the Crown and there is a suggestion that the Editors should be obliged to sign a declaration before a Magistrate and at the same time to find a substantial security, the object being to prevent puppets being put forward while the real man keeps in the background. It is also suggested that any amendment of the law

that may be considered should embody a provision expressly empowering the Police to attach and confiscate as before presses from which seditious matter are circulated. It is urged on behalf of the authorities that without such powers all attempts to deal effectively with the seditious writings and publications must continue to prove futile.' The *raison d'etre* of the proposed measure is to be sought in the failure of the Government to track the real authors of the writings in the *Yugantar*, which has been thrice convicted of sedition and the observations of Mr. Kingsford that some modification in the existing law is necessary in order to 'placate,' as the Americans say, the persons behind the back. That there has been a good deal of irresponsible and scurrilous writing in some of the new-fangled vernacular prints professing extremist faith no one having any knowledge of the ways of the vernacular press in some parts of the country would for a moment deny, but the question is whether the remedy proposed is not worse than is the disease. In the first place, there is always some thing very undignified in the nervous concern displayed by the Government at the buzzing of a journalistic mosquito. As Mr. Fraser Blair of the *Empire* once remarked, the spectacle is as uninspiring at the sight of a huge elephant thrown off its balance by the barking of a small terrier dog. The best course for the Government in such matters would be to take up a dignified attitude of *laissez faire* and not to take any notice of the croakings of these obscure prints. But even assuming for the sake of argument that the Government cannot any longer overlook the dissemination of objectionable matter by these newspapers, we fail to see how the proposed measure will be able to cope with the evil complained of. What is there to prevent the managing body of such newspapers from palming off a bogus editor, who will fill in the required declaration before a Magistrate, and to find also the requisite security? Indeed, the proposed measure, of which we have got only the outlines, has so many loopholes that evasion should not be at all difficult for those so minded. We may therefore well ask: What is the use of foisting upon the Press a measure which is so obviously defective as to make it quite possible for the real culprits to elude its grasp? As to the proposed provision for the confiscation of the Press which prints the seditious leaflets or sheets, we must protest against it as being fraught with grave danger. It is always a moot question of law, as well as fact, whether a certain piece of writing comes within the purview of the sedition section or not, and certainly the proprietors are not credited with the legal acumen necessary to discriminate between what is seditious and what is not seditious. It may be of course argued that the Printer also lacks the necessary legal acumen, but yet under the existing law he is responsible. But the Printer is only technically responsible and there is a vast deal of difference between a mere technical responsibility and a liability to forfeiture of the Press. Indeed, we cannot help characterising the proposed provision for the confiscation of the Press as drastic, unjust and unwarranted."

## VII.—General Administration.

### (*a*)—*Judicial.*

Magistrates and the Police.

21. Referring to the Bengal Government's order to the Magistracy calling upon the latter to refrain from passing strictures on the Police in their judgments, the *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 12th January 1908, remarks that Government seems desirous of allowing the Police to oppress the people with impunity. If these orders are not withdrawn, the Police will be encouraged to ruin the people in broad day light, as they have already been doing in East Bengal. After alleging that the Police recently looted shops at Calcutta and then threw the blame on National Volunteers, the Editor says that if Magistrates do not expose the wrong doings of the Police how can they be considered just.

(*b*)—*Police.*

Handcuffing prosecuted Editors.

22. The *Panjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 18th January 1908, expresses satisfaction at Mr. Morley's orders that Editors charged with political offences should not be handcuffed in future. After condemning the treatment accorded to the journalists prosecuted for sedition during the recent unrest, the paper says that the exception specified in the orders is likely to be used by the Police to continue to have things their own way.

Handcuffing prosecuted Editors.

23. The *Rajput Gazette* (Lahore), of the 16th January 1908, writing on the same subject, says that the Editors of newspapers should feel thankful to Mr. Morley for the orders.

Handcuffing prosecuted Editors.

24. The *Sa ik-ul-Akhbar* (Rewari), of the 17th January 1908, also thanks the Secretary of State for the concession. It then goes on to say that for some time past Government has been paying particular attention to the Press. Even vernacular newspapers, which were formerly considered worthless Prints, are now examined with care in the Criminal Investigation Department. Should an Editor happen to indulge in plain speaking he is forthwith sent for by the Commissioner, Deputy Commissioner or Collector and warned to eschew truth on pain of being dismissed. If he is a coward and his sole object in resorting to plain speaking is to push on the circulation of his paper, he begins to play the part of a loyalist within a week. In case, however, he possesses a brave heart, sticks to truth even at the risk of life, and continues to criticise the authorities, he is sent to jail for one or two years or six months. As an instance in point, the paper refers to the prosecution of the Proprietor and the Editor of the *Panjabee*, and says that it can cite scores of similar cases.

(*c*—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs.*

House tax at Delhi.

25. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 12th January 1908, after condemning the municipal administration of Delhi, protests against the recent enhancement of the house tax in the city. It next complains that the objections filed are not considered, and accuses the official employed to assess the tax of having lined his pockets with gold. The tax, it adds, has been enhanced at a time when considerable scarcity prevails at Delhi in particular. The local Police Officers are having things their own way. They send for three or four respectable residents from every muhalla and warn them on pain of imprisonment to do nothing against the municipality, to pay the tax without demur, and avoid Haider Raza. This means that every new tax imposed by the Municipal Committee will be realised with the aid of guns and cannons. The Editor is of opinion that a soldier with a drawn sword and a loaded gun should be posted in front of every house, to remind the people at all times that the British Government conquered the country with the sword, and to tell them that they should say nothing against it and pay the tax quietly. What is the meaning of the boast, he asks, that every British subject is free to

protest against any law? To him India appears to be under the rule of Chenghiz Khan. He then tells the people that the only way in which the tax on wooden platforms in front of shops can be repealed is to do away with the platforms, which is no legal offence. They should also unite and refuse to pay the enhanced house-tax. The local meat-sellers went on strike some time back and it was decided forthwith that they should continue carrying on their business without licenses. The bazaar chaudhris should meet and decide to ask the shop-keepers to remove the wooden platforms referred to. The *panches* of muhallas should also put their heads together and resolve not to pay house tax at the enhanced rates. This will be certain to being the Municipal Committee to its senses, while inactivity on the part of the local public will lead to new taxes being imposed on them in the future. It does not matter if one or two of them are involved in trouble. The agitation will open the eyes of the residents, enable them to distinguish between good and evil, and protect many a destitute person against oppression.

### (*e*)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land.*

The famine.

26. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 11th January 1908, says that in good seasons the Punjab grows as much as one-third of the wheat raised in the whole country. After remarking that the prevailing drought has resulted in a decrease of 42 per cent. in the area which was estimated to be sown with wheat, the paper says that there is nothing to be surprised at in a famine having broken out in the country. Government should see that at every harvest time a specified quantity of grain is stocked against times of scarcity. The export of grain from the country should not exceed a fixed limit.

The famine.

27. The *Zamindar* (Karmabad), of the 16th January 1908, regrets that Government should not prohibit the export of grain from India in spite of the prevalence of a very severe famine in the country.

The Colonies Committee.

28. The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 15th January 1908, remarks that the manner in which the Colonies Commitee conducted its enquiries at Lyallpur has greatly disappointed settlers on the Chenab Canal. A large number of colonists went to Lyallpur to lay their case before the Committee, but could not succeed in obtaining a hearing. This has led them to think that Government does not wish to know their real grievances. The prevalence of such an impression among them can lead to no good results, and it is to be hoped that the mistake made at Lyallpur will be avoided at other places.

The Colonies Committee.

29. The *Nazim-ul-Hind* (Lahore), of the 18th January 1908, reprints the above.

### (*h*)—*Miscellaneous.*

Sir Denzil Ibbetson's retirement.

30. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 23rd January 1908:—

"Sir Denzil Ibbetson gave over charge to-day, Wednesday, of his high office to Sir T. Gordon Walker. During the last couple of months Sir Denzil had given indications

that a kindly and sympathetic policy towards all classes of people in the Punjab was to be pursued by the Government. In so far it is a matter of regret that we should be deprived at this moment of the ruler of a province from whom much was expected, and whose strong personality ensured us that we would not be disappointed. But our regret is all the more profound in view of the sad circumstances which have led to Sir Denzil Ibbetson's retirement. We cannot allow him to leave Lahore without expressing our deep sympathy with him and his family, and we trust if Providence so wills it he will in his own home, relieved from all official cares, be able to regain that health the loss of which has so unfortunately brought about his retirement."

Sir Denzil Ibbetson's retirement.

31. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 15th January 1908, writing about the resignation of Sir Denzil Ibbetson, says that extreme surprise is being expressed at the event in the province. The majority of Punjabis deplore the cause which has led Sir Denzil to resign his post and have nothing but sympathy for His Honour. Some sensation-mongers, however, seem inclined to connect His Honour's retirement with the deplorable incidents of the first half of last year. These worthies should remember that both Mr. Morley and Lord Minto have always expressed their faith in Sir Denzil's soundness of judgment and that there has never been any disagreement between His Honour's Government and the Indian or the Imperial Government. Their surmises, are therefore, no better than the ravings of a mad man.

Sir Denzil Ibbetson's retirement.

32. The *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 22nd January 1908, writes to a similar effect.

Sir Denzil Ibbetson's retirement.

33. The *Hakam* (Kadian), of the 18th January 1908, publishes similar remarks, and says that Sir Denzil Ibbetson's premature retirement is no source of joy to the Punjabis.

Sir Denzil Ibbetson's retirement.

34. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 18th January 1908, writing on the same subject, says that it is nothing short of a calamity to the Punjab to be deprived of the services of an able, energetic and experienced officer like Sir Denzil Ibbetson at a time when it was in sore need of the same in order to ensure its progress. His Honour's premature retirement is also an irreparable loss to the local administration, seeing that he knew all about the Punjab and had learnt, by bitter experience, to read the mind of Punjabis aright.

Sir Denzil Ibbetson's retirement.

35. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 18th January 1908, says that although the Punjabis had serious complaints against Sir Denzil Ibbetson they regret his premature retirement and sympathise with him in his illness. While his tenure of the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjab was no pleasant period for the people committed to his charge, his own days also were undoubtedly passed in anxiety.

Sir Denzil Ibbetson's retirement.

36. The *Rajput Gazette* (Lahore), of the 16th January 1908, regrets that Sir Denzil Ibbetson's illness has deprived the Punjab of the services of an officer of His Honour's ability. The future will reveal the true cause of his resignation of the Lieutenant-Governorship of this province.

37. The *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), of the 16th January 1908, expresses regret at the resignation of Sir Denzil Ibbetson. The Punjabis had great hopes from His Honour, seeing that he was thoroughly acquainted with their requirements. After remarking that he is to be succeeded by Sir Louis Dane, the paper says that the latter also possesses a thorough knowledge of the Punjab and its people.

Sir Denzil Ibbetson's retirement.

38. The *Municipal Gazette and Sada-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 19th January 1908, says that Sir Denzil's resignation has caused feelings of deep regret throughout the Punjab.

Sir Denzil Ibbetson's retirement.

39. The *Army News* (Ludhiana), of the 18th January 1908, makes similar remarks, and says that although Sir Denzil Ibbetson was wrong in recommending the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai, he lost no time in making amends for his mistake as soon as he came to realize it. After observing that very few officers will undo what they have once done, the paper remarks that the unpleasant events of the first days of Sir Denzil's Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjab were the outcome of the spirit of the times and should not be laid at his door. The entire credit of having smoothed matters, however, is due to His Honour alone. His vetoing of the Punjab Colonisation Act, which was the first step towards allaying popular discontent in the province, his postponement of the enhancement of the Bari Doab Canal rates, his release of Lala Lajpat Rai, his refusal to enforce the Seditious Meetings Act in the Punjab, and his assurance to the leading Hindus that Government was not hostile to their community, were all acts of true statesmanship.

Sir Denzil Ibbetson's retirement.

40. The *Zamindar* (Karmabad), of the 16th January 1908, says that although Sir Denzil Ibbetson was Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab only for about a year the events of his reign, some of which were of an extremely unpleasant character, will not be forgotten for a long time to come. It will, however, be a mistake to hold His Honour responsible for these occurrences; the blame for them rests with his predecessors, whose political shortsightedness has re-acted on him. Sir Denzil's presence in the Punjab proved a blessing to the zamindars of the province, especially the settlers in the Canal Colonies. After remarking that the vetoing of the Punjab Colonisation Act and the postponement of the enhancement of the Bari Doab Canal rates will constitute a lasting memorial of his reign, the paper refers to the concessions made by His Honour in favour of the Punjab peasantry in connection with the prevailing drought and the heavy rains during the last *rabi* season. His premature retirement is an irreparable loss to the agriculturists of this Province.

Sir Denzil Ibbetson's retirement.

41. The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 22nd January 1908, publishes similar remarks, but says that the calamity which has befallen Sir Denzil Ibbetson is perhaps a punishment for the gross oppression practised by him on a Brahman when Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, in that he dismissed the late Pandit Gobind Ram, then a teacher in the Government School at

Gurdaspur, on an unfounded charge of immorality. At all events, the hand of Providence is discernible in His Honour's resignation. After remarking that the Pandit had a very poor idea of Sir Denzil's abilities, the paper says that this should suffice to show what the people thought of the departing Lieutenant-Governor. As to the peace of mind enjoyed by His Honour, he did not know a single day of peace during his tenure of the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjab. Again, while those whom he endeavoured by every means in his power to ruin and humiliate have risen immensely in the estimation of the public, he himself has been compelled by illness to resign his exalted office. All this should serve as a lesson to his fellow men.

The Editor states that he has not made these remarks with any unworthy motive; he has a genuine sympathy with Sir Denzil Ibbetson in his illness. He cannot convey in words any id ea of his feelings of regret at His Honour's premature retirement and it is his earnest prayer that the departing Lieutenant-Governor may recover his health in England and that the people of India, especially of the Punjab, may profit by his splendid abilities for a long time to come.

Sufi Amba Pershad.

42. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 17th January 1908, announces that Sufi Amba Pershad wishes the public to know that he has taken up his residence at Lahore and intends spreading his old and new works in the country He would also like his friends, pupils and sympathisers to inform him whether he should resuscitate the *Jama-ul-ulum* or start another political newspaper. All communications should be addressed to him, care of Dr. Ishari Parshad, Said Mitha Bazaar, Lahore.

F. ISEMONGER,

*Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*
*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

LAHORE:
*The 25th January* 1908.

Punjab Government Press, Lahore—7-2-08—110—95—J. B.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 5. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

Received up to 1st February 1908.

## CONTENTS.


I.—Politics.

Page.

(a)—Foreign—

1. Indians in the Transvaal (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 61
2. Indians in the Transvaal (*Tribune*) ... ... ib.
3. The Hedjaz Railway (*Watan*) ... ... 62

(b)—Home—

4. The King's speech and Indian affairs (*Panjabee*) ... ib.
5. The King Emperor and his native subjects (*Raghbir Patrika*) ... ... ... ... ib.
6. England and India (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 63
7. Government and the people (*Raghbir Patrika*) ... ib.
8. A review of the year 1907 (*Sadiq-ul-Akhbar*) ... 64
9. The Decentralization Commission (*Civil and Military News*) ... 65
10. The third prosecution of the *Yugantar* (*Prakash*) ... ib.
11. The third prosecution of the *Yugantar* (*Jhang Sial*) ib.

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

12. Tribal raids into British territory (*Jhang Sial*) ... 65
13. Tribal raids into British territory (*Siraj-ul-Akhbar*)... 66
14. Tribal raids into British territory (*Panjabee*) ... ib.

III.—Native States.

*Nil.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

*Nil.*

V.—Native Societies and Religious matters.

Page.

15. The Udherwal arson case (*Akhbar-i-Am*) ... 67
16. The Udherwal arson case (*Khalsa Advocate*) ... ib.

VI.—Legislation.

17. The reform scheme and lawyers (*Jhang Sial*) ... 68

VII.—General Administration.

(a)—Judicial—

18. The Magistracy and the Police (*Hindustan*) ... 68
19. The Magistracy and the Police (*Tribune*) ... ib.
20. The Magistracy and the Police (*Panjabee*) ... 70
21. The appeal in the Rawalpindi riot case (*Tribune*) ... 71

(b)—Police—

*Nil.*

(c)—Municipal and Cantonment affairs—

22. The proposal to levy a house tax at Hoshiarpur (*Punjab Samachar*) ... ... ... 71

(d)—Education—

*Nil.*

(e)—Agriculture and questions affecting the land—

23. The Canal Colonies Committee (*Hindustan*) ... 71
24. The Canal Colonies Committee (*Zemindar*) ... ib.
25. The Canal Colonies Committee (*Zemindar*) ... 72

(f)—Railways and Communications—

26. Ludhowal collision (*Raghbir Patrika*) ... ... 72

(g)—Postal matters—

*Nil.*

(h)—Miscellaneous—

27. Sir Denzil Ibbetson's retirement (*Aftab*) ... 72
28. Plague and the prosperity of India (*Jhang Sial*) ... 73
29. The Prosperity of India (*Jhang Sial*) ... ib.

Vol. XXI.] [No. 5]

[Confidential.]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

Received up to 1st February 1908.

---

### I.—POLITICS.

#### (*a*)—*Foreign.*

Indians in the Transvaal.

1. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 25th January 1908, says that, although the ill-treatment of Indians in the Transvaal has evoked feelings of indignation throughout the country, Government continues wholly indifferent in the matter. The reason for this is that Government knows that natives can do nothing beyond giving vent to their anger and that they will become quiet after they have barked themselves hoarse.

Indians in the Transvaal.

2. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 29th January 1908:—

"The brave and heroic stand in the name of honour and manhood which the few thousands of our countrymen are making in the Forbidden Land of Transvaal is being watched with bated breath and deep interest all over the country. The ill-treatment and humiliation of Indians abroad can hardly fail to have its effect on the minds of Indians at home, and the various meetings that are being held from town to town throughout the length and breadth of the country will give the Government some index of the feelings of resentment and indignation which the racial bigotry and purblind selfishness of the colonists are producing in this country. Subsequent to the All-India Conference at Surat which wired for help to the Viceroy, a number of meetings have been held at which naturally the same tale of wrongs at the hands of the Transvaal Government has been repeated with considerable stress and feeling. If on the one hand it would be scarcely just or politic for the Government to ignore the situation which is daily being made more and more acute, on the other it would be little short of suicidal to permit the thoughtless and autocratic Afrikanders to play with the highest sentiments and deepest sensibilities of the millions of Indians in this country. One may admire the partiality of the colonists towards his kith and kin, or the impartiality with which he treats or rather ill-treats all Indians without distinction of rank or position as Asiatics, but that is no reason why the Indians should be supposed to have no feelings of their own or to be above demanding the rights of a citizen of the British Empire to whose up-keep and glory they contribute by no means a mean share in men, money and brains."

3. The *Watan* (Lahore), of the 24th January 1908, announces that the Sultan of Turkey has been pleased to confer an *Usmani* medal of the 4th class on the Editor in recognition of the latter's services in collecting money in aid of the Hedjaz Railway. After remarking that the bestowal of the medal on him is a source of honour, not only to himself but also to those who have subscribed towards the fund started by him or have assisted him in collecting the subscriptions, the Editor tenders his heartfelt thanks to His Majesty for the distinction. He adds that the occurrence leaves no room for doubt that the present Ruler of Turkey not only fully understands the affairs of his kingdom, but also keeps himself informed of the simplest services rendered him by his servants who live in the most remote countries. In conclusion he reports that His Majesty has also conferred a Majidia medal of the 4th class on Sheikh Muhammad Nasir-ud-din, Editor and Proprietor, *Shams-ul-Akbhar* (Madras), in recognition of similar services.

The Hedjaz Railway.

(*b*)—*Home.*

4. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 1st February 1908:—

The King's speech and Indian affairs.

"The brief allusion to India in the Royal speech opening Parliament refers only to the failure of rains, scarcity, sickness and distress. The riots and repression, horrors and scares, find no place. So far this is a matter for congratulation as indicating that those responsible for the drafting of the speech have realised the fact that in India the outstanding feature is distress and suffering, and not sedition and rebellion. It is a pity, however, that the affairs of this great Dependency receive only this meagre mention in the speech, while equal, if not greater, prominence is given to such foreign matters as dacoities in Macedonia owing to friction between Christians and Mussalmans and the prospects of humane administration in Congo. Evidently India is still considered in the ruling country as a land of reptiles and mosquitoes, whose human population require no greater attention than would suffice to keep them alive against the inroads of famine and the ravages of wild beasts, so that they may raise their crops and duly pay revenue. Such matters as education, sanitation, self-government, and advancement of political status are things too high to be considered in respect of it. The Christian subjects of Turkey and the rights of the Congo people are more worthy of receiving the attention and exercising the anxiety of the Christian Powers. But why break our hearts over this apparent indifference to our lot on the part of the King Emperor. Poor good soul, what does he know how things are going on all over his dominions? The speech begins with this characteristic sentiment:—'The visit of the Kaiser and German Empress was a source of great pleasure to me and to the Queen. Their cordial reception by the people was warmly appreciated.' His benign Majesty having been made happy with this assurance of establishment of good relations with his nephew, the astute Ministers have allowed themselves full liberty what to do or what to say in regard to the vast affairs of the gigantic Empire. Truly has the poet said that 'where ignorance is bliss it is folly to be wise.'"

5. The *Raghbir Patrika* (Jhang), for January 1908, publishes a few verses composed by one Nabi Bakhsh *Bekhud* of Maghiana, who wishes that some one would go to England, wake the sleeping King Emperor, and ask His Majesty how long natives should suffer the pangs of hunger. The Sovereign of India should also be told that his railways have been the undoing of the people, for they have made famines perpetual in the land. He

The King Emperor and his native subjects.

himself fares well, as he is locked in the arms of sleep and never thinks of his Indian subjects. He is drunk with pride and calls natives shameless if they venture to lay their grievances before him. Their hearts break at the thought that although they are devotedly attached to him, he should stigmatise them as disloyal.

The paper also publishes some verses contributed by 'Lala' of Montgomery, who says that since the entire population of India are ever ready to lay down their lives in the King Emperor's service, His Majesty should not call them disloyal. The existing state of affairs in the country is due wholly to the oppression practised by him: he is wrong in blaming natives fo it. He regards his friends as his enemies and reposes confidence in those who are inimically disposed towards him. He should set natives free and thus prevent their extermination. Similar verses are contributed by 'Almast' of Chahil, Lala Rala Ram of Gojra, and Soni Babu. The first also accuses His Majesty of having robbed India of all her wealth and says that false news are sent to His Majesty from this country (by the authorities).

England and India.

6. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 25th January 1908, remarks that the indignation evoked among the British public by the sympathetic attitude of Messrs Keir Hardie and Nevinson towards natives should show that England rules India for her own benefit and that she will never further the interests of this country at the sacrifice of her own. This is apparent also from the fact that the Liberal Press has fallen foul of Mr. Hobhouse, President of the Decentralisation Commission, for asserting that the Indian administration is not free from defects. When England feels irritated at having her weaknesses pointed out to her, what good can the people of this country expect at her hands. It is true that a number of Englishmen sympathise with natives, but the latter should not be misled into believing that the former will ever succeed in winning over the entire British public to their side.

Government and the people.

7. The *Raghbir Patrika* (Jhang), for January 1908, publishes some verses written by the Editor, who says that England should understand that natives, only ask for justice, and that nothing is further from their minds than to overthrow British rule in India. He adds that the country's arts and industries have been killed by the English and that the East India Company utterly ruined the people by imposing heavy taxes on them. The late lamented Queen Victoria was like a mother to them, and had the English fulfilled her pledges to natives there would have been no unrest in the country to-day. The English are at enmity with their friends (the agitators) and only love toadies and backbiters. They smell sedition in weaklings, who lack the strength even to hold up an umbrella. After saying that the people are thoroughly loyal to Government, but that they are sick of repression, the Editor remarks that if Government were to take pity on the people and cease oppressing them, all misunderstanding between the two would cease. Unpopular laws should be repealed and Government should give up suspecting the loyalty of the people, bearing in mind that if the latter want *Swaraj* they ask Government for it. In conclusion, the poet calls upon natives to shake off their lethargy and discontinue depending on others.

8. The *Sadik-ul-Akhtar* (Rewari), of the 17th January 1908, in reviewing the events of the past year, says that natives have always spent their lives in adversity, poverty and disgrace for centuries past, and can feel no interest in a change of years. Not a single year has passed since 1858 in which their prospects have not become gloomier and which has not brought them some new misfortune. Famine and pestilence are undoubtedly sent by God, but the British Government, which is responsible for the welfare of the people and the safety of their lives and property, has also been manifesting its power. The termination of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty led the people to hope that they would be allowed some rest, but the fates ordained otherwise. The year 1907 is past, but the marks left by it on the hearts of Indians are so deep that it will take a very long time to obliterate them. It has shown that the people of this country enjoy less liberty than the subjects of the despotic Government of Russia. During the past twelve months Government has afforded practical proof that it regards the political leaders of the people as enemies of the throne. The paper then finds fault with Anglo-Indians and their newspapers for having apprehended a second mutiny in May last, and states that since scores of patriotic natives have been sacrificed at the altar of "the gods of justice and civilisation" and have been incarcerated in dark and narrow cells in jails, Anglo-Indian newspapers should now explain why they feared a second mutiny and why unrest and discontent prevailed throughout the country. These journals, which are in the habit of branding every political leader as a rebel and of characterising nationalist movements as seditious, ascribe the entire blame for the recent unrest to the demand of the people for *Swaraj*. They pretend to be utterly ignorant of the consequence of their poisonous writings, which are widening the gulf between the rulers and the ruled from day to day. As regards the authorities, their means of obtaining information are limited to the Arglo-Indian Fress, which grossly misrepresents matters in 75 cases out of a 100. In other words, these papers themselves are at the bottom of the evils which they have the hardihood to attribute to the demand for *Swaraj* on the part of native political leaders. The cause of the lack of information in Indian matters on the part of the authorities is due to their avoidance of all social intercourse with the children of the soil and to their display of pride which has created a feeling of deep hatred among Indians. The paper states that all *Sahibs*, from British-born white Feringhees down to black Native Christians, who are increasing in numbers daily, thanks to famine, despise the people. The *Sadik-ul-Akhbar* then says that in no other part of the world does Government interfere with the liberty of the Press, yet in India the British Government has made repeated attacks during the past year on the Press in order to rob it of its freedom. Again, Government deported Lajpat Rai and Ajit Sirgh for no known reason and kept them prisoners for six months in spite of public outcry and entreaty in the Press, and thereby showed that it cares nothing for public opinion, and that it holds the life and liberty of every native in the hollow of its hand. It also passed the Seditious Meetings Act and deprived Indians of the liberty of speech. The Editor then goes on to say that Mr. Morley's reform scheme is a fraud, and that the gulf between Moderates and Extremists is likely to increase as time goes on. * * * * *

A review of the year 1907.

The Editor next condemns the Transvaal Government for its conduct in passing the Registration Act. While the colonists in the Transvaal, he adds, enjoy self-government, natives are being deprived even of the privileges which are common in small Crown Colonies. The colonies obtain whatever they ask for, nay whatever they demand ; but India is not given anything even, though she begs for it. The colonies are treated with indulgence, but India always meets with rigour and coercion. Yet both are under the same Government and should be treated alike. After finding fault with the Imperial Government for permitting the humiliating treatment accorded to Indians in the Transvaal and the Australian Common wealth, the Editor wishes that his country were in a position to make reprisals, though he doubts whether India would ever retaliate even if she were granted self-government and placed in a position to redress the grievances of her sons who settle abroad. In conclusion, he remarks that so far from having secured any new concession during 1907 the existing rights of natives have been curtailed, and real happiness is still far from the lot of Indians.

The Decentralisation Commission.

9. The *Civil and Military News* (Ludhiana), of the 20th January 1908, remarks that the manner in which the Commission on Decentralisation is conducting its enquiries is likely to lead to no good results. As an instance in point the paper says that it can serve no useful purpose to enquire from a Deputy Collector whether the Lieutenant-Governor of his province can, with the help of two councillors, efficiently discharge the duties of his office. The Editor next takes exception to the suggestion made by a number of witnesses that a Collector should pay return visits to those who go to see him. He adds that the greatest defect in the existing system of administration is that it makes no distinction in the matter of promotion, and the like between subordinate officers who are able and industrious and those who are indifferent and easy going, *i.e.*, Deputy Collectorsi Collectors should have greater powers to reward the more deserving among these subordinate officers.

The third prosecution of the *Yugantar*.

10. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 21st January 1908, adverting to the punishment inflicted on the Printer of the *Yugantar*, as the result of that paper's third prosecution for sedition, remarks that it remains to be seen who will be the fourth hero to wash his hands of his life and take charge of the *Yugantar*.

The third prosecution of the *yugantar*.

11. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 25th January 1908, writing on the same subject, finds fault with Mr. Kingsford for asking Government to amend the Press law, and says that it is only by following a policy of leniency that Government can induce native newspapers to moderate their tone.

## II.—AFGHANISTAN AND TRANS-FRONTIER.

Tribal raids into British territory.

12. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 25th January 1908, says that when a native adversely criticises Government the authorities at once gird up their loins to encompass his ruin. They can, however, do nothing to put down dacoits from beyond the frontier, who have been committing robbery on natives in broad daylight. After condemning Government's inactivity in

the matter, the Editor contrasts it with the zeal which the authorities have been displaying in running Mr. Allen's assailant to earth. It is scarcely brave on the part of Government, he adds, to crush weak natives and to show the white feather in the case of frontier brigands.

Tribal raids into British territory.

13. The *Siraj-ul-Akhbar* (Jhelum), of the 21st January 1908, remarks that it is surprising that tribesmen who carry away rifles from Quetta should continue to seek and find refuge in Afghanistan. Several such cases have occurred recently, and it is to be hoped that Government will come to an understanding with the Amir in the matter, so as to make it difficult for rifle thieves to carry on their business with impunity. The Editor considers it strange that in spite of the existence of friendly relations between the British Government and the Kabul Darbar such criminals should be able to find an asylum in Afghanistan and snap their fingers in the face of the Indian authorities.

Tribal raids into British territory.

14. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 1st February 1908 :—

"On the night of the 28th ultimo, at about 11 o'clock, some 70 to 80 armed Afridis entered Peshawar city and broke open the doors of the banking house of Lala Chela Ram of Amritsar. Getting inside they are said to have broken the iron safe and taken away cash and jewellery to the value of about one lakh. They next plundered in a similar manner the shop of another banker, Kirpa Ram. The property removed exceeds the loss caused by any other dacoity since that of the 9th November 1907. Some of the dacoits are said to have got to the top of the building they raided, while their companions paraded the bazaar, dancing and singing and firing. Three chaukidars were shot, one of whom died on the spot and another is in the hospital. Three constables on rounds in the city were severely injured. It is said, with what truth we cannot say, that the Police had previous intimation of the attack, but they did not take any steps to prevent it and kept aloof. If there be any truth in the report the Police need not feel at all uneasy, for they have now got not merely their own departmental heads, but High Courts and Chief Courts ready to take up the cudgels in defence of their reputation. No wonder, seeing the coast so clear before him, the leader of the dacoits sounded a bugle in right military fashion when leaving the city at 1 A. M. as if to intimate that he was safely carrying his booty. The foreign territory is about 10 to 12 miles from Peshawar city, and police, cavalry and infantry are stationed *en route*, and it passes one's comprehension how the raiders managed to escape safely any more than how they could commit such a daring act in a big city where a large garrison is permanently quartered. 'Perhaps this force is kept here only for purposes of war,' writes our correspondent. 'Any way it is no business of ours, the subject people, to ask questions of the Government about such things. We are only to pay the taxes and cesses and regard the meanest constable as our master. When the dacoits were firing, the men and women of the whole bazaar were trembling with fear. What could the poor folk do, unarmed as they were? O city of Peshawar, God alone knows what more is in store for thee when the frontier men can be so bold!' Our correspondent's lamentation is quite natural, considering that he was on the scene of the horrors he describes, but his knowledge of statecraft is evidently very poor. Why, the military is kept not for rescuing people from raids and dacoities, but to come to the rescue of the Government against the formidable union of shopkeepers and lawyers as they did at Rawalpindi on the 2nd May last, or to curb the invincible spirit of the boycotting school boy in East Bengal! And while Chief Court Judges tremble from head to foot in discussing the dangers of attending political meetings or declaring a closing of shops, policemen may peacefully snore all the night after following their innocent vocation

of badgering honest people during the day; so that Afridi dacoits are free to raid into British territory and commit dacoities in open bazaars of cantonment towns, dancing and singing to the music of the banjo and the guitar."

## V.—Native Societies and Religious matters.

The Uderwal arson case.

15. The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 23rd January 1908, remarks that the Muhammadans who were placed on their trial on the charge of burning the Sikh *gurdwara* at Udherwal have been discharged by the District Magistrate of Jhelum for want of sufficient evidence, and that none of the (real) culprits have been run to earth up to the present. This has greatly disappointed the Sikhs and they are perfectly right in complaining that no one has been punished for offering insult to a sacred place of theirs. It will be no matter for surprise if lawlessness should increase after this and the fire of racial bigotry should be kept burning. The paper then quotes an extract from the District Magistrate's judgment, and says that he has saved the face of the Police officials who were deputed to work out the case, but who failed to do so. His remark that the *gurdwara* was burnt in order to make the Hindus of Udherwal, who had left the village owing to the outbreak of plague, return to their homes sounds very much like a joke. It is, however, a matter for thankfulness that he has not stated in his judgment that in all probability the *gurdwara* was set fire to by the Sikhs themselves in order to give the Muhammadans a bad name. In conclusion, the Editor says that it remains to be seen what the Tika of Nabha thinks of the judgment.

The Udherwal arson case.

16. The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* (*Amritsar*), of the 25th January 1908:—

"Our readers must have been surprised and amused on reading the judgment given by the District Magistrate, Jhelum, in the Udherwal Gurdwara arson case. The Magistrate admits that the gurdwara was burnt down by the Muhammadans of Udherwal, and that Shahbaz and the other Lambardars were undoubtedly in sympathy with the perpetration of the outrage. But this was not done through any religious antipathy, the learned Magistrate tells us, but was merely an attempt on the part of some of the Muhammadans of Udherwal to induce the Hindus to come to the village, who had left it on account of plague. What an argument! We are perhaps expected by the Magistrate to believe that the Muhammadans of Udherwal, in order to induce the Hindus, whose company they missed so much, to return to the village, could only hit upon the plan of burning their *religious temple valued above Rs. 8,000*. We would have doubted that the Magistrate was serious and not sarcastic, in making this statement, but for the fact that the culprits have been discharged. It hardly makes much difference after all, even if we were to believe the Magistrate, and understand that the outrage was not committed through any local religious antipathy. Does it mean that the culprits should therefore be let off scot-free? But "some attempt was unfortunately made to make political capital out of the affair," and this spoilt the whole thing by determining the bias of the Magistrate!

"That the Gurdwara was set fire to by some Mohammadans (7 or 8 as the evidence proves) of Udharwal after mid-night is admitted. One of these Mohammadans was recognized as the Chaukidar by witnesses, and his spear, the official emblem of this guardian of the peace, was subsequently searched for and found in the debris of the burnt down Dharmsala. A neighbouring house was also set fire to and rifled. The stolen property was recovered from Shawalli who incriminated the Chaukidar, Dullah, and Jumman. These men were subsequently tried and convicted on this

charge. This is not all. What more evidence could be expected in a Muhammadan village where the Lambardars were 'undoubtedly in sympathy with the perpetration of the outrage' and held back all witnesses by threats, and where there were only four Hindus in the village on the night of the occurrence! To a layman of common sense this would be a clear case. But the legal sense is different. The District Magistrate calls this a weak case against the Chaukidar and no case at all against anybody else. This is the justice we have got. How one would wish in such cases for the good old days to come when one could at least have the satisfaction of paying the offender in his own coin. But no! We should abide by the law which is impotent to give us justice, and even help to maintain it."

## VI.—LEGISLATION.

The reform scheme and lawyers.

17. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 25th January 1908, says that the reason why Government cannot tolerate lawyers is that they are in the habit of exposing its mistakes and raising an outcry over its wrong doings. They do not let it have things its own way, and this accounts for their exclusion in the proposed reform scheme. The proposals mean that in future there will be no lawyers on the Supreme and Provincial Councils and no exception will be taken to objectionable official measures. Native councillors will henceforth consist of zamindars and mahajans, who can only echo the sentiments of the authorities.

## VII.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

### (*a*)—*Judicial.*

The Magistracy and the Police.

18. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 24th January 1908, remarks that according to *Bande Mataram* the Bengal Government has requested the Hon'ble Judges of the Calcutta High Court to direct all courts subordinate to it to give up the practice of passing strictures on the doings of the Police in their judgments as they are calculated to lower the Police in the eyes of the people. After remarking that in the Punjab also Mr. Rattigan, Legal Remembrancer, requested the Judges of the Chief Court, who heard the appeal of the accused in the Rawalpindi riot case, to expunge some of the remarks made against the Police by the Special Magistrate who tried the case, the paper says that these incidents throw a flood of light on the policy of Government with regard to the Police. The general impression is that in the event of the courts being prohibited from commenting on the doings of the Police the position of the judicial authorities will be greatly lowered. When the Police are no longer afraid lest their doings should be adversely criticised, they will not attempt to perform their onerous duties satisfactorily.

The Magistracy and the Police.

19. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 31st January 1908:—

"The Police is no doubt one of the chief and most useful departments of the Government. It is the most important limb of the executive. A certain Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, long before that Province was partitioned, who by the way was noted for his executive zeal, once described the Police as the watch-dogs of the Government. It is natural, therefore, that the executive government should look upon the Police with an extra degree of fondness. Situated as the executive officials are in India, altogether without touch and without knowledge of the people, they are apt

to regard the Police as the only connecting link between them and the populace. The Police is indispensable to them in every way. * * * But as the old adage has it, 'Spare the rod, spoil the child,' and this ancient maxim applies with double force in the case of the Police, which, according to current popular notion, has very little to lose in the way of its reputation. We still remember what sort of character the Police Commission gave it. And if such is the testimony of an official Commission, presided over by such a sturdy friend of the Police as Sir Andrew Fraser, little wonder that non-official opinion is even more bitter against it. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale accurately voiced public opinion on the point when he described the Police as consisting largely of men, 'without scruple and without remorse.' It is evident, therefore, that without an efficient system of checks and safeguards the Police may go entirely out of hand and may in some cases be a veritable engine of oppression. * * * The only efficient remedy against the abuse of power and the malpractices of the Police is the judicial exposure of their vagaries by able and independent Judges sitting in judgment over the Police cases. The publicity thus accorded to Police malpractices and abuses is the only possible guarantee of reform. But the Government, both of the Punjab and Bengal, have chosen to draw a red herring across the path of the Judges in their judicial comments upon the conduct of the Police. In the Punjab it is not of course an innovation, tracing its birth to the proceedings of the Lieutenant-Governor in the Home Department, dated 28th August 1903, in which Sir Charles Rivaz laid down as a rule that 'is was undesirable for Magistrates to make remarks in criminal cases censuring the action of Police Officers unless such remarks are strictly relevant to the case and the officers concerned have had an opportunity of explaining their action.' The Judges of the Chief Court in their Circular dated 19th September 1903 substantially endorsed the principle of this circular, and recommended all courts to observe that rule. Thus the rule is of a few years' standing in our province, although prominence has been accorded to it in the Rawalpindi appeals, by the appearance of the Legal Remembrancer in support of the circular and Mr. Justice Robertson's *obiter dicta* as to the infringement of the circular. We have already expressed that in our opinion the arguments used by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Robertson with reference to the part played by the Police are less convincing than those used by Mr. Martineau in impugning the conduct of the Police in its prosecution of the aforesaid case. But here we are concerned with the principle of the circular, which it seems possesses a singular fascination for Sir Andrew Fraser, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. The Bengal circular, which by the way, has been approved by the Hon'ble Judges of the Calcutta High Court, says that 'the hasty condemnation or denunciation of the Police by judicial officers in their judgments is much to be deprecated, especially when it is based on a one-sided representation of facts and without an opportunity being afforded to the officer condemned of defending himself or offering any explanation.' As the same argument has been used by Justice Robertson himself it may be worth while to examine how far this is the case. Now, it is perfectly true, as Mr. Justice Robertson lays down with special emphasis, that no one should be condemned unheard and certainly this wholesome rule should apply to the case of Police Officers and men. But is it really the case that Police is quite unrepresented in Crown cases? Is not the Public Prosecutor generally there to support and defend the Police theory of the case? Does not the Police always instruct the Crown Prosecutor and does not the latter stand by the Police version of the case? Under such circumstances, it can be hardly said that the vesting of an unfettered discretion to judicial officials puts the Police to the 'terror of unguarded censure or innuendo by the court without being allowed an opportunity of defending themselves.' Nor is there much apprehension that the comments or observations of any judicial officer made after a full hearing of the arguments for the Crown are likely to be hasty or unguarded. Indeed, the Police is certainly not at a disadvantage compared with the actual parties in a case before a court.

"And yet on such trumpery considerations the Punjab circular was issued and now Bengal is following suit. Yes, on such, what will appear to most people, very flimsy grounds, the authorities have drawn a *purdah* over the actions of the Police.

There shall be no more allusions in the body of the judgment to Police incompetence or Police frailty, or any scandal relating to Police, although the Judge may feel convinced that the Police have tutored witnesses or procured false evidence. No, a *purdah* must be placed between the Police and public, and any public reference to Police scandals must be hushed. We can well imagine that the police is a *persona grata* with the powers that be, but this is fettering the discretion of the Judges in a wanton and unjustifiable way. It is interfering with the independence of our Judges, which is the sheet-anchor of British administration in India. It will demoralise the already fondled Police service which, as it is, teems with manifold abuses, and may even tend to frustrate the ends of justice, to safeguard which should be the first and foremost task of a British administrator."

20. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of 1st February 1908:—

The Magistracy and the Police.

"The Bengal Government's letter to the Calcutta High Court on the subject of strictures on the Police in judicial documents, or at least so far of its purport as has been made known to the public is bad enough, but the Punjab has already gone one better still. As is now known this benighted province has since some time embodied in a circular the principle of Sir Andrew Fraser's suggestion, which was indeed first laid down by His Honour when he filled the office of President of the Police Commission. And now Mr. Justice Robertson's astounding judgment has shown that our highest tribunal, which in any civilised country would be held to be synonymous with the 'palladium of justice,' is prepared to go even more than half way in meeting the wishes and convenience of the executive. While the principle was still before the High Court Judges of Bengal for acceptance, a Chief Court Judge in the Punjab had acted upon it in a thorough and wholehearted manner which perhaps even Sir Andrew Fraser would not have ventured to expect. It is worthy of note that there is a curious family resemblance between the principles and beliefs which have moved the Executive Government of Bengal on the one side and the highest Judiciary in the Punjab on the other. Sir Andrew Fraser uses almost the identical words and phrases in his letter as reasons for his suggestion to the High Court of Calcutta, which have now been made so familiar to the public as embodying not merely the accepted, but the pronounced, view of the Chief Court of the Punjab.

* * * The principles involved in the matter are all of vital importance to the community. They affect the independence of Judges as much as the high-handedness of the Police, being calculated to curb the former while giving a free rein to the latter. But the most important principle at stake is the one underlying the much-talked-of reform of the separation of the Judicial from the Executive. Far from expediting this reform, the new compact aimed at, and we hear agreed to on both sides, between the Bengal Government and the Calcutta High Court, will put it off indefinitely, notwithstanding hopes held out by Mr. Morley that it was to be shortly taken in hand. At any rate, even if the reform be initiated and carried out, its value will be very much neutralised. Mark what was said by Sir Andrew Fraser, or on his behalf, explaining the action taken by the Government:—'The Lieutenant-Governor thought that in the interests of justice it was desirable that there should be more cordial co operation between judicial and executive officers, with the object of improving the efficiency and the purity of the Police administration in conducting investigations into criminal offences.' *More cordial co-operation* between judicial and executive officers *in the interests of justice!* Good God! Is there not enough, or rather too much, of such co-operation already to be good for the 'interests of justice'? And has not the whole force of a great agitation—which has been morally backed by eminent judicial officers like Sir Richard Garth, Sir Comer Petheram, and Mr. Justice Markby—been directed towards breaking the unholy compact, until the Executive Government was at last being reluctantly compelled to give up its point? But the acceptance of Sir Andrew Fraser's principle by the Calcutta High Court will give a new lease to the compact and make any ostensible reform in the direction ineffectual and valueless.

* * * The people of India want more of such antagonism, not less. In a country like India, where the executive is all in all, the people would be reduced to the condition of merest serfs if the judiciary instead of maintaining their independence here and there, and showing up the vagaries of the executive now and then, were to be entirely hand-in-glove with the latter."

The appeal in the Rawalpindi riot case.

21. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 30th January 1908:—

"Was it necessary for Mr. Justice Robertson to have indulged in his strictures on the lower court to arrive at a correct decision in the case? He was hearing the appeal of certain individuals convicted by a Magistrate who has hitherto enjoyed the highest character for ability and integrity. Had the appellate court disagreed in the findings arrived at by Mr. Martineau as to the guilt of the appellants, it might have been necessary to go into the shortcomings of the Magistrate which were likely to lead to a miscarriage of justice. But as it happened the appellate court agreed with the lower court as regards the guilt of the appellants. Ordinarily when an appeal is being dismissed it is not necessary to enter into a detailed criticism as to the manner in which the case has been tried by the lower court. The holding up to ridicule or even worse of a Magistrate can only be justified in exceptional circumstances, and these we fail to find in this particular case. Mr. Martineau has so far been held in great esteem as a judicial officer who was something above the average. If he has been weighed and found wanting, what must be the condition of others admittedly inferior to him in judicial capacity. Such is the moral to be drawn from Mr. Justice Robertson's judgment. At the same time we are bound to say that we are by no means convinced of the alleged shortcomings of Mr. Martineau."

### (*c*)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs.*

The proposal to levy a house tax at Hoshiarpur.

22. A correspondent writing to the *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 25th January 1908, takes exception to the proposal to levy a house tax at Hoshiarpur. After remarking that the tax will prove the ruin of the town and make things very hard for its poorer residents, he calls upon the local municipal Commissioners to cease truckling to the authorities and have the proposal shelved.

### (*e*)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land.*

The Canal Colonies Committee.

23. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 24th January 1908, says that the colonists are not satisfied with the way in which the Colonies Committee has been conducting its enquiries. They have not been able to lay their grievances before the Committee or read the mind of the latter, which keeps its proceedings secret.

The Canal Colonies Committee.

24. The *Zemindar* (Karmabad), of the 24th January 1908, says that one Sardar Waryam Singh makes the following suggestions for consideration by the Colonies Committee:—

(1) Rules should be framed to regulate distribution of water. The existing practice to supply water according to the area cultivated should be abolished. The amount of water supplied should depend on the quality and level of the soil.

(2) The land revenue should be assessed at fixed rates.

(3) The duties of Revenue and Canal Patwaris should be entrusted to one and the same official.

(4) The services of gauge-writers should be dispensed with, metres being fixed at outlets.

(5) The present system of collecting supplies for touring officials should be modified. There should be a contractor in every *sail*, who should be responsible for the collection of supplies. Touring officers should be required to attach to their travelling bills receipts from the contractors (acknowledging payment for the articles supplied to them).

(6) Zaildars should be selected from among *raises* and *safedposhes*, who have received some education or are popular with the public. The kind of persons now appointed zaildars usually help to create ill-feelings between the rulers and the ruled.

Another correspondent suggests that either *safedposh* lambardars and their heirs should not be required to keep mares for breeding purposes, or that they should receive an extra grant of one square of land per animal.

The Canal Colonies Comm'ttee.

25. The *Zemindar* (Karmabad), of the 16th January 1908, publishes, for the information of the Colonies Committee, extracts from a letter recently received by a certain *rais* from his agent in the Chenab Colony. The writer regrets to have to inform his master that he has been unable to do much beyond attending on and serving officials. After remarking that other settlers in his village have also done no better, he says that the existing state of affairs is not only ruining the colonists, but is also a source of loss to Government, as is evident from a falling off in its receipts from land revenue for the village for the last half year. He further alleges that the supply of water is so deficient in the canal that the *rabi* sowings in his and the neighbouring villages only average from one to four acres per square. To make matters worse, the Naib Tahsildar has ordered the colonists to plant trees round their *ahatas* between the 15th January and 15th February.

*(f)—Railways and communications.*

Ludhowal collision.

26. The *Raghbir Patrika* (Jhang), for January 1908, publishes some verses in which the writer says that numberless persons were killed in the collision near Ludhiana; that their bodies lay rotting in the jungle; and that their survivors are ignorant of their fate. He also deplores the frequent occurrence of collisions on Indian railways, says that this has greatly alarmed the people, and asks Government to look into the matter.

*(h)—Miscellaneous.*

Sir Denzil Ibbetson's retirement.

27. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 26th January 1908, remarks that if Sir Denzil Ibbetson was really very ill, he could have easily obtained leave. But the fact that he did not obtain leave lends colour to the suspicion that he was forced to resign. Is it true that he resigned and went away in the same way as Lord Curzon and Sir Bamfeylde Fuller did? It is quite possible that he could not adduce sufficient reason for deporting (Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh) and hence incurred the displeasure of the Secretary of State. It is strange that in the course of the last three years three blood-thirsty rulers,

*viz.*, Lord Curzon, Sir Denzil Ibbetson and Sir Bamfeylde Fuller, were all overtaken by the same fate, *i.e.*, they all had to retire before the expiry of the fulf term of office. In the *Gazette Extraordinary* issued by the Government of India in connection with the departure of Sir Denzil Ibbetson it is remarked that His Honour's departure is a loss to the people as if the people were highly pleased with his administration. If the treatment which Sir Denzil Ibbetson accorded to the people were accorded to animals, trees and stones, they too would have rejoiced at his departure. Immediately on assuming charge of the province he shed rivers of blood and imprisoned the proprietor of the *Panjabee*. Can the people be pleased with a ruler who caused respectable Pleaders at Rawalpindi to be confined in the lock-up, although they were guilty of no offence, who had Dina Nath, Editor of the *Hindustan*, severely punished for a trivial offence which was not proved, who allowed a youth like Pindi Das to be sent to jail for 5 years, who ruined the lives of several young men in Lahore, and who deported Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh without rhyme or reason. The truth is that the departure of Sir Denzil Ibbetson has removed a heavy load from off the mind of the people.

Plague and the prosperity of India.

28. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 25th January 1908, says that the *Pioneer* writes that plague has added to the prosperity of the people and that deaths from the disease have sent up wages. If is strange that the havoc wrought in the country by the plague should throw the Allahabad Anglo-Indian daily into the ecstasies of joy. If wages have arisen by a few annas, the prices of the necessaries of life have been nearly quadrupled. The Editor then prays that if plague has had the effect of increasing the prosperity of India, the epidemic may break out in England also, so that similar prosperity may fall to the lot of the ruling race.

The prosperity of India.

29. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 18th January 1908, publishes the following dialogue :—

*Old man.*—Famine is the result of your own deeds. Now-a-days darkness prevails throughout the world. No sign of religion remains, not even the name. What wonder is it then that famine has resulted?

*Young man.*—Sir, this is merely an idea of yours. The famine is not a result of our misdeeds, but the outcome of British rule.

*Old man.*—I do not admit this. The rule of the British is a great blessing. The people live in peace. No one has any right of interference with another, nor can be oppress others. If you consider the time of supremacy of the Mussalmans or Sikhs, you will be better able to judge and appreciate the rule of the British. Those were days of turmoil, and no one was safe. People used to keep their very jewellery buried. If any one showed the smallest sign of possessing wealth, he was at once robbed by the soldiers.

*Young man.*—True, but it is due to this very time of peace that India has become weak. The English have ruined our arts and industries. All the wheat that is grown is exported to England. As soon as ever sowing is begun, English companies pay advances for the crop in prospect. The entire

country has come under cultivation and settlements have sprung up. No grazing land remains. How are people to keep cattle? Ask the cultivators (Janglis) in the new colonies to what extent they lived on ghi and milk before the colonies came into existence. And whether they do not long for ghi and milk now. Now-a-days we cannot even get enough food to fill our stomachs. How can we get milk to drink? I grant that in old days robbery and blood-shed prevailed, but at least the people did not starve. Of what avail is aught else when one cannot fill one's stomach? Of what value is peace when one has no food? Government with its show of free trade has brought us to bitter straits. We have no inclination to eat or drink. We are passing our lives in evil times, but some day they will end.

*Old man.*—Do not eat nor drink good things and you will become a rich man. Act on this principle, and then ask whether former times were truly better than the present.

F. ISEMONGER,

*Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*

*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

LAHORE:

*The 1st February* 1908.

Punjab Government Press, Lahore—20.2.08—572—95—J. B.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 6. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB

Received up to 8th February 1902.

---

## CONTENTS.


I.—Politics.

Page.

(a)—*Foreign*—

1. Indians in the Transvaal (*Hindustan*) ... 75
2. Indians in the Transvaal (*Hindustan*) ... ... *ib.*
3. Indians in the Transvaal (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... *ib.*
4. Indians in the Transvaal (*Parbash*) ... ... 76
5. Indians in the Transvaal (*Aftab*) ... ... *ib.*
6. Indians in the Transvaal (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... 77
7. Indians in the Transvaal (*Observer*) ... ... *ib.*
8. Indians in the Transvaal (*Tribune*) ... ... *ib.*
9. Indians in the Transvaal (*Tribune*) ... ... 78

(b)—*Home*—

10. Debate on the King's speech (*Observer*) ... ... 79
11. Debate on the King's speech (*Panjabee*) ... *ib.*
12. The English and Natives (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 80
13. An appeal to the young men of India (*Jhang Sial*) ... 81
14. The new spirit in India ((*Akhbar-i-Am*) ... ... 82
15. Students and politics (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... *ib.*
16. Handcuffing Editors accused of political offences (*Sialkot Paper*) ... ... ... *ib*
17. Handcuffing Editors accused of political offences (*Curzon Gazette*) ... ... ... *ib.*

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

18. Tribal raids into British territory (*Akhbar-i-Am*) ... 82
19. Tribal raids into the British territory (*Civil and Military News*) ... ... ... ... 83

III.—Native States.

20. Government and Nepal (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 83

IV.—Kine-Killing.

*Nil.*

V.—Native Societies and religious matters.

21. The Arya Samaj (*Sat Dharam Parcharak*) ... 84

VI.—Legislation.

22. The proposed amendment of the Press Law (*Watan*) ... 84
23. The proposed amendment of the Press Law (*Zemindar*) *ib.*
24. The proposed amendment of the Press Law (*Punjab Samachar*) ... ... ... ... 84
25. The proposed amendment of the Press Law (*Punjab Samachar*) ... ... ... ... 85
26. Mr Harkishan Lal's appointment to the Punjab Legislative Council (*Tribune*) ... ... *ib.*

VII—General Administration.

(a)—*Judicial*—

27. The Judiciary and the Police (*Tribune*)... ... 86
28. Appeal in the Rawalpindi riot case (*Panjabee*) ... 87
29. The prosecution of the *Bartana* (?) newspaper of Rangpur for sedition (*Sadik-ul-Akhbar*) ... 88

(b)—*Police*—

*Nil.*

(c)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs*—

30. Enhancement of house tax at Delhi (*Aftab*) ... *ib.*
31. Complaint in connection with the recent fire at Cambellpore (*Tribune*) ... ... ... *ib.*

(d)—*Education*—

*Nil.*

(e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land*—

32. The prevailing scarcity (*Akhbar i-Am*) ... ... 89

(f)—*Railways and Communications*—

*Nil.*

(g)—*Postal matters*—

33. The proposal to extend the V.-P. P. system to England (*Parkash*) ... ... ... *ib.*
34. The proposal to extend the V. P. P. system to England (*Punjab Samachar, &c*) ... ... *ib.*
35. The proposal to the extension the V.-P. P. system to England (*Tribune*) ... ... ... *ib.*

(h)—*Miscellaneous*—

36. The proposed memorial to Sir Denzil Ibbetson (*Panjabee*) ... ... ... ... 91
37. The *Yugantar* newpaper (*Sadik-ul-Akhbar*) ... 92
38. Aid to Pindi Das' family (*Jhang Sial*) ... *ib.*
39. Sufi Amba Perahad (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... *ib.*

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 6. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 8th February 1908.**

---

### I.—POLITICS.

#### (a)—*Foreign.*

Indians in the Transvaal.

1. The *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 31st January 1908, publishes a long article condemning the ill-treatment of Indians in the Transvaal and finding fault with the Imperial Government for not going to their rescue.

Indians in the Transvaal.

2. The *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 31st January 1908, publishes a translation of a letter which appeared in a recent issue of the *Indian Daily News* and in which the writer, an Englishman, suggests that the object of General Botha and Mr. Smuts in oppressing Indians is to avenge themselves on the English by fanning the fire of unrest in India into flame.

Commenting on the communication the Editor says that this object is impossible of achievement, for natives will never waver in their loyalty to England, even though they are crushed under the heels of their present rulers. The latter should, however, never forget that the humiliation of Indians abroad reacts on the British Government and should put their masters to shame.

Indians in the Transvaal.

3. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 1st February 1908, writing about the ill-treatment of Indians in the Transvaal, remarks that natives have been putting up with oppression from Europeans in silence, and that this has had the effect of turning the heads of the latter. It is for this reason that their oppressors cannot now tolerate their complaining of the oppression practised on them. If Indians wish to escape Western oppression they ought to return blow for blow, otherwise Europe will not only rob them of all wealth but will certainly sweep them off the face of the earth.

Indians in the Transvaal.

4. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 28th January 1908, remarks that it is asserted that white races alone can claim to be civilised and that it is only Christians who believe in the brotherhood of man. The manner, however, in which the superiority of Christianity and European civilisation is being proved in the Transvaal is no secret to the native public. The Boers have the shamlessness to declare that the Transvaal shall remain a white man's country, and Parliament and the King Emperor have approved of an oppressive law, the sole object of which is merely to humiliate Indians and other Asiatics. How is it that the British Government has paid no heed to the demands of 30 crore natives for their legitimate rights and yet has allowed the Boers to pass a brutal law.? The reason is that Indians allowed their country to pass into the hands of England without striking a blow in its defence, whereas the Boers did not submit to the English till they had rendered hundreds of English homes desolate. The paper then goes on to say that English civilisation is another name for power, but that the English cannot retain their present power for ever. There was a time when they roamed about naked in the forests, and it is not impossible that God may reduce them to the same condition again as a punishment for their cruel deeds. It is disgraceful that in their pride of power they should harass a people (natives) whose loyalty is unparalleled. In conclusion, the *Parkash* regrets that that the Liberal Ministry, who are a disgrace to liberalism, should turn a deaf ear to the grievances of Indian immigrants in the Transvaal.

Indians in the Transvaal.

5. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 2nd February 1908, remarks that the humiliation to which Indians are subjected in their own country is not unknown to the world. The white man thinks less of them than of his dog. If an Indian pays a visit to an Englishman and there happen to be only two chairs in the room in which he is received one chair will be occupied by the Sahib and the other by his dog, and the visitor will have to remain standing with folded hands. If a native ventures on a road frequented by Englishmen he is in constant fear lest he should receive a kick from a booted foot. If a British soldier (*gora*) appears in a *mohulla* or *bazar*, the people hold their very breath and expect that one of them will meet his death. All public appointments are monopolised by the ruling race and natives can only get posts as chaprasis. The country's arts and industries have been ruined, immense quantities of goods are imported from England, native labourers are starving, and the people of England are enjoying themselves on India's wealth. Finding it difficult to gain a livelihood in their motherland, some young Indians emigrated to foreign countries in quest of bread. These shallow pates, however, failed to realise that those who are regarded as thieves in their own country cannot expect to be treated with respect abroad. The paper next refers to the ill-treatment of Indians, including the ex-soldiers, who helped the British Government against the Boers in the Transvaal, and deprecates the indifference of the Imperial Government in the matter. After remarking that trade jealousy is at the bottom of the mischief, it says that England herself is averse to Indians setting foot in English settlements. If Indians were masters of their own country they would stand by it and humiliate and expel foreigners. As it is, they are quite helpless, and people from

any country can come here and hold the highest posts under Government. They cannot even retaliate by stopping the trade of the Transvaal with India and refusing Boers admission into the country. Where are they to look for an Akbar, a Shahjehan, a Bairam Khan, a Tipu Sultan, a Bikramajit, a Pertap or a Ranjit Singh? The country has been denuded of brave men and the people have become effeminate After remarking that British statesmen are on the side of the Transvaal authorities and that the Viceroy may be relied upon to keep silent, the paper asks His Excellency to suspend the operation of the Arms Act for a while and allow natives to arm themselves and bring the ex-Boer republic to its senses. As, however, there is no likelihood of Lord Minto acceding to this request, the Editor appeals to the young men of India to collect a large sum of money, repair to some foreign country or island, and invade the Transvaal after learning the use of arms abroad. He concludes by remarking that his suggestion is perfectly legal.

Indians in the Transvaal.

6. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 3rd February 1908, expresses satisfaction at the concessions granted to Indians in respect of the Registration Act.

Indians in the Transvaal

7. The following is from the *Observer* (Lahore), of the 5th February 1908:—

"All India will heave a sigh of relief at the news which has at last come from London about the Transvaal difficulty having been solved. It is not yet time to express opinion on the compromise definitely till the details of the settlement be to hand. But this much is quite certain that the crisis is over, the Indians have been released, and Mr. Gandhi, while declaring that the settlement was not a victory for his fellow-countrymen, has stated that it was a fair compromise. That is not a small achievement, especially when dealing with an obstinate race like that of the Boers. It is quite evident from the replies in the Council to Mr. Gokhale's questions that the Government of India were not unaware of the high feelings excited in this country by the treatment to which British Indians were subjected in the Transvaal, and that they *did* take action to keep the Imperial Government well-informed of Indian sentiments in the matter. We doubt not that Lord Minto's diplomacy and his sympathetic backing up of the Indian cause had much to do with bringing about the present settlement, and the people of India consequently feel grateful to His Excellency for the same.

Indians in the Transvaal.

8. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 2nd February 1908:—

"The happy news has come. The clouds have uplifted from the dark horizon and sunshine has come where gloom and darkness reigned a few moments before. The difficulty in the Transvaal has been solved in a manner highly satisfactory and honourable to our countrymen in that colony. The Act which has caused such deep feeling and resentment in Indian hearts has been suspended and Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues have been released. The prison gates have opened to permit egress to men who should never have been taken inside the cell. The Transvaal Government has seen the wisdom of Mr. Gandhi's demands, and has conceded them. All the Indians in that colony will voluntarily register during a period of three months, and signatures of men of education and property be accepted in place of the degrading thumb and finger impressions. In return the Indian leaders have undertaken to see that all our countrymen there shall voluntarily register during the stipulated period. Mr. Gandhi does not call it a victory but a fair compromise, but we think otherwise. For the Indian, the maligned, the persecuted and the down-trodden Indian in the Transvaal, it is a moral

victory of the highest order, and for this achievement the thanks of the whole Indian nation are due to Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Abdul Ghani and their colleagues in the Transvaal. We have every reason to be grateful to the Government of India and the Home Government for the pressure they no doubt exercised on the recalcitrant Transvaal Government."

Indians in the Transvaal.

9. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 6th February 1908 :—

"There is one feature in the honourable settlement of the Transvaal imbroglio which should not be lost upon our countrymen, especially upon the younger section among them, who seem to think that methods of moderation and constitution are all cries in the wilderness in the field of Indian politics. These censorious critics have been telling us in season and out of season to ignore the Government as far as possible and spurn all offers of co-operation from any but national quarters. Mr. Gandhi's noble and heroic martyrdom should be an eye-opener to them. It is, as the *Pioneer* even has admitted, a notable victory for the Indians. What were a few thousand humble Indians against the mighty forces of an Empire arrayed in opposition to them. We say the mighty forces of an empire advisedly, for after Lord Elgin, who is an ex-Viceroy of India to boot, gave away the whole case of India practically at the beck and call of the colony and when ministers of the Crown like Mr. Winston Churchill and Mr. Birrel gave a cold shoulder to the Indian ex-soldiers of His Majesty, while they were being incarcerated in a British Colony which they helped with their swords to win, our suffering countrymen knew not which quarter to appeal to for help. And yet under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi they never ceased to appeal to the good sense of the British people, and to their sovereign, although the mean and melancholy conduct of the Liberal Government put a severe strain upon their loyalty. It is true that they made a bold and valiant stand by their own honour and for the prestige of the old country and fully vindicated that they were still chips of that ancient block which was the custodian of the civilization of the world in the earliest epochs of mankind. But they did it in a strictly constitutional way, and where have constitutional means excluded reliance on one's own honour and sense of respect? Throughout this grim struggle which our countrymen in the Transvaal carried on against tremendous odds, their faith in British justice has never flagged. The whole history of this grand struggle bears witness to the stern discipline and high inspiration of duty which animated the conduct of our countrymen in the Transvaal. They never faltered for a moment from their belief that salvation must be found within the frame work of lawful agitation and by constitutional means. They never for a moment pretended to ignore the Supreme Government, they always appealed to it for aid and succour they indulged in no high falutin', nor any frantic boast, but steadily, earnestly and in a spirit of hope and self-sacrifice they worked and at last achieved their goal. And thus they wrested what is perhaps the most notable victory which our countrymen have ever secured since the land came under British rule, and the moral and the political effects of which will be emblazoned in the scrolls that will describe the growth of an unified Indian nation. But by all means let not the moral be lost upon us. The moral is simply this : We must stand by our honour, self-respect and our right as British citizens. We must brave even persecution, if that comes to us for our working with constitutional means. But we cannot afford to ignore Government. If we do so, the Government will ignore us. If we cease to participate in the work of the Government, the Government will not be much worse for our non-participation, for others will take up the work where we fail; the Government, we may rest assured, will go on without us, but the estrangement will be harmful to us in more than one way. The loss will be not so much of the Government as of ours. We alone shall break away from the school of self-discipline, which is a *sine qua non* for the progress of the community. We alone shall fall into the rear and with the rabble. We shall never learn discipline nor organisation, which alone differentiates a nation from a disorganised congregation of people."

(*b*)—*Home.*

10. The following is from the *Observer* (Lahore), of the 5th February 1908 :—

Debate on the King's speech.

"This session's debate on the Address, in the Lords as well as the Commons, is of exceptional interest for more reasons than one. The criticism of the Anglo-Russian Agreement and the discussion of Indian affairs will greatly interest people in this country, while the amendment about the treatment of Indians in the Transvaal was of the most vital importance. The least agreeable feature of the debate, however, is Lord Ripon's reference to the situation in Macedonia and his statement regarding the Amir's attitude towards the Anglo-Russian Convention. The hint about the possibility of war between Britain and Turkey will cause unmixed anxiety all over Muslim India, and the Mussalman subjects of His Majesty the King Emperor will join us in entertaining the hope that the Macedonian problem will be tackled peacefully and amicably. An appeal to force will be most inopportune at the present moment, when relations between England and Turkey appear to be once more drawing closer. Dr. Rutherford's amendment about the Indian reform proposals showed little capacity in the mover to find out the real reasons for the existing discontent in India, but it was helpful in eliciting strong and well-merited rebuke from Mr. Morley, who characterised the talk of Imperial *Dumas* as lacking common sense, though it is not possible to attach any special significance to the remarks of the Secretary of State for India about the appointment of an Indian gentleman to the Viceroy's Executive Council."

11. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 5th February 1908.—

Debate on the King's speech.

"If India received a poor share of space in the text of the King's speech opening Parliament the deficiency was more than made up by the prominence given to her and her people in the debate on the Address, which was wholly monopolised by them on the first day. This was due chiefly to Dr. Rutherford, and furnished an instance of the wholesome attention that may be drawn to the affairs of this country by the class of philanthropic and humanitarian M. Ps. who have taken to see things Indian with their own eyes, beginning with Mr. Keir Hardie and Dr. Rutherford, aided by journalists of the type of Mr Nevinson. Dr. Rutherford opened the debate by moving an amendment to the Address declaring that the reform scheme proposed by the Government for India is inadequate to allay discontent and that changes are imperatively necessary in the direction of giving the people of the country control over their own affairs. The learned Doctor's speech, to judge by the few phrases reported by Reuter, would appear to show that he has returned home with very strong opinions formed upon bureaucratic despotism in India. It further shows that the insidious attempts made here and there, by traitors and go-betweens who are to befound everywhere—at select social parties or in private interviews—to drop into his ears things false and calumniating relating to public men and affairs of this country have gone in vain. Dr. Rutherford was most emphatic in his condemnation of the prevalent policy in India.

"Mr. Morley's reply to the criticisms, taking it by Reuter's summary, may be characterised as a curious mixture of disillusionment and continued self-deception. Whether the latter is assumed or real, it is difficult to judge; for one finds it impossible to believe that the Minister who has set free the deported prisoners, apparently overriding the wishes and ideas of prestige of the Indian officials, and has been giving other proofs of a willingness to retrace his false steps—*e.g.*, the orders relating to the handcuffing of political prisoners—should still suggest, if not assert, that Lajpat Rai and disaffection in the Indian Army had any connection with each other. 'He admitted,' says Reuter, 'that the deportation of Lajpat Rai was a strong measure, but in view of Lord Minto's statement in Council in reference to the Indian Army nobody could deny it was justified.' This is simply *atrocious*. Did Lord Minto's

statement or the enquiries made by the Government prove a shred of connection between Lajpat Rai and the seduction of the army, supposing such seduction had been going on? And if any blame did attach to Lajpat Rai in the matter, why did Mr. Morley set him free unconditionally and without giving any explanation of the act, although it placed the Indian authorities in a false and awkward, if not humiliating, position? Then, how is it that when repeated interrogatories were made last summer as to the offence of Lajpat Rai, only a couple of ill-reported and mutilated speeches could with difficulty be searched out of the swollen bag of charges against him, which had only to be produced to be torn into tatters and their worthlessness as incriminatory documents shown up? If it was disillusionment as to the fancied gravity of the situation in India, which he had been hoodwinked to believe in by the Indian officials, that led to the release of the deportees, why does Mr. Morley still practise the self-deception that the deportation was justified in view of Lord Minto's statement in Council? Before the perusal of the full text of the speech it is not fair to form a final opinion, but judging by Reuter Mr. Morley still appears to be allowing himself to be led by the blind man's staff. Or shall we take his statement only as a sop to the 'prestige' of Indian officials, who would have no face to show if the Secretary of State gave them away in Parliament wholesale?"

The English and Natives.

12. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 1st February 1908, remarks that when the English came to India no one had the slightest idea that the time would come when instead of trembling before and speaking in a respectful manner to natives they would call the latter "Damned fools," disarm, weaken and neglect them, destroy their arts and industries through selfish motives, and wish those ill whose salt they ate. The times have changed: India is now under the sway of England and cannot do without the English. The present rulers of India are in the habit of boasting that they conquered and can retain the country only with the sword. As a matter of fact, however, the sceptre of Hindustan was handed to them by natives of themselves, the event being ascribable to dissensions between Hindus and Muhammadans. It was therefore incumbent on them to lend the people a helping hand in improving their condition. They have not, however, treated the people as they should have. They boast that they have spread education in the country, constructed railway and telegraph lines, and introduced Western civilisation. But thoughtful persons know full well that the English educate natives merely to make clerks of them; that the railways are meant only to facilitate the export of grain from India, which has made famines perpetual in the country; that the sole object of the Telegraph Department is to strengthen the foundation of British rule in India; and that the introduction of Western civilisation was intended only to make natives take kindly to British manufactures. After remarking that so far the English have done nothing towards the improvement of India, the paper says that now when natives have, thanks to the English, become weak and spiritless they are told by the latter that they are unfit for *Swaraj* and self-government. It is noteworthy that if they had been fit to govern themselves they would not have made over the sceptre of their country to the English. The present rulers should have made them better fitted for the task of self-government. They have been under British rule for about a century, and if they are still unfit to govern themselves the English should feel ashamed of this. The *Jhang Sial* then goes on to say that signs of an awakening have been visible among natives of late, but that the English can claim no credit for this, which indeed is a source of anxiety to

them. The awakening is due partly to the great deeds wrought by Japan and partly to the indifference of the English (to the natives of India). * * * The people, however, still love their present rulers, and if the latter desire the permanence of British rule in India they should shake hands with the former, who are generous minded enough to forget the past. In order to please natives the English have only to fulfil the pledges contained in the proclamation of 1858, which will put an end to all political agitation in India and establish thorough peace in the country. The Editor finally prays God to bring the English into the right path and purge their hearts of all blackness.

An appeal to the young men of India.

13. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 1st February 1908, reprints an appeal which appeared in a recent number of the *Circular of Freedom*, an Urdu monthly published in America by one Ram Nath Puri. The writer exhorts the young men of India to rise and dedicate their lives to the service of truth. They should not, like rats, hide themselves in their holes, but should feel a sense of shame and come out. The writer then exhorts the descendants of Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Sikhs, Mahrattas and Rajputs to realise that lakhs of men and women in India are suffering the agonies of death. The thought will be likely to induce them to endeavour to find food for the sufferers, but they are not in a position to feed the latter, for the manner in which Government has been sucking the life blood of natives is heart-rending indeed. They should therefore create a spirit of self-respect in the country: the bread of charity reduces the starving to a still worse condition. After remarking that 50 lakhs of *Sadhus* live on the earnings of others, the writer condemns natives for their misplaced charities. He next appeals to young men to raise their fellow-countrymen, saying that their lives, blood, strength, knowledge and guidance are required for the purpose. Those, he adds, who continually ask for help from Government are impervious to all sense of shame. Such mendicants should be regarded as dogs: these idlers do no work themselves and indulge in flattery and fight like dogs over every morsel of food. The writer also appeals to the rising generation not to imbibe the habit of begging for help from Government, which will never comply with their demands for their rights. The history of America shows clearly enough that petitions, appeals and entreaties are entirely thrown away on *Feringhees* and that it is only with the strength of the arm that justice can be obtained from them. The blood of young men being fresh, they should, instead of asking for help from Government, rely on themselves, close their ranks, and go to the help of their fellow-countrymen. They can, however, prove of no service to their country as long as they do not acquire proficiency in Western arts and letters. After advising them to discontinue priding themselves on their past in their present state of slavery, the writer exhorts them to go to foreign countries in quest of knowledge. If they continue to vegetate in India Government will stunt their intellects and crush their spirits by promulgating new circulars and laws every day and they will be no better than living corpses. They should quit the "circle of slavery," acquire knowledge abroad, and establish schools and colleges on their return to India. They will then be able to rid the country of plague, famine and thousands of other evils, and banish slavery, flattery, and dissension, from the land.

14. The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 3rd February 1908, publishes a communication in which the writer says that a change has come over India and that if the people persist in agitating for their rights they are bound to succeed in the end. After remarking that the rise of extremism in the country is ascribable to Government having turned a deaf ear to the demands of the people, he observes that the leaders should work and not confine their activities to passing resolutions. He then exhorts the Nationalists and Moderates to sink their differences and exert themselves to better the country's condition. The writer also advises the people to establish *panchayats* to settle their disputes, as also to refuse to sell grain to those who have been exporting it from the country in large quantities.

The new spirit in India.

15. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 1st February 1908, remarks that Government does not wish the people to shake off their sleep and that consequently it is arresting the awakening of the country. It is among students that the signs of this awakening have manifested themselves and the fact has led Government to issue orders prohibiting both students and teachers from attending political meetings. The prohibition shows that Government has stooped to low tactics and that it wishes native students to become clerks and not patriots. The paper then condemns the orders recently issued by the Government of East Bengal to preserve discipline in the schools in the new province. Government, it adds, knows full well that the older generation of natives have become quite unfit to take part in politics or push forward the *Swadeshi* agitation, and that danger is to be expected from the younger generation who have been boldly moving onwards. It is, therefore, busy crushing the rising generation.

Students and politics.

16. The *Sialkot Paper* (Sialkot), of the 24th January 1908, expresses satisfaction at Mr. Morley's recent orders that Editors accused of political offences should not be handcuffed during their trial. The paper also thanks the Secretary of State for the concession.

Handcuffing Editors accused of political offences.

17. The *Curzon Gazette* (Delhi), of the 23rd January 1908, publishes similar remarks and suggests that Mr. Morley should also direct that Editors convicted of political offences should never be sentenced to undergo rigorous imprisonment. Their punishment is invariably due to mistaken zeal or ideas, and it does not, therefore, become Government to treat them like common misdemeanants and exact hard labour from them.

Handcuffing Editors accused of political offences.

## II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

18. The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 3rd February 1908, publishes an account of the dacoities recently committed by Afridis into the houses of two Hindu bankers of Peshawar, Kirpa Ram and Chela Ram by names *vide* reprint from the *Panjabee*—paragraph 15 of selection No. 5), and enquires how long Government will allow frontier brigands to loot its subjects. To whom, it asks, should Chela Ram and Kirpa Ram apply for compensation, ad

Tribal raids into British territory.

does Government care nothing for its good name? After remarking that such occurrences are likely to deal a serious blow to British prestige, the paper reports that quite a panic prevails in Peshawar and its neighbourhood.

Tribal raids into the British territory.

19. The *Civil and Military News* (Ludhiana), of the 3rd February 1908, writing on the same subject, says that the daring dacoities by Zaka Khels have struck terror in the hearts of the residents of Peshawar and that the people no longer consider their lives and property safe. The oppression of British subjects at the hands of Zaka Khels has reached its climax, and the question is being asked how long Government will abstain from punishing the brigands. It is the duty of Government to safeguard the lives and property of its subjects.

## III.—Native States.

Government and Nepal.

20. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 1st February 1908, remarks that the arrest in Nepal of Sardar Kishen Singh and Sufi Amba Pershad has led the people to think that the land of the Gurkhas is as much under the influence of the British Government as other Native States. The Editor recently enquired from Sufi Amba Pershad how he was arrested in Nepal and whether that State was in no better position than the feudatory States in British India. In reply the Sufi writes to say that in order to secure his arrest Government resorted to sharp practice. According to the existing treaty between the British Government and the Nepal Darbar only persons accused of thirteen offences, *viz.*, dacoity, rape, arson, poisoning, murder, grievous hurt, cattle-lifting, misappropriation of Government money, highway robbery, &c., can be extradited. The Sufi was charged under section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code and Government had no right to demand his surrender from the Nepal Darbar. In making the demand, however, the British Resident in Nepal merely informed the Maharaja that he (Amba Pershad) had committed a serious offence. The Maharaja naturally thought that the offence was one of the thirteen referred to, and issued orders, as a matter of routine, for the extradition of Sufi Amba Pershad. The Governor of Nepalgunj, however, where the Sufi was residing, did not surrender the latter to the British authorities, because the orders were contrary to the provisions of the present treaty. He was about to submit a report to the Maharaja when he was placed under suspension in consequence of the repeated demands of Government and because his enemies reported to the Maharaja that he had been bribed by refugees from the Punjab, who were represented to be rich men. His successor had the Sufi arrested and made him over to the British Police without loss of time. Had, however, the ruler of Nepal been cognisant of the real facts the surrender would never have been made. Amba Pershad then goes on to say that Nepal does not stand to the British Government in the relation of a feudatory State. It is a fact, nevertheless, that its Wazirs have been committing mistakes which have greatly weakened the State and rendered the officials amenable to pressure from the British Government. It is not at all impossible that one day Nepal also may come under British rule, sinc the Maharaja is a mere puppet in the hands of his Wazir, who is the virtual ruler of the State. After alleging that powerful persons have been obtaining the post of Wazir by killing their predecessors

and that not a few incumbents of the post have had to fly into British territory for protection, the Sufi states that every Wazir deposits State money in banks in British territory as a provision for the future. In conclusion, he says that the English have been taking advantage of this state of affairs to strengthen their influence in Nepal.

## V.—Native Societies and religious matters.

The Arya Samaj.

21. The *Sat Dharam Parcharak* (Jullundur), of the 31st January 1908, regrets that Lala Mulraj, an Extra Judicial Assistant Commissioner in the Punjab, should have been endeavouring to make the Aryas subscribe to the view that no member of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College Committee and staff should take part in politics. His real object in doing so is to bring about the exclusion of Lala Lajpat Rai from the Committee, whereas he should have nothing but feelings of respect for the latter. Nevertheless, the paper would like Lala Lajpat Rai show less devotion to politics.

## VI.—Legislation.

The proposed amendment of the Press Law.

22. The *Watan* (Lahore), of the 31st January 1908, says that it is rumoured that Government intends to amend the Press Law and to empower the Police to confiscate a printing press, even after a summary investigation in a sedition case. The Editor cannot, however, bring himself to believe that Lord Minto really contemplates passing a law of this sort. At all events, the proposed measure will assuredly fail to achieve its object. Wrong-doers may be relied upon to devise some means to ensure their safety, and many an innocent person will suffer.

The proposed amendment of the Press Law.

23. The *Zemindar* (Karmabad), of the 1st February 1908, disapproves of the proposal to amend the Press Law, and suggests that the work of suppressing seditious writing should be left entirely to Press Associations, of which there should be one for each province. Every one wishing to start a newspaper should be required to produce a certificate from the association testifying to his fitness to undertake the task. The association should also have power to prohibit the exchange with other journals or periodicals which indulge in objectionable writing or do not conduct themselves in a becoming manner in any other way. If any Editor publishes articles likely to strain the relations between the rulers and the ruled, Government should refer his case to the association, whose verdict in the matter should be final. In conclusion, the paper says that if the Press is left at the mercy of the Police, they may be relied upon to grow quite reckless.

The proposed amendment of the Press Law.

24. The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 28th January 1908, writing on the same subject, concedes that some nationalist newspapers have been disregarding the present Press Law. It, however, feels confident that the proposed amendment will never be successful just as the amendment of the Sedition Law in 1898 failed to achieve its object. Offenders may be relied upon to manage to defeat the object of the contemplated law and there is nothing to prevent the proprietor of a newspaper from finding security for a dummy

Editor. After condemning the provision regarding the confiscation of printing presses as grossly unjust, the paper advises Government to abstain from creating another commotion in the country. The best thing for it to do would be to consider seditious writers unworthy of notice. If a newspaper continually indulges in seditious writing, Government could prohibit its despatch by post.

The proposed amendment of the Press Law.

25. The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 1st February 1908, publishes similar remarks and says that curiously enough it was in the time of a Liberal Viceroy that the Sedition Law was amended ten years ago and that the proposed Press Law is also going to be passed under a Liberal Government in England. There is absolutely no necessity for any change in the existing law, and the contemplated amendments are not likely to succeed in improving matters. Even the *Pioneer*, which is the leading Anglo-Indian newspaper and a sworn enemy of the aspirations of natives, has felt compelled to condemn the proposed measure.

Mr. Harkishen Lal's appointment to the Punjab Legislative Council.

26. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 8th February 1908:—

"The 'Punjab Gazette' published to-day contains the announcement of the appointment of Mr. Harkishen Lal to one of the seats now vacant in the local Council. We congratulate the new member, but none the less the Government on its happy selection. It is all very well to propound novel methods of recruiting for the various Councils in India—methods which are aimed at excluding the educated classes and especially the lawyers from these Councils, but a sagacious and honest administrator finds out very soon that unless he is to be satisfied with mere figure-heads he will have to resort to the class which is sought to be tabooed.

* * * * * *

"The appointment of Mr. Harkishen Lal to the Council is unique in one sense. We have had before this members who were entitled to be reckoned as belonging to the educated classes, but they were not in sympathy with the people so far as taking part in the Indian National Congress or in other public movements was concerned. For the first time in this province we have in the new member a man who is representative of the educated classes in every sense of the term. A graduate of the Cambridge and Punjab Universities he may claim to be an educated man apart from the fact of his having started life in the legal profession, having been called to the Bar in England. As the son of a farmer he is in touch with the land-holding class and can keenly appreciate their requirements. As a practising Barrister for many years he came into contact with men of all classes and obtained a thorough knowledge of the world. He exhibited an early interest in politics and was picked out by one of the most noble minded and patriotic men India has produced, the late Sardar Dyal Singh, to co-operate with him when the first Congress was held in Lahore, at which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji presided. He soon made his mark in politics, and though not gifted with the art of catching the ear of the people by noisy declamation, his influence was recognised in the Committees of the National Congress, and especially as regards the important matter of giving it a constitution, the absence of which led to its recent rupture. For the Congress of 1900 he co-operated with Mr. Jaishi Ram in the building of the Bradlaugh Hall, and when the lamented death of the latter a few months before the Congress session threw on him the whole burden of carrying on the arrangements, he rose to the occasion and with untiring energy and patience made it the success which it was. That a man young in years, though ripe in experience, should excite envy and jealousy and indeed create enemies was but natural in a country where patriotism often takes the form of seeking

the downfall of those who, more highly gifted than others, attain a prominent position in public life. For Mr. Harkishen Lal apart from his interest in politics had evolved a scheme of commercial and industrial enterprise for the Punjab which for its pretentiousness was calculated to evoke a smile of derision. Yet the scheme is now an established fact to which the various concerns—Banks, Insurance Companies and Factories—all of which he established and of which he is Managing Director—bear eloquent testimony. For a time disgusted with politics and of the trend of public opinion which preferred mischievous declamation to quiet and earnest work for the good of the country he kept himself aloof from the recent agitations which threw the Government off its balance. But when the clouds lowered the educated classes turned to him to take the lead in helping to disperse them, with what result time only can show. He it was that led the deputation of the Hindus to the present Lieutenant-Governor with the view of clearing the unjust aspersions cast upon them. And here it is that we must give Sir Denzil Ibbetson credit for recognising and acting upon a fact which a ruler less honest and well disposed might well have ignored. The educated classes put forward Mr. Harkishen Lal as their representative, but Sir Denzil Ibbetson if inclined to be unsympathetic towards them had it quite within his power to ignore them and him. We take it therefore that in nominating Mr. Harkishen Lal to the Council Sir Denzil Ibbetson gave striking evidence of his sympathy towards the educated classes, and this we are bound to say in fairness to him. We are glad to be able to say this, for suffering as he is from a sad calamity which has brought him nigh to death's door, we venture to say it is a cowardly and despicable act to go hunting for his faults and blemishes as an administrator."

## VII.—General Administration.

### (*a*)—*Judicial.*

The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 2nd February 1903:—

**The Judiciary and the Police.**

"We have in a previous issue dealt with some of the phases of the principle which dominates the powers that be, both in the Punjab and Bengal, fettering the discretion of judicial officers in their comments upon the conduct of the Police. We protested against the way in which the authorities are attempting to throw a *purdah* over the mode in which Crown cases are investigated by the Police and characterised the conduct of the Executive as an unwarranted and wanton interference with the mode of administration of justice prevailing in the country.

* * * * * * * *

"But it may be argued that we are beside the mark, that our argument is based upon a misapprehension of the principle of the circular. It may be said, for instance, by official apologists, that neither the Chief Court circular nor the Bengal Government proceedings do bar judicial comments upon the conduct of the Police as such. They simply assign a limit to judicial comments in order to safeguard the condemnation of persons without any hearing. The consideration of these pleas for the justification of the official conduct will involve our looking a little more closely into the language of both the Punjab and Bengal circular. The Punjab circular says that it is 'undesirable for Magistrates to make remarks in criminal cases censuring the actions of Police officers unless such are strictly relevant to the case and the officers concerned have had an opportunity of explaining their action'. Now the very *raison d'etre* of this rule is to protect and screen the Police officers from being exposed in the judgments of our courts of law.

* * * The idea underlying these circulars is that in the opinion of the authorities the Police suffer from being wrongly criticised by the courts of justice, that they are more sinned against than sinning, and they, therefore, deserve the protecting care and solicitude of the Executive Government, whose most important limb they are. But public opinion both Indian and Anglo-Indian is emphatically ranged against the idea that the Police require any sort of special protection from the Government. If there is one

point on which more than on any other there is a general consensus of opinion it is that Police investigation often opens the door to many mal-practices. And the only way to put a stop to them is by giving them an unreserved and full publicity and by not attempting to hush them up in a hole-and-corner fashion. There is another important point to be looked into, to which reference has been made by the *Statesman*. Even as it is, the Government is not noted for its inclination to take the necessary action in respect of those Police officers who are judicially found guilty of some misconduct or other. How will things fare when the light of publicity is taken away? Will not then things drift towards worse and worse? As the *Statesman* points out, 'the absence of all publicity would inevitably remove the goad which now pricks on the Government to punish wrong doing.' Besides, Judges are but human and as such are expected to be not unmindful of their prospects in the service. Many of them, we are sure, inwardly resent this uncalled for fettering of their discretion, but all of them cannot be expected to summon the necessary courage and to take no note which way the wind is blowing. They would be more than human if they were not to perceive that adverse comments of the Police would be unpalatable to the authorities. Thus the measure, instead of securing and maintaining the confidence of the public in the administration of the Police of the province, will tend to still further alienate public confidence in the Police, and certainly nothing can be more undesirable from both the Government's and the people's point of view.

* * * * * * * *

"There is a further and a very important point to be considered. One of the crying questions of the time is the separation of judicial and executive functions and is—if our contemporary, the *Indian Daily News*, which is usually well-informed in such matters, is to be believed—the subject of a strained controversy between Mr. Hobhouse and the Government. The question has been hanging fire for a number of years, and has been reported on again and again and pigeon-holed. At present it is well known that the Police and the Executive are closely allied, the head of the district being also the head of the Police. Can it be, as some cynical critics suggest, that the Government is taking this opportunity to strengthen the Police, which has been called the right arm of the Executive, by protecting it from the breath of adverse judicial criticism, for, according to these critics, the Executive knows that sooner or later it will have to part with some of its powers? We, for instance, are loth to give credence to such an insinuation. But the very fact that such sinister motives have in some quarters been attributed shows that the circulars will, if anything, further impair public confidence in the administration of the Police. Indeed, anything calculated to fetter the discretion of the presiding officers of our courts with reference to the Police can only be regarded as mischievous and retrograde."

28. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 8th February 1908:—

Appeal in the Rawalpindi riot case.

"What has amazed the whole country in Mr. Justice Robertson's now famous judgment is that, while upholding the finding and sentences of the Lower Court, he should have spent so much space, time and pains to point out the supposed lapses of the Special Magistrate in handling evidence and forming conclusions. Such a procedure might have been necessary only if His Lordship had found reason to disagree with the Lower Court, for neither is it customary, nor does it look gracious—nor we believe is it in accordance with the canons of service etiquette—for one Judge to cut up a brother Judge with whose findings he agrees, unless there was some ulterior purpose to serve foreign to the merits of the case on the file. Apart from the internal evidence of a strong feeling bordering some times on animus, running throughout the document, it is therefore fair to conclude that, in sitting down to write his judgment, Mr. Justice Robertson had in

view not merely to give his reasons for dismissing the appeals, but still more to show up Mr. Martineau. The Special Magistrate had committed the great sin of bringing some comfort to the hateful Indian community in the days of their distress, and had been the involuntary means of causing a break in the headlong course of merciless repression which had found favour in high official quarters. That in doing so Mr. Martineau had saved the good name of British Justice and helped in restoring the people's faltering faith in the British Raj was evidently of no consequence to a Judge of the august Court whose prestige he had wounded by proving—again involuntarily—the senselessness of its famous Bail Order. Mr. Martineau had let off men whom the Chief Court had presumed to be guilty, and many of whom Mr. Justice Robertson still regards to be guilty; Mr. Martineau's careful and long-drawn enquiry had proved to the satisfaction of the world that the sedition scare was unfounded and that under its sheltering auspices Police oppression had become unbounded; Mr. Martineau, without courting it and in the beginning of the enquiry apparently in defiance of it, had managed to win the approbation of a harassed population. For these sins Mr. Martineau surely deserved to be pilloried. Excepting on this theory it is impossible to account for the manner in which the Special Magistrate has been strung up, in Mr. Justice Robertson's judgment, by the same rope with the five accused whom he had himself condemned. Jesus crucified between two thieves was hardly a more anomalous spectacle."

The prosecution of the *Bartana* (?) newspaper of Rangpur for sedition.

29. The *Sadik-ul-Akhbar* (Rewari), of the 24th January 1908, reports that the Editor of the *Bartana* (?) of Rangpur has been sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment under sections 124 and 153, Indian Penal Code, for having endeavoured to prove that ***Feringhees*** were descended from monkeys. This, contends the paper, can constitute no offence, seeing that a white-skinned writer (Darwin) himself represents man as having been descended from the monkey, and his theory is very popular throughout Europe.

### (*c*)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs.*

Enhancement of house tax at Delhi.

30. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 2nd February 1908, reports that a largely attended public meeting was held at Delhi on the 24th ultimo to express indignation at the tyrannical conduct of the local Municipal Committee (in enhancing house tax in the city). Mian Karamat Ali proposed that the Committee should be humbly requested to abolish the tax. Shaikh Sadik Ali opposed the proposal, saying that it was useless to supplicate the Municipality and that the people should pay back that body in its own coin. The amendment was supported by Lala Amir Chand, who, in the course of a spirited speech, remarked that it was disgraceful for the residents of Delhi to leave Sayad Haidar Raza to do what was calculated to benefit both Hindus and Muhammadans. He added that if the people were being crushed under the weight of the tax they should refuse to pay it. Sayad Haidar Raza spoke last and exhorted his fellow-townsmen to combine against the Municipality as the only way to have the tax repealed.

Complaint in connection with the recent fire at Campbellpore.

31. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 8th February 1908:—

"It is a matter of regret that the police inquiry into the alleged looting by soldiers at a fire which occured at Campbellpore, and in which the Military came to help, is not progressing satisfactorily. That some soldiers did indulge in looting is unfortunately too true, but the Police are very much hampered in their inquiry by reason of the fact that the shopkeepers decline to give evidence as regards this occurrence for fear of losing their

custom. It is quite probable that under these circumstances the inquiry will lead to no result. But it is possible that better results may be obtained by the Military authorities making a departmental inquiry, for surely there must be many soldiers who assisted in putting down the fire and who had no hand in looting and must deprecate the conduct of those who did so. In the chaukidar murder case at Jullundur and the alledged outrage case at Multan, when a boy was found dead, it was the soldiers who gave the evidence which incriminated those who were suspected of the offence, and we have no doubt that much light would be thrown on the looting affair at Campbellpore by a searching inquiry by the Military authorities. We are glad that the Government is actively stirring itself to elucidate the real facts and to bring the offenders to justice."

*e)—Agriculture and questions affecting the land.*

The prevailing scarcity.

32. The *Akhbar-i Am* (Lahore), of the 5th February 1908, publishes a communication in which the writer says that things are becoming topsy-turvy in India. After remarking that salt is selling cheaper than wheat, he observes that it was the duty of Government to cheapen grain by prohibiting the export thereof from the country. Instead of doing so, however, it has reduced the duty on salt, which is consumed in very small quantities. The correspondent then blames rative public servants for the present miserable condition of India and exhorts Government to listen to the just grievances of the people.

*(g)—Postal matters.*

The proposal to extend the V.-P. P. system to England.

33. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 28th January 1908, writing about the proposal to extend the Value-payable Parcel system to Great Britain, says that Anglo-Indian shopkeepers are opposed to the idea. The Punjab Chamber of Commerce has asked Government to drop the proposal, saying that if people could get goods from England by value-payable parcels Anglo-Indian shopkeepers would have no custom left. This being so, Government may be relied upon to consult the interest of traders of its own nationality, although the contemplated change is calculated to enable buyers to obtain goods direct from England at lower prices than they have to pay now. It is, however, equally certain that if natives were to request Government to impose a heavy export duty in respect of grain in order to prevent the export of that commodity from India and thereby save the people from starvation, it would pay absolutely no heed to the request. The paper then goes on to say that the adoption of the proposal can confer no benefit on natives and that it will result only in their ordering a thousand and one useless things from England. In conclusion, it says that only traders in England will profit by this change.

The proposal to extend the V.-P. P. system to England.

34. The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 25th, *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 31st January, and the *Curzon Gazette* (Delhi), of the 1st February 1908, also publish similar remarks.

The proposal to extend the V.-P. P. system to England.

35. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 6th February 1908 :—

"Sir,—The proposal to establish a Value-Payable Parcel Service between Great Britain and India has much to recommend it—the protest of the Punjab Chamber of

Commerce notwithstanding. It appears this proposal was brought forward twice in 1877 and 1884, and both times it was abandoned. Once again the Home Government has expressed its willi ngness to sanction a scheme applicable to the United Kingdom and the British Possessions abroad. We hope the Government of India will this time consider the question from all points of view, and not be guided by the opinion of the Punjab Chamber of Commerce or similar other body, who represent, after all, vested interests.

"One of the objections urged against the system is that it will ruin the several branches of retail trade throughout India. One cannot understand how it will? It is as idle to suppose that the petty trader will be wiped out of existence by the introduction of this system as to imagine that the coaching traffic in a particular province will be ruined after the introduction of railways. The retail trader depends for his custom on the sale of articles which have an *immediate* demand. His customer is not going to waits two months for his paper or pencil, for his match box or similar article of utility, till it arrives by mail from England. Owing to an extensive use of advertisements the wants of the public are daily increasing and the Value-Payable Parcel system will come as a blessing to people who want a thousand and one knick-nacks—books, articles of fancy, medicines, watches, &c., &c., &c.,—some of which it is not possible to get in India. The ordinary individual is loath to send money in advance and wait for arrival of the desired article after two or three months. If this system were introduced one has only to send an order to England and the thing will come knocking at his doors. The splendid results achieved by the system, as at present working in India, ought to lead the Government to expect equally good results when it is established between India and the British Isles.

"Another objection urged against this system is that it will lead to a loss of revenue to municipalities. This again is not a fact. The municipalities do levy octroi duties on foreign parcels even now. With the introduction of the V-P. P. the revenues will, on the contrary, be enhanced, because whereas now they depend for the valuation of the parcel on the statement of the receiver (who very often undervalues it), after the introduction of this system there will be no doubt regarding the value of the article in question. Then, again, owing to an increase in the number of parcels the income of the municipalities will correspondingly increase. Whereas now the municipal man enquires from the Post Office the names of the recipients of foreign parcels, and goes round to the house of each individual, after the introduction of this system the Postal peon will collect the municipal octroi dues along with the other charges. So that, after all, the rich man will not get the articles free of octroi duties as it is imagined by the Punjab Chamber of Commerce.

"How the system will result in a loss of revenue to India in income tax is not clear, but it must be acknowledged that granting it does cause a loss of revenue in one branch of the Government, it will at the same time cover up the loss twenty times by an increase in the Postal revenue.

"The fact is that the system will give blow to the middleman, and enable the purchaser to deal direct with the manufacturer, and we hope the Government will consult the interests of the purchasers, or consumers, who will after the introduction of this system be enabled to get their articles cheaper and better than if they do as at present, through the middlemen.

"With the advancement of civilisation, and the growth of the art (or science ?) of advertisement, the ordinary educated man desires to possess a number of articles, which the retail dealer is too slow or conservative to supply him, and the Indian Postal Department will be failing in its primary duties if it does not avail itself of the splendid opportunities afforded to it by the British Postal authorities.

Yours, &c.,

BAL CHAND KARAM CHAND."

(*h*).—*Miscellaneous.*

36. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 5th February 1908 :—

The proposed memorial to Sir Denzil Ibbetson.

"A memorable Memorial Committee was formed at Lahore last week, the members whereof, by the time they have finished their work, will have done more to transmit their own names to posterity than perhaps that of the person whose memory they undertake to perpetuate. For current events have already passed their verdict upon Sir Denzil Ibbetson's rule, without waiting for the tardy opinion of history, but the Indians who could gather together to pay their tribute of gratitude and admiration to that rule will no doubt deserve to be marked men for future generations of their country. The circumstances connected with the régime of the late Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab are yet too painfully fresh in the public memory to need recapitulation, and if the melancholy termination of that reign was received with a sigh, it was a sigh heaved by a people whose cheeks were still wet with the burning tears caused by its melancholy associations. The sympathy that was extended to Sir Denzil in his painful illness did justice to the Indian instincts of the hearts of those who *really* felt it, but these same persons cannot but lay themselves open to the charge of abnormal callousness to the sorrows and sufferings of fellow-Indians if they can think of perpetuating what are most painful memories for them in a conspicuous and material form. It would perhaps be ungracious if one were to follow with curses a régime which has ended so gloomily for the man who stood at its head, but neither should any Indian take upon himself the still more ungracious task of showing a fiendish indifference towards the feelings of his countrymen by pretending to bless it.

* * * * * * *

"The question that naturally arises to our lips is, 'Did Sir Denzil ever do anything to deserve the gratitude of any class of Indians.' Our reply is a decided 'No.' In the whole range of Anglo-Indians who ever came to these shores to rule this unfortunate country, perhaps not a single one, not even Lord Curzon, could be pointed out as a greater enemy to all Indian aspirations than Sir Denzil. If ever the time comes, which is bound to come sooner or later, when the veil of official secrecy shall be removed and the working of Lord Curzon's mind exposed to public view, it will be found that every reactionary measure of the late Viceroy had Sir Denzil at its back. It was Sir Denzil who at every step baffled the attempts of Indians to get some of the most objectionable features of the University legislation removed or softened. It was probably he who suggested the anomalous device of a validating legislation. It was he who supplied the material for Lord Curzon's special pleading in reply to Mr. Dutt's exposure of the Revenue policy of the Government of India. It was he who supported Lord Curzon in his haughty and insolent attitude towards the children of the soil. It was he who is really responsible for all the agrarian legislation of recent years. It was he who was responsible for the injurious land-settlement of the Punjab. Let one examine his whole career as a Civilian, and he will not be able to find one redeeming feature therein which entitles him to the gratitude of the Indian community. A more exacting, unsympathetic, haughty and self-sufficient Civilian, who thought he could never make a mistake and knew everything, it will be difficult to find. He was very able and very strong no doubt, but all his ability and strength was employed in adding to Government revenues, taking rights from the people, hampering Indian aspirations, maintaining an insulting attitude towards educated Indians, and treating all classes of Indians with contempt. Our Muhammadan friends may not have entirely forgotten his insolent remarks about the Punjab Muhammadans in his first Census Report. Recently, no doubt, he had changed his attitude towards them, though surely not out of love, but rather to spite the Hindus. In his eight months' reign in the Punjab he turned the whole province topsy-turvy, and did things which dragged the good name of British justice into the mire. For Indians to try to prepetuate the memory of such a ruler casts a sad side-light on their character. There are some individuals who perhaps must do something to

honour the memory of a patron—men who owe their everything to him, whose prospects he has advanced, or who expect to get a continuance of favours from his successor. But for the general body of Hindus and Muhammadans to subscribe towards his memorial is nothing short of an outrage upon common sense and decency and setting a very bad exampl to their countrymen of public virtue and public spirit. We would therefore enter an emphatic protest against the attempt to demoralise the Punjabees by pressing them to support such an outrageous scheme. Let not educated Indians forget that every reactionary and repressive measure of the Government that came into operation or saw the light of the day during the last 10 years, including Mr. Morley's so-called Reform Scheme, bears the stamp of the Ibbetsonian genius. They can cherish his memory only in one character, *viz.*, as one of the greatest enemies to their aspirations that they have ever had in the Government of India."

The *Yugantar* newspaper.

37. The *Sadik-ul-Akbar* (Rewari), of the 24th January 1908, writing about the third prosecution of the *Yugantar* for sedition, says that the paper has neither ceased to exist nor has it moderated its tone. The Editor then publishes a translation of the incriminating article.

Aid to Pindi Das' family.

38. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 1st February 1908, publishes another appeal to the public for aid to Pindi Das' family and acknowledges receipt of the following subscriptions :—

| | | | Rs. | A. | P. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The *Jhang Sial* newspaper | ... | ... | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Lala Bishen Das | ... | ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Lala Rup Chand ... | ... | ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Arur Singh, a lithograph writer in the *Jhang Sial* Press ... | ... | ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Lala Sohan Lal ... | ... | ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | | ... | 20 | 0 | 0 |

Sufi Amba Pershad.

39. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 1st February 1908, advises Sufi Amba Pershad to resuscitate the *India* newspaper for which two lives have already been sacrificed, and which is, therefore, worthy of being restored to life. The Sufi was unjustly put to trouble on suspicion of having been on the staff of *India* and he should spite his enemies by resuscitating and editing the paper.

F. ISEMONGER,

*Assistant to Deputy Inspector General of Police,*
*Criminal Intelligence Department, Punjab.*

LAHORE :
*The 8th February* 1908.

Punjab Government Press, Lahore—20-2-08—654—95—J. B.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 7. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 15th February 1908.**

## CONTENTS.


I.—Politics.

Page.

*(a)—Foreign—*

1. Indians in the Transvaal (*Tribune*) ... ... 93
2. Indians in the Transvaal (*Sat Dharam Parekharak*) ... 94

*(b)—Home—*

3. The King's speech and India (*Punjab Samachar*) ... 94
4. The King's speech and India (*Jhang Sial*) ... *ib.*
5. The King's speech and India (*Arya Gazette*) ... *ib.*
6. Debate on the King's speech (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... *ib.*
7. How natives can rise in the scale of nations (*Aftab*) 95

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

8. Subsidy to the Amir (*Rajput Gazette*) ... ... 95

III.—Native States.

*Nil.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

*Nil.*

V.—Native Societies and religious matters.

9. The Arya Samaj (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 96

VI.—Legislation.

Page.

10. Proposed Press law (*Hakam*) ... ... 96
11. Proposed Press law (*Punjab Samachar*) ... ... *ib.*
12. Proposed Press law (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... *ib.*

VII.—General Administration.

*(a)—Judicial—*

13. Appeal in the Rawalpindi riot case (*Punjab Samachar*) 97

*(b)—Police—*

*Nil.*

*(c)—Municipal and Cantonment affairs—*

14. Lahore Municipality (*Vakil*) ... ... 97

*(d)—Education—*

*Nil.*

*(e)—Agriculture and questions affecting the land—*

*Nil*

*(f)—Railways and Communications—*

*Nil.*

*(g)—Postal matters—*

*Nil.*

*(h)—Miscellaneous—*

*Nil.*

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 7. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 15th February 1908.**

---

### I.—POLITICS.

#### (*a*)—*Foreign.*

1. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 15th February 1908 :—

**Indians in the Transvaal.**

"The reassuring news wired by Reuter that Mr, Gandhi, the energetic and devoted Indian leader in the Transvaal, escaped the cowardly attack by some countrymen of his own without any serious injury, will be received with a sense of relief and thankfulness throughout the country, as by his deep and unflinching patriotism and unfaltering self-denial Mr. Gandhi has made his name a household word in India. It appears that as we surmised on the receipt of the news of assault there has been a sense of grievous disappointment and dissatisfaction among a section of our countrymen in that colony with the terms of the compromise, but as we pointed out the other day that furnishes no rhyme or reason to fall foul with Mr. Gandhi or other Indian leaders who accepted the climb down of the Transvaal Government on terms which throughout the protracted agitation they had demanded on behalf of the Indian population. There will, in no quarter, be any disposition to justify the unbecoming and undignified assault on their own leader perpetrated by a number of malcontents, but, as we suspected, the Transvaal settlement has failed to give complete satisfaction in this country, for the Transvaal Government have by no means conceded even half of what we as Indian subjects of the British Sovereign were entitled to. As we expressed our belief, the solution was by no means satisfactory to the vast masses of the Indian population in this country, though it was mainly fair and honourable compromise for those who were actively in the thick of the fight. So far as our countrymen in that colony were concerned, their demands having been conceded, they could not as fair and honourable men continue the fight, but so far as the people at large in this country are concerned, the Transvaal law cuts at the root of their inalienable rights of travel and free residence in any part of the Empire and sets an example which cannot fail to serve as a sad precedent to foreign nations and countries. * * * Apart from what actually happens in Transvaal it is time that our countrymen in India made a united and pressing representation to the Government in India and the Cabinet in England to take into urgent and immediate consideration the situation to which the Indian subjects of the Crown as such have been reduced by being treated as aliens and undesirables in a part of the Empire itself. If

the Government are moved in a regular and organised manner to take notice of the situation thus brought about and the sorry *impasse* thus created, the Transvaal people might still be made to see the unreasonableness of their attitude and the untenableness of their position. A timely, persistent and constitutional action might still bring the proud colonists on their knees before the Imperial Government and the brand of degradation removed from off the face of the maligned and persecuted Indian."

Indians in the Transvaal.

2. The *Sat Dharam Parcharak* (Jullundur), of the 7th February 1908, refers to the concessions made in favour of Indians in the Transvaal and praises the immigrants for the bold stand made by them. After remarking that the success achieved by them is attributable to united action, it says that disunion in the ranks of natives is at the bottom of the failure of political agitation in India. If Hindus, Muhammadans, Christians and others had joined hands in demanding their rights Government could never have refused them. It is not plaintive pleading, but loud demands, that attract attention from men, especially the selfish. The Arya Samaj loudly expressed its wants during the past few months; and although this led to deportation and imprisonment, can any one assert that its voice was not listened to? Again, it is the firmness displayed by the Samaj which has made Mr. Morley repent and lay the blame for his mistakes at the door of Lord Curzon, and display eagerness to throw a few crumbs to natives. The Editor then urges the political reformers of India to give up useless agitation and devise means to do real good to the country.

(*b*)—*Home.*

The King's speech and India.

3. The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 4th February 1908, commenting on the King's speech, says that India is the only part of the British Empire which was dismissed with a few words. His Majesty could not have been ignorant of the country's condition in 1907, but he did not say a single word about it in his speech. Nay, he made no mention even of Mr. Morley's reform scheme or of the ill-treatment of Indians in the Transvaal. This shows clearly enough that Indian affairs are not considered worth mentioning in the King's speeches. Indeed, what is the use of speaking of an unfortunate country whose people lack all sense of selfishness, are divided against themselves, and do not make their existence felt by their Government.

The King's speech and India.

4. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 8th February 1908, publishes similar remarks, and says that the omision shows that India occupies no large place in His Majesty's heart.

The King's speech and India.

5. The *Arya Gazette* (Lahore), of the 6th February 1908, also deplores the dismissal of India with a few words.

Debate on the King's speech.

6. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 8th February 1908, referring to the recent debate on the King's speech, says that Mr. Morley's opposition to the suggestion regarding the establishment of an Indian Par-

liamentary Committee leaves no room for doubt that he does not wish the British public to know more about this country than they do at present. It also shows that the Secretary of State is averse to independent inquiries being made into the doings of the Government of India. After remarking that his reform scheme is an outline of an incomplete and defective form of Parliament, the paper fails to see why Mr. Morley should find fault with Dr. Rutherford for his suggestion to establish a *Duma* for this country. It then impresses on the Secretary of State the desirability of introducing reforms into the administration of India without much further delay.

How natives can rise in the scale of nations.

7. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 9th February 1908, asks why India has been deprived of liberty. Is this so because Indians have a black skin? There was a time when they were free and were considered one of the great nations of the world. Did any one kick them then or call them black men? Was any foreigner the arbiter of their honour, life and property? Did any one characterise their religion as false or brand their ancestors as liars? Were they considered savages and worse than beasts? There are people who say that natives do not know what liberty means. Their enemies assert that Hindus and Muhammadans are ever ready to fly at each other's throats; that every week witnesses disputes between the two communities; that Indians cannot work together; and that consequently they have no right to demand liberty. It is curious logic that because Indians fight among themselves, they are therefore fit only to remain slaves of others for ever. It is also said that they should first improve their moral and social condition, while in certain quarters development of their arts and industries is considered essential for their political elevation. The Editor is, however, of opinion that at the present juncture his fellow-countrymen should devote their energies exclusively to politics. His reason for holding this view is that it is impossible for them to initiate any reform without the possession of those mental and physical powers which they can regain only by obtaining political liberty. Indeed, some wise English men have already come to the conclusion that Indians lie behind in the race for progress simply because they have lost their liberty. Those who cannot protect themselves and accept the protection of others cannot realise the higher aims of life. After remarking that slavery is at the root of every evil, the Editor goes on to say that some Anglo-Indian Officers are anxious to set Hindus and Muhammadans at enmity. A National Government would have tried to promote peace between the two communities, which lived as friends in the time of former rulers of the country. No people can reform themselves unless they manage their own affairs, and as long as natives do not establish their own rule (in the country), they cannot better their lot to any great extent. There can be no doubt that owing to their being a subject race their morals are very low; but is their moral fall so complete that they can achieve no success on the political field?

## II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

Subsidy to the Amir.

8. The *Rajput Gazette* (Lahore), of the 8th February 1908, says that the Anglo-Russian Convention precludes the necessity for the British Government to subsidise the Amir. It therefore suggests that the payment of

the subsidy should be discontinued and that poor India should be relieved of the burden.

## V.—Native Societies and religious matters.

The Arya Samaj.

9. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 8th February 1908, disapproves of the proposal that an Arya Samajist who takes part in politics should not be appointed an office bearer of the Samaj or to the D. A.-V. College Committee. Do those, it asks, who evince interest in political matters lose all feelings of patriotism?

## VI.—Legislation.

Proposed Press law.

10. The *Hakam* (Kadian) of the 6th February 1908, writing about the proposed amendment of the Press law, admits the extreme necessity for putting down seditious writing in the country. It is, however, of opinion that a stringent and rigorous law like the one in contemplation is calculated to create feelings of discontent among the people. The paper shares the *Zemindar's* view that the work of bringing about the desired result should be left to the Press itself and that a Press Association should be established in every province to cope with the situation (*vide* paragraph 23 of Selections No. 6). After remarking that natives themselves are to blame for the calamity which is about to befall the Press in India, the Editor suggests that special concessions should be made in favour of those newspapers which do not dabble in politics and the object of which is to introduce religious reforms or improve the condition of the communities represented by them.

Proposed Press law.

11. The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 4th February 1908, writing on the same subject, ironically remarks that an Editor should always be required to furnish a cash security, so that Government may be spared the trouble of arresting the sureties and recovering the amount of the security from them. Besides, whenever Government thinks that an Editor has transgressed the law it should lose no time in forfeiting the security furnished by him. This will not only bring money into the coffers of Government, but will also do away with the necessity for prosecutions for sedition. There is no better way to put down seditious writing in the country.

Proposed Press law.

12. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 8th February 1908, remarks that Mr. Kingsford and the Calcutta Police have failed to put an end to the existence of the *Yugantar*. Government, it adds, will be proclaiming its own weakness if it amends the Press law merely in order to stop the publication of that paper. The authorities should go on imprisoning the conductors of the *Yugantar* and abstain from entailing misery on the entire Press for the fault of one of its members.

## VII.—General Administration.

### (*a*)—*Judicial.*

Appeal in the Rawalpindi riot case.

13. The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 4th February 1908, in criticising Mr. Justice Robertson's judgment in the appeal in the Rawalpindi riot case, says that the public are not unaware of the reprehensible manner in which the Rawalpindi Police conducted themselves in connection with the case. Mr. Martineau saw the doings of the Police with his own eyes, but Mr. Justice Robertson, who had no such opportunity, finds fault with the Special Magistrate for his remarks in regard to those doings. The paper cannot refrain from observing that apparently Mr. Justice Robertson had, before hearing the counsel for either side, made up his mind not only to dismiss the appeal, but also to condemn the acquittal by the Special Magistrate of a large number of the accused in the case.

### (*c*)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs.*

Lahore Municipality.

14. The *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 5th February 1908, says that Colonel Parsons' suggestion in the *Civil and Military Gazette* regarding the imposition of a 'quit' tax at Lahore brings an involuntary smile to one's lips. It is anything but just to collect a municipal tax from persons having occasion to stay at Lahore for one or two hours or days. Does it not strike Colonel Parsons as unfair to make outsiders pay for the benefits enjoyed by the residents of the capital of the Punjab? If Government thinks only of enriching the Lahore Municipal Committee it might as well impose a tax on the whole province for that body's benefit.

F. ISEMONGER,

*Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*

*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

LAHORE:

*The 15th February* 1908.

Punjab Government Press, Lahore—27-3-08—955—95—J. B.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 8. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

Received up to 22nd February 1908.

---

## CONTENTS.


I.—Politics.

Page.

(a)—*Foreign*—

1. Indians in the Transvaal (*Jhang Sial*) ... 99
2. Indians in the Transvaal (*Parkash*) ... ... *ib.*

(b)—*Home*—

3. The King's speech and Indian affairs (*Hindustan*) ... 99
4. Mr. Morley and Indian affairs (*Punjab Samachar*) ... 100
5. Government's repressive policy (*Parkash*) ... *ib.*
6. Swaraj (*Hindustan*) ... ... ... *ib.*
7. The new spirit in India (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 101
8. The poverty of India (*Punjab Samachar*) ... *ib.*
9. Punjab Provincial Conference (*Parkash*) ... ... *ib.*
10. Lala Lajpat Rai on Burma (*Hak Pasand*) ... *ib.*

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

11. Expedition against the Zakka Khels (*Parkash*) ... 102
12. Expedition against the Zakka Khels (*Parkash*) ... *ib.*

III.—Native States.

13. Kapurthala affairs (*Hak Pasand*) ... ... 103
14. Kapurthala affairs (*Punjab Samachar*) ... ... *ib.*
15. Kapurthala affairs (*Curzon Gazette*) ... ... *ib.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

*Nil.*

V.—Native Societies and religious matters.

16. Parasnath hill (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 103

VI.—Legislation.

Page.

17. Muhammadans and the Punjab Legislative Council (*Observer*) ... ... ... ... 103
18. Mr. Harkishan Lal's appointment to the Punjab Legislative Council (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 104
19. Mr. Harkishan Lal's appointment to the Punjab Legislative Council (*Parkash*) ... ... 105
20. Mr. Harkishan Lal's appointment to the Punjab Legislative Council (*Sat Dharam Parcharak*) ... *ib.*

VII.—General Administration.

(a)—*Judicial*—

*Nil.*

(b)—*Police*—

*Nil.*

(c)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs*—

*Nil.*

(d)—*Education*—

*Nil.*

(e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land*—

*Nil.*

(f)—*Railways and Communications*—

*Nil.*

(g)—*Postal matters*—

*Nil.*

(h)—*Miscellaneous*—

21. Docile and submissive habits of natives (*Hindustan*) 105

[Vol. XXI.] [No. 8]

[Confidential.]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

Received up to 22nd February 1908.

---

### I.—POLITICS.

#### (*a*)—*Foreign.*

Indians in the Transvaal.

1. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 15th February 1908, writing about the concession which has been made in favour of Indians in the Transvaal in respect of the Registration Act, says that there is nothing to choose between finger prints and signatures. After remarking that the concession is only nominal, it deprecates the efforts of the "White Men" to degrade the people of this country.

Indians in the Transvaal.

2. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 18th February 1908, publishes similar remarks, and says that the oppressive Registration Act is still in force. After praising the Indian Muhammadans in the Transvaal for their continued opposition to the Act and deploring Mr. Gandhi's cowardice in consenting to voluntary registration, the paper observes that it is unwise on the part of the leaders of India to feel satisfied with the nominal concessions made, since their fellow-countrymen are not as free to go to the Transvaal as Boers are to come to India. It is the duty of both Hindus and Muhammadans to convince Government that as long as their country is not placed on a footing of equality with the Crown colonies, they will neither let it nor themselves know any rest. If they fail to do so, they will be driven out from every country like dogs.

#### (*b*)—*Home.*

The King's speech and Indian affairs.

3. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 14th February 1908, remarks that the only mention of India in the King's speech was contained in a reference to the famine prevailing in the country. The people are greatly disappointed that His Majesty should have said nothing about the ill-treatment of Indians in the Transvaal, as also about the events of the past few

months and Mr. Morley's reform scheme. The paper then refers to Dr. Rutherford's share in the debate on the speech, and says that natives are thankful to that gentleman for endeavouring to draw the attenion of the Commons to Indian affairs

Mr. Morley and Indian affairs.

4. The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 8th February 1908, expresses satisfaction at Mr. Morley's promise to nominate a native to the Viceroy's Executive Council, and suggests that Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh should be appointed as Law Member of that body. It then goes on to say that although Mr. Morley's reform scheme does not come up to popular expectations, it undoubtedly constitutes a step in advance. It further remarks that although the first native members of the India Council have not been chosen from among the independent-minded leaders of the people, it is to be hoped that in future Government's choice will fall on more deserving persons.

Government's repressive policy.

5. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 18th February 1908, says that Government's recent oppressive doings make one doubt whether it is putting its power to the right use. After remarking that Mr. Khaparde has been removed from the post of the President of the Amraoti municipality owing to his mixing in politics and being an Extremist, the paper says that this was an abuse of its power by Government. Natives, however, have now become alive to a sense of self-respect. As many as 16 of Mr. Khaparde's colleagues looked upon the treatment accorded him as an insult to the nation and tendered their resignations. The Central Provinces *Government Gazette* announces that the Chief Commissioner has accepted the resignations with great pleasure, which would show that Government is under the impression that it rules natives by brute force alone. It should, however, remember that it will not succeed in curtailing the influence of Mr Khaparde by removing him from the presidentship of the Amraoti municipality. The deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh has raised them immensely in the public estimation, and similarly the imprisonment of Mr. Pal has not lowered him in the esteem of his fellow-countrymen. It is equally certain that the prosecution of the *Sandhya* and the *Yugantar* has not lessened the liking of the public for those newspapers. In conclusion, the paper says that if all these occurrences fail to make Government realise the unpleasant consequences of repressive measures, the peace of the country must be considered to be in danger, for which the authorities alone are to blame.

Swaraj.

6. *Hindustan* (Lahore) of the 14th Feburary 1908, says that the word *Swaraj* is generally taken to mean self-government. In his recent speech at Nassik Babu Arbindu Ghosh declared that *Swaraj* was to a nation what the soul is to the body and that it was indispensable in order to keep a people alive. He added that it was not to be obtained from others by begging but that a people could get it through their own efforts alone. In order to secure *Swaraj* natives should make their souls free and act like free men, trusting in God and teaching their fellow-countrymen to tread the path of liberty. They should open National Schools and Colleges, promote the Swade shi and Boycott movements and establish *panchayets* for the settlement of disputes arising

among them. They should keep their eyes fixed on *Swaraj* and march onward like brave men. They would meet with obstacles, but they must overcome them and reach their destination.

The new spirit in India.

7. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 15th February 1908, says that the independent minded among the English have not failed to realise that the recent events of Surat betoken an awakening in India. Natives have learnt which path leads to slavery and which to *Swaraj*, and should not allow selfish leaders to push them down the abyss of perpetual slavery. They now understand their rights and every one of them is a free agent and dislikes to follow others blindly. They may be relied upon to forge ahead, since nothing has as yet been able to turn back those struggling for freedom.

The poverty of India.

8. The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 15th February 1908, publishes a communication from Mr. Tehl Ram Ganga Ram, who says that one of the causes of the poverty of India is that the money in the country is not rightly used. The rich either bury their money underground or spend it on ornaments for their women instead of thinking of promoting some industry or trade. After remarking that the establishment of factories and the promotion of industries will procure employment for the poor and add to the country's wealth, the correspondent observes that the expansion of India's commerce and industries is the sole cure of the country's poverty.

Punjab Provincial Conference.

9. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 18th February 1908, calls upon the Punjabis to hold a provincial conference this year. Lala Lajpat Rai is now the acknowledged leader of the Punjab and it behoves people of this Province to hold a conference out of regard for him if from no other consideration. A conference was to meet at Rawalpindi last year, but the arrest of Lala Hans Raj and other lawyers had the effect of upsetting the plan. Now, however, that these gentlemen are free once more they should hold a provincial conference in their city. In case there is now no political life at Rawalpindi the conference could be convened in some other city. The paper concludes by remarking that if the conference is not held this year it will be fair to infer that all political life in the Punjab is at an end.

Lala Lajpat Rai on Burma.

10. The *Hak Pasand* (Amritsar), of the 11th February 1908, reprints a part of the first instalment of Lala Lajpat Rai's "*Fasana-i-Burma*" (story of Burma) published in the last number of the *Asad* of Lahore. The reprint is dated Mandalay Fort, Upper Burma, 23rd June 1907, and opens as follows:—

"The city in which I am a prisoner this day, for the offence of loving unfortunate India, was the principal city of a free and good-natured but simple-minded people twenty-two years ago. Two hundred yards to the south of the bunglow, in which I am writing, stand the royal palaces of the last ruler of that country..... At different points round these palaces are to be seen the large and small iron cannon which simple-minded but pleasure-loving rulers of this people used to regard as a source of strength to them, but which no one had the courage to fire in the hour of need."

The writer then goes on to say that according to the accounts written by European travellers, Burma was a veritable garden of Eden before the

political enslavement of its people. The fragrance emitted by this garden had the effect of attracting the powerful princes of envy and greed. At first foreigners *(lit.* people) began to visit it on the pretext of roaming through it. Gradually, however, the spies of deception and the genii of highhandedness showed themselves and a little later loot and plunder was openly commenced. The result is that if those who owned the country twenty-five years ago dare open their lips they are treated as dacoits, while those whose necks were then in constant danger, are now the masters of the land. Disobedience of the latter's orders and laws is an offence now, while to wish their Government ill is to be guilty of sedition and rebellion. After remarking that the rise and fall of nations is an immutable law of nature, the writer says that it is instructive for man to study the changes which have taken place in Burma during the past 22 years.

Commenting on the above the *Hak Pasand* says that the touching article is a living picture of the vicissitudes of fortunes through which Burma has passed. Only two decades back the Burmese were an independent people, but to-day they are a conquered and degraded race. The true patriot that he is, Lala Lajpat Rai could not help shedding tears over the misfortunes even of a foreign people. Indeed, those who do not love their own country can never sympathise with others.

## II—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

11. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 18th February 1908, says that the punitive expedition against the Zakka Khels can bring Government neither fame nor any gain. If will cost a very large sum of money, which could have been better employed in affording relief to the victims of the prevailing famine. The paper then goes on to say that although Zakka Khels used to commit a raid after first giving intimation of their intention the police failed to lay any of the brigands by the heel. It wishes that the police were sufficiently strong to punish wrong-doers and to effect the arrest of dacoits like these brigands, instead of employing their power to disagrace a peaceful people.

**Expedition against the Zakka Khels.**

12. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 18th February 1908, deprecates Government's decision not to allow press correspondents to accompany the expedition against the Zakka Khels. After questioning the genuineness of the reason assigned by Government to account for its cond uct, the paper says that apparently the object of the decision is to give the press no opportunity of raising an outcry over the treatment which is to be awarded to the Zakka Khels. The Military will behave as they please and it should be remembered in this connection that the present Commnader-in-Chief gained special renown in the campaign against the Dervishes of the Soudan. This is, however, a conjecture, which may or may not turn out to be well founded. At all events, there was no need for Government to prevent press correspondents from accompanying an expedition the necessity for which is admitted on all hands.

**Expedition against the Zakka Khels.**

## III.—NATIVE STATES.

Kapurthala affairs.

13. The *Hak Pasand* (Amritsar), of the 11th February 1908, writing about the recent marriage of the Raja of Kapurthala to a Spanish lady, enquires whether His Highness could find no beautiful lady in India to suit him. It would have been far better if the distinction of being his Rani had fallen to an Indian lady. The Raja is fond of imitating the ruling race, but has any highly-placed Anglo-Indian officer ever married a native woman?

Kapurthala affairs.

14. The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 11th February 1908, publishes similar remarks.

Kapurthala affairs.

15. The *Curzon Gazette* (Delhi), of the 15th February 1908, says that the Raja has no son by his first Rani, and the poor lady undoubtedly deserves to be pitied since, if her European rival gives birth to a son, the throne will pass to him as a matter of course. The paper then goes on to say that the policy of Gover nment in regard to Native States is too deep to be fathomed. Government claims responsibility for the peace and good management of Native States, but at the same time it allows Indian Princes to squander public funds on pleasure. In conclusion, the Editor says that if the new Rani gives birth to a son, the State subjects will never acknowledge him as the rightful heir to the throne.

## V.—NATIVE SOCIETIES AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

Parasnath hill.

16. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang) of the 15th February 1908, says that the Jains feel highly indignant at the Bengal Government's decision to allow the building of bungalows on the Parasnath hill. It adds that the prevalence of discontent among the ruled is extremely prejudicial to the interests of the rulers. There has never been a government which displeased its subjects and ruled in peace at the same time. After remarking that there are many other good places for Europeans to build bungalows on, the Editor adds that the Jains are thinking of resorting to boycott as a last resource and may perhaps go even to greater lengths. Indeed, no one could blame them even if they were to revolt against the British Government. Asiatics are very jealous of their religion and would gladly sacrifice their lives in its defence. It was highly impolitic on the part of Government to wound the religious susceptibilities of the Jains. The Editor then reproduces a paragraph from Jain newspaper exhorting the Jains to repair to the Parasnath hill in large numbers and make it known that they will rather die than allow bungalows to be built on the hill. Government may perhaps regard the paragraph as seditious, but it voices the true feelings of the Jain community.

## VI.—LEGISLATION.

Muhammadans and the Punjab Legislative Council.

17. The following is from the *Observer* (Lahore), of the 19th February 1908:—

"In exercise of his powers under the Indian Councils Act, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab has been pleased to nominate Sardar Partab Singh of Jullundur, Malik

Umar Hayat Khan Tiwana and Mr. Harkishen Lal, Barrister-at-Law, as additional members of the Punjab Legislative Council. The choice will, we are confident, meet with the approval of all reasonable men. Malik Umar Hayat Khan and Sardar Partab Singh have been re-nominated, and their share in the proceedings of the Council during the last session has borne ample witness to the moderation of their views, as well as to their independence of judgment. Mr. Harkishen Lal is a gentleman of the same type, and may well be expected to discharge his responsibilities in an efficient manner. All the three members selected are, therefore, men of eminent worth, and the choice of the Lieutenant-Governor is commendable. But while rejoicing over the choice, the Muhammadans of the Punjab cannot but feel poignantly the cruel wrong which has been insidiously done to them as a community. The Legislative Council of this Province, as constituted on the previous occasion, included four additional members, of whom two were Muhammadans, Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shah Din, Barrister-at-Law, and Malik Umar Hayat Khan Tiwana, C.I.E., one Hindu, Thakar Mahan Chand, and one Sikh, Sardar Partab Singh. And ever since the establishment of the Punjab Council, there has been an average of two Muslims to one Hindu and one Sikh. But when the Khan Bahadur was appointed Judge of the Chief Court, no Musalman was nominated in his place. As Sir Denzil Ibbetson was then not keeping good health and the session was also drawing to a close, the general impression was that the above reasons had prevented His Honour from immediately nominating a successor to Mr. Justice Shah Din. They were convinced that the usual proportion would be re-adjusted on the formation of the new Council. But what do they find now? They find that the practice in vogue ever since the creation of the Punjab Council has been reversed, that only one Musalman has been nominated against two non-Muslims. Musalmans constitute more than fifty per cent. of the population, and their historical and political importance in the Punjab is, at least, proportionate to their numerical strength. * * * *
Hence, if no favour, no *mihrbani* had been shown to them, if simple justice had been done to them, if precedents had not been wantonly disregarded, two of their co-religionists must have been nominated to the Punjab Legislative Council. But while communities which put together represent less than one-half of the population get two representatives, a community that consists of a larger number of persons than both the others combined gets only one member, notwithstanding the fact that it has almost invariably had two representatives in the past. In other words, their proportion has been now reduced to one-quarter of their previous proportion. Is this justice? Is this fulfilment of the promises Lord Minto made to the All-India Muhammadan Deputation at Simla? Is this an earnest of the way in which the Musalmans will be dealt with when Mr. Morley's reform scheme becomes operative? Is this, we ask, the reward for their holding aloof from violent agitation? This step on the part of the Local Government would seem to show that those who do not agitate will be dealt with unfairly, to say the least of it. Their rights will be disregarded. All former traditions will be departed from, and those alone will be thought worthy of consideration who cry the loudest. We, however, refuse to believe that the Punjab Government intends to follow such an unjust policy and perpetuate a wanton injustice. We hope that the non-appointment of another Muslim member has been due simply to oversight, and earnestly trust that the wrong will be at once righted. A few weeks will show which of these opinions is correct, and what policy it will be best for the Muhammadans to follow.

Mr. Harkishan Lal's appointment to the Punjab Legislative Council.

18. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 15th February 1908, deprecates the appointment of Lala Harkishen Lal to the Local Legislative Council and remarks that it could only have rejoiced had the appointment been conferred on Lala Lajpat Rai or Sardar Ajit Singh who are true representatives of the people. It regards Lala Harkishen Lal as belonging to the same type as Sardar Partab Singh and Malik Umar Hayat Khan, and considers that this favour has been accorded to Harkishen Lal for the part he

played in waiting on the Lieutenant-Governor during the time of the recent unrest with a loyal deputation, and making an innocent people fall down at the feet of a cruel Governor. It accuses Harkishen Lal of having exposed the Hindus of the Province to the ridicule and taunts of Muhammadans.

Mr. Harkishan Lal's appointment to the Punjab Legislative Council.

19. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 11th February 1908, writes to a similar effect.

Mr. Harkishan Lal's appointment to the Punjab Legislative Council.

20. The *Sat Dharam Parcharak* (Jullundur), of the 14th February 1908, says that Lala Harkishen Lal is undoubtedly thoroughly deserving of the honour. Nevertheless, Mr. Nundy's statement that his appointment to the Punjab Legislative Council is his reward for his share in the organisation of the Hindu deputation to the Lieutenant-Governor is no news to the general public. It would have been better for his reputation if he had been honoured earlier or at some future time.

## VII.—General Administration.

### (*h*)—*Miscellaneous.*

Docile and submissive habits of natives.

21. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 14th February 1908, publishes a translation of Mr. Keir Hardie's "Message" to the *Labour Leader* in which he ascribes the present unsatisfactory state of affairs in India to the docile and submissive habits of the natives. The Editor agrees with Mr. Hardie, and complains that the natives are ever ready to lick the boots of Europeans, and that if they are kicked by a *sahib* they do not pay him back in his own coin. They should remember that as long as they do not respect themselves they cannot command the respect of other nations of the world. They should learn to stand upon their own legs and fight for their rights to the bitter end. It does not, however, follow that in doing so they should bid good-bye to decency and gentlemanliness.

F. ISEMONGER,

*Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*
*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

LAHORE:
*The 22th February* 1908.

Punjab Government Press, Lahore—3-3-08—966—95—H. L. S.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 9. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

Received up to 29th February 1908.

---

## CONTENTS.


I.—Politics.

Page.

(a)—*Foreign*—

1. Assassination of the King of Portugal (*Aftab*) ... 107
2. Indians in the Transvaal (*Aftab*) ... ... *ib.*

(b)—*Home*—

3. The relations between England and India (*Aftab*) ... 108
4. Mr. Keir Hardie on the recent unrest (*Panjabee*) ... *ib.*
5. India and Ireland : a contrast (*Panjabee*) ... 110
6. Students and politics (*Aftab* ... ... ... 112
7. Punjab Provincial Conference (*Jhang Sial*) ... *ib.*

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

*Nil.*

III.—Native States.

*Nil.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

*Nil.*

V.—Native Societies and religious matters.

8. A widow marriage at Calcutta (*Tribune*) ... 112

VI.—Legislation.

Page.

9. Mr. Harkishen Lal's appointment to the Punjab Legislative Council *Aftab*) ... ... 113

VII.—General Administration.

(a)—*Judicial*—

*Nil.*

(b)—*Police*—

*Nil.*

(c)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs*—

*Nil.*

(d)—*Education*—

*Nil.*

(e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land*—

*Nil.*

(f)—*Railways and Communications*—

*Nil.*

(g)—*Postal matters*—

*Nil.*

(h)—*Miscellaneous*—

10. Aid to Pindi Das's family (*Jhang Sial*) ... 114

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 9. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 29th February 1908.**

---

### I.—POLITICS.

#### (*a*)—*Foreign.*

Assassination of the King of Portugal.

1. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 16th February 1908, remarks that some people consider self-aggrandisement the sole object of their lives and regard the terms "good" and "evil" as meaningless. They seem to think that righteousness has no place in God's universe. It is, however, a mistake on their part. A tyrant may practice the grossest oppression, but in the end he meets his deserts at the hand of God. As an instance in point, the paper refers to the recent assassination of the King of Portugal, who, it says, used to grossly oppress his subjects. It adds that the Prime Minister of the deceased monarch, at whose instance the latter used to practise his oppression, has now been brought to his senses and swears that he will no longer stand in the way of the people getting their rights. This shows that the eyes of the tyrant are opened only when he feels the touch of the heavy hand of fate. If this were not so the rights of subjects would always be in danger. God helps all and even those nations whose plight is the worst will see better days sooner or later.

Indians in the Transvaal.

2. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 16th February 1908, remarks that Indians in the Transvaal are far from having gained a victory, seeing that they still labour under many disabilities. After citing examples of these the paper states that it is a surprise that Indians should consent to live in such disgrace. They began their fight very well and a general hope prevailed that they would not give in until all restrictions against them had been removed. Unfortunately, however, the people of this country have become so accustomed to suffer humiliation that they have ceased to feel it, and Indians in the Transvaal have consequently suffered defeat in the recent fight, as is evident from the statements of Mr. Smuts that the Transvaal Government has gained what it desired to achieve. In conclusion, the paper regrets that neither the Imperial Government nor the Government of India stood by Indian immigrants in the ex-Boer Republic.

(*b*)—*Home.*

3. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 16th February 1908, publishes a long article on the relations between England and India, which begins by stating that there are a certain class of patriots in this country who assert that the British Government desires the welfare and progress of the people and sympathises with the Swadeshi movement, but is frustrated in its object owing to the opposition of the people. It points out that Indians who preach these views are wrong; that the English did not come from England to this country to assist the civilisation of natives, for they bear no love for Indians and cannot do so since the religions of the two countries are at variance. The English, it says, came to India during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the struggle amongst European nations to extend their territories was at its height, and now having established their sovereignty in the land they live like kings and suck the life-blood of the people. The English conquered India in order to increase the prosperity of the English nation, and the proof of this is that they have ruined the industries of India in order to secure the sale of their own manufactures. In conclusion, the Editor points out that the only way in which a conquered people can improve their position is by regaining their political liberty and he exhorts Indians to promote the Swadeshi movement. The article ends as follows :—

The Relations between England and India.

"O Englishmen, how do you regard us? Have we been born to work as your slaves? Have you been born to suck our blood for ever? How will you dare show your face to God (on the day of judgment)? Do not both of us acknowledge the same God? Do you not feel any pity for us? Well, wait a little; we also are making our preparations. We also will prove ourselves to be human beings. We also will prove that God will help us. You have oppressed us for years. Our turn to make progress has now a rrived."

4. The following is an extract from an article purporting to have been written by Mr. Keir Hardie, published in the *Panjabee* (Lahore) of February 22nd :—

Mr, Keir Hardie on the recent unrest.

"MORE ON THE UNREST IN THE NORTH.

"JACKS IN OFFICE.

"(*By J. Keir Hardie, M.P.*)

* * * * * *

"For the purpose of this article I will take Lahore and Rawalpindi tog ther, although they are many miles apart. The districts round about these places were undoubtedly in an agitated condition. Some years ago a new irrigation canal was made, which opened up a barren district, and led to its being colonised. Many of the colonists were ex-soldiers. The land, which had formerly been sandy waste, proved to be a veritable garden when irrigated by the canal waters. The settlers, however, found the conditions of their settlement very irksome. Restrictions and restraints abounded on every hand, and a colonist was not even allowed to visit his own family outside the colony without obtaining a special permit. Fines were the order of the day, and although at the moment I cannot charge my memory with the total sum thus exacted from the peasants in the course of a single year, still it is enormous. When at the back of all this the Government of the Punjab passed a new Act still further restricting the liberties of the colonists, and confiscating their property when they died without ma'e

*The Canal Colonists' agitation.*

issue, the colonists revolted, and an agitation ensued. At the same time a heavy increase was made in the irrigation water charges in another part of the district, and under the new revenue settlement which had just been completed the rates payable by the peasantry around Rawalpindi were increased twenty-five per cent.

*Vexatious imposts.*

"The Indian *raiyat* is long suffering and slow to anger, but these vexatious imposts proved more than he could bear, and he commenced to agitate for some redress. It so happens that in this part of India *begar* is common. *Begar* is a system which comes down from the days of native rule, when a Native Chief, requiring men, forcibly impressed the number needed, and set them to work at their allotted task. Petty European officials, in the face of the prohibition of the Government, have tried to live up to this tradition, and many were the cases recited to me in which workmen and peasants were compelled, under threat of imprisonment, to leave their own work and to build a house or act as carriers for the servants of the British Raj. In one of these cases the Magistrate of Rawalpindi had secured two men (natives) to accompany him on tour. Their clothing was of the scantiest; shelter there was none for them, and during the night both men died of cold.

"The local paper published in Lahore, the "Panjabee," commented on this case, and called attention to the fact that even when natives were murdered the punishments meted out to Europeans were very slight, and cited several instances in support of this statement. This was held to be rank sedition, and the Editor and Publisher were tried and convicted for this offence. On the day when they were being taken to prison a number of their fellow-townsmen, by whom they were known and respected, turned out to witness their removal. The day was wet; the horses employed to draw the carriage in which were the prisoners, were of a poor quality, and in consequence progress was slow. Meanwhile, the crowd of sympathisers kept augmenting and cheering until the wretched cavalcade came to a standstill in the mud, and the prisoners were transferred from the carriage in which they were to one in which there were better horses.

*Lala Lajpat Rai.*

"Let it be noted that at this stage no attempt was made to rescue the prisoners, which, in the mind of the authorities, was the object for which the crowd was gathering. During the course of the day some disturbance of the peace took place, which was called a riot, and for which ten men were arrested, of whom seven were convicted. An appeal was taken to the High Court, when four of the convicted men were liberated and three of the convictions upheld, although in one case the sentence was reduced. The High Court held that there had been no riot, but only a case of simple assault. Among others who had taken part in the agitation on behalf of the *raiyat* was Lala Lajpat Rai, a local gentleman of spotless character, high aim, and self-sacrificing disposition. There was no crime which was not imputed to this man, even including intrigue with the Amir of Kabul by the vitriolic Anglo-Indian Press.

"When I received the Muhammadan deputation at Lahore its spokesman, a gentleman occupying a good position in the town, went out of his way to assure me that while he was strongly opposed to Lala Lajpat Rai's methods of religious controversy, still he regarded him as a man of the highest character and noblest aims, and that his deportation was a grave miscarriage of justice. It is alleged—with what degree of truth I know not—that Lord Kitchener threatened to resign unless an example was made of Lala Lajpat Rai. The authorities, however, had nothing against him, save that he was an agitator who voiced the grievances of the heavily-burdened peasants; and so, as he had broken no law and could not be convicted in any court of justice, the only thing left was to order his deportation without trial, which was accordingly done. He was sent to Burma, where he was kept a prisoner, and the day on which I dictate these notes, at Colombo, the news comes that he has been released. So much for sedition and riot in Lahore!

"At Rawalpindi the peasants' agitation was very strong, and there, also, a number of educated gentleman were lending the weight of their influence to assist the ryots to obtain redress. The local Magistrate, a hot-headed, tactless sort of man, thought he would like to try the effect of deportation on some of his tormentors, and so he announced to them that they were to meet him in the court-house on a certain day, to show cause why they should not be tried for sedition. This act of his would be ludicrous but for what ensued. The Government refused to sanction his insane procedure, but he did not notify his victims of this fact, but proceeded to the court-house, where the gentlemen accused sent a polite intimation that as they refused to countenance his illegal procedure, they did not intend to appear. The whole town and district, however, was in a ferment, the peasants having gathered in great force to stand by their champions, and during the course of the day there were several cases of rioting, in which a mission station was burnt. Ten or twelve days thereafter fifty arrests were made in connection with the riots, including the gentlemen above referred to, whom the Magistrate had wanted to try for sedition. These men, all of them of good social standing and position, educated, and leading lights in Rawalpindi society, applied for bail, which was refused, and for four-and-a-half months they were kept in prison, awaiting trial.

*The Rawalpindi scandal.*

"Fortunately for them, the Magistrate sent down to try the case was able to rise above local prejudice, and in the end he acquitted all the accused, characterised the evidence against them as having been fabricated, and frankly charged the prosecuting witnesses with perjury. The Viceroy, on learning the position of the Colonisation Bill above referred to, promptly vetoed it, and at the same time the proposal to increase the irrigation water charges was postponed for a year, whereupon the entire agitation subsided. The version of the authorities is that the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and the apprehension of the rebellious lawyers at Rawalpindi brought peace; whereas, as a matter of fact, peace came when the causes which had led to the agitation—to wit, the doubling of the municipal assessment at Delhi, the confiscatory canal colony legislation, and the increase of the already heavy water charges—were abandoned.

"I expect most of this will be new to British readers, but it is true. That the Army was affected I think extremely probable, remembering that it was from this district that the Army is chiefly recruited, and that those who were the victims of the Government's oppressive policy were the fathers, sons and brothers of the men who compose the Army. Had the Army been recruited to any extent from the districts of Eastern Bengal, the partition would have affected it in the same way, and would in all likelihood have been withdrawn, as were the Canal Colonisation Bill and the excessive water charges.

"The moral is obvious. The Government of India does not withhold its hand of oppression out of any sense of justice, but simply through the fear that if the injustice be persisted in dire results may make themselves felt in the military organisation of the Indian Army."

*The moral.*

5. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 22nd February 1908:—

India and Ireland: a contrast.

"Two countries, situated widely apart, have, during the last twelve months, engaged the attention of the present Liberal Ministry owing to their so-called 'unrestful' condition. Officials and non-officials, for reasons best known to themselves, made up their minds to tell the people of England that India was on the verge of a second mutiny. If newspapers speak the truth, the condition of Ireland has been considerably worse. But the different kinds of treatment, meted out to the two countries by the same 'Liberal' Government, is what we propose to describe in this article.

"What has been the condition of Ireland, and how has Mr. Birrel faced it, are the two questions we must answer first. The London correspondent of the *Pioneer* has supplied the following facts in a recent letter: In large portions of Ireland there are extensive areas of pasture land from which the peasantry have been excluded. These lands are devoted, by what are called 'graziers,' to the feeding of immense herds of cattle, meant for the foreign market. This cattle industry is so remunerative that during 1905 cattle worth £14,000,000 were exported to England. While on the one hand the grazing industry has been developing, the small Irish tenant has been finding himself squeezed more and more into narrow barren strips of mountain land and bog, whereon it is difficult to raise enough produce to keep the family from starvation. The peasants therefore have lately shown a dangerous form of discontent, when on looking around they contrast the miserable quality of the land which they are compelled to till, with the miles of rich productive land devoted exclusively to the rearing and feeding of cattle. While they are pinned down to the laborious and often disastrous cultivation of a small strip of stony or boggy soil, they see all around them miles of beautiful ranch ground upon which numerous herds of cattle roam at their pleasure. It is this contrast between the superior privileges enjoyed by the cattle and the misery of their own lot as peasants which has given rise to the present serious agitation in Ireland. The people want more land, and when they fail to get it, assail the cattle on the pastures, driving them away for miles and miles. These cattle hunts are now thoroughly organised, M. Ps. taking the lead! * * * * *

Among the pastimes resorted to by the agitators, a prominent English journal counts the following: mutilation of cattle, burning to death of heifers and horses, maiming and houghing, stabbing of stray animals, burning down of hundreds of tons of straw, rye, farm carts, cattle sheds and barns. Men with blackened faces rush out, drive the cattle, scatter them far and wide, smash gates and fences, overpower herds, and no one is caught. Policemen are knocked down insensible, or rush at criminals with blood streaming down their faces, attempt to make arrests, but are unable. The agitation has spread in other directions, and new pastimes are being discovered. Mail bags are seized, houses are fired into, unpopular folks are boycotted and intimidated. In at least a dozen cases postmen carrying registered letters, containing writs, have been set upon, and the letters seized and destroyed. Private dwellings are raided, and any guns or revolvers found inside are carried off to be used against the owners themselves. But the attitude of the Government, in the face of such a shameful state of affairs, has supplied a lamentable contrast to the measures sanctioned by the same Government in India. In the words of the *Pioneer's* correspondent, the curiously blameworthy feature of the Government policy is the reluctance it is showing to bring the real offenders to justice in the person of the ring-leaders, the sowers of sedition, the counsellors who urge the poor peasants to break the law and to come into conflict with the Police. Mr. Ginnel has been the real bearer of the 'fiery cross,' but when Mr. Birrel, the Chief Secretary, addressed a meeting at Southampton, he took particular pains to single out his actions and to tell the public that as the Hon. Member in all likelihood desired nothing better than to be made a political martyr, the Government did not in the least intend to oblige him. The upshot of Mr. Birrel's review of the Irish situation was that the Government intended to trust with confidence to the working of the ordinary law in punishing the agitators. A most extraordinary situation in Ireland was to be met by the ordinary law, but behold the attitude of the same 'Liberal' Government in the face of a thousand times less serious situation in India!

"A most ordinary demonstration at Lahore following the punishment of certain public men was magnified into a riot, and ball cartridge was served out. A perfectly legitimate agitation at Pindi was made out to be a preparation for a revolt based on a wide conspiracy; leading men were arrested, and refused bail for five months; areas in the country were 'proclaimed;' an obsolete and barbarous Regulation was refurbished for use and persons deported without trial; editors of journals were arrested all over the

country and given long terms of punishment with hard labour; troops were set into motion, and a liberal use of punitive police made in various provinces; respectable men were sent to jail not for firing farm-yards, shooting into dwellings, maiming cattle or robbing mail bags, but for destroying insignificant quantities of foreign salt and Manchester goods. 'Bande Mataram' was erected into a crime and a riot provoked by a white man's assault was answered with the quartering of police, &c. Ferocious sentences were inflicted on demonstrators, a conference was prohibited in Bengal, Swadeshi became practically a crime, and Judges revealed that the guardians of the public peace were not entirely clean-handed. Flogging in jail, rigorous imprisonments for petty quarrels with the police, six months' imprisonment for refusing to give evidence, whippings in connection with so-called disturbances, arrests of gentlemen of the position of Arabindo Ghose and A. C. Bannerji have continued to edify the subjects of a 'Christian Government.'

"What a shameful contrast! Real high crime in Ireland passed by, because the Government did not care to help in the manufacture of martyrs; petty crime in India, legitimate agitation against increased taxation and political disabalities, punished with the utmost rigours of the law! What a shameful contrast! How unworthy the Indians who swallow it without protest!"

Students and politics.

6. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 16th February 1908, praises the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Chatterjee for his advice to students to abstain from taking an active part in politics. It, however, regrets that the Principals and Professors of Colleges in India should enforce Government's orders on the subject in an extremely objectionable manner. No sooner do they see a student reading a newspaper then they demand an explanation from him and pester him with annoying questions. After complaining that they have made life a burden to their students and asking them to mend their ways, the Editor calls upon Indians to open national schools and colleges with a view to making self-respecting patriots of their children. They should not delude themselves with the belief that agitation will lead Government to make primary education free. They should remember that God helps those who help themselves, adding that it is cowardly to stretch out one's hands to others for help.

Punjab Provincial Conference.

7. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 22nd February 1908, calls upon Lala Lajpat Rai, Harkishen Lal and the Indian Association to display some courage and to convene a Provincial Conference in the Punjab. After remarking that Government cannot injure them for doing so, he suggests that the Conference should be held at Lahore or elsewhere. This is the more necessary as similar conferences are being held in other provinces.

## V.—Native Societies and Religious Matters.

A widow marriage at Calcutta.

8. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 27th February 1908:—

"From the telegram which appeared in our columns it will be seen that the marriage ceremony of the widowed daughter of Mr. Justice Mukerji of the Calcutta High Court was very successfully performed on Monday night in Calcutta before a large and

representative gathering of the advanced as well as the orthodox section of the Hindus.

* * * * * * *

Living as we do in the Punjab, where thanks to several causes, the rigors of Hindu orthodoxy are not so acutely felt as elsewhere, perhaps we do not realise the insurmountable difficulties in the way of a social reformer in Bengal and one belonging to the highest class of Brahmans, to boot, like Justice Mukerji. But we may remember that the great Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, who was by the way one of the greatest Indians of the last century, failed to make the least headway against the bed-rock of orthodoxy in this direction, and since then the labours of all lesser personalities have more or less failed. The task has, however, been reserved for Justice Mukerji and it is most gratifying to find that he has not been deterred in his noble attempt by the threats of ostracism and other formidable weapons of orthodoxy. Finding all their threats and remonstrances of no avail, the orthodox party next attempted to foil him at the nick of time in the shape of a legal injunction restraining the marriage, but fortunately legal process failed to come to their aid and the marriage was duly solemnised. Now that Mr. Justice Mukerji has cut the Gordian knot, the marriage of girl widows in Bengal will no longer be hedged in with the same implacable barriers as hithertofore. Indeed, a few more marriages like that will bring us to the realisation of the noble dream of the great Vidyasagar and give a quietus to perhaps the most cruel usage that has fettered Hindu society. Justice Mukerji, therefore, deserves the greatest commendation for his heroic act in rolling back the wave of reactionary orthodoxy and to heal this leprous spot that is corroding the whole social organism. Indeed the marriage is a red letter event in the history of Bengali progress and social reform."

## VI.—LEGISLATION.

Mr. Harkishen Lal's appointment to the Punjab Legislative Council.

9. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 16th February 1908, writing about the appointment of Mr. Harkishen Lal to the local Legislative Council, says that at the time of the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai Government had convinced itself that the entire population (of the Punjab) were indignant with it and that a second mutiny was about to break out. t, therefore, stood in need of a person who would incline the people to loyalty once more. This work was done by Mr Harkishen Lal, who waited on the Lieutenant-Governor with loyal deputations and assured Government that the people were not disloyal, nay that he had made loyal subjects of them again. All this had the effect of making Government believe that he had averted the threatened mutiny. There is, therefore, nothing surprising in his appointment to the Punjab Legislative Council. After remarking that it is not known what further honours are in store for him, the *Aftab* says that his doings subsequent to the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai constitutes a blot on his character and that his nomination to the Council has greatly lowered him in the estimation of the public. If he wishes to escape the charge of having betrayed his fellow-countrymen he should decline to become a Member of the Council. The Editor then suggests that Muhammadans will now agitate for the appointment of Muhammad Shafi to the Council. He concludes with the following words :—

"Well done, brave men! Go on fighting! There is no higher ideal in this world than to obtain titles and win honour from the authorities. This alone constitutes salvation and is the passport to heaven."

## VII.—General Administration.

### (*h*)—*Miscellaneous.*

10. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 22nd February 1908, acknowledges the following subscriptions in aid of Pindi Das' family : —

Aid to Pindi Das's family.

| | Rs. | A. | P. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Amount already acknowledged ... ... | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| Received through Diwan Chand and Ram Narayan, Commission Agents, Ganj Bazar, Rawalpindi ... ... ... | 14 | 13 | 0 |
| Lala Dhanpat Rai of Lyallpur ... ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Lala Giyan Chand of Shahdara ... ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Lala Moti Ram, of Sialkot ... ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Received through Ramji Das ... ... | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| D. D. Gupta ... ... ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| The Hamdard-i-Hind Sabha, Rawalpindi ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Total ... | 65 | 13 | 0 |

In another place the paper reports that Sardar Lal Singh, a Safedposh of Chak No. 100, Lyallpur (district), writes to say that the following subscriptions have been received by him also :—

| | Rs. | A. | P. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Lala Gur Bakhsh ... ... ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| S. Kartar Singh ... ... ... | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| From an anonymous donor ... ... | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Sardar Lal Singh ... ... ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Total ... | 16 | 0 | 0 |

The Sardar does not, however, intimate whether or no the collections have been remitted to the family of Pindi Das.

F. ISEMONGER,

*Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*

*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

LAHORE :

*The 29th February* 1908.

Punjab Government Press, Lahore—9-3-08—1091—95—J. B.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 10. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

Received up to 7th March 1908.

---

## CONTENTS.


I.—Politics.

Page.

(a)—*Foreign*—

1. England and Egypt (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... 115
2. England and Turkey (*Vakil*) ... ... ... *ib.*
3. The Macedonian question (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... 116
4. The Macedonian question (*Rajput Gazette*) ... *ib.*
5. Treatment of Indians abroad (*Arya Gazette*) ... *ib.*

(b)—*Home*—

6. Rulers and the ruled (*Raghbir Patrika*) ... ... 116
7. Rulers and the ruled (*Raghbir Patrika*) ... ... 117
8. Rulers and the ruled (*Raghbir Patrika*) ... ... *ib.*
9. Government's repressive policy (*Aftab*) ... ... *ib.*
10. How natives can obtain their rights from the English (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... ... 118
11. Recent prosecutions for sedition (*Aftab*) ... ... *ib.*
12. Decentralization Commission (*Aftab*) ... ... 119
13. Decentralization Commission (*Jhang Sial*) ... *ib.*
14. The Congress (*Aftab*) ... ... ... *ib.*
15. The *Swadeshi* movement (*Raghbir Patrika*) ... 120

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

16. The expedition against the Zakka Khels (*Akhbar-i-'Am*)... ... ... ... ... 120
17. The expedition against the Zakka Khels (*Panjabee*) ... *ib.*
18. The expedition against the Zakka Khels (*Tribune*) ... 121

III.—Native States.

*Nil.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

*Nil.*

V.—Native Societies and religious matters.

*Nil.*

VI.—Legislation.

Page.

19. Lala Harkishen Lal's appointment to the Punjab Legislative Council (*Panjabee*) ... ... 122

VII.—General Administration.

(a)—*Judicial*—

20. Invidious distinctions between Native and European (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... ... ... 124
21. The death of a coolie at the hands of the Settlement Officer of the Sunderbans (*Aftab*) ... ... *ib.*
22. Separation of judicial from executive functions (*Tribune*) ... ... ... *ib.*
23. The criminal administration of the Frontier Province (*Panjabee*) ... ... ... ... 125

(b)—*Police*—

*Nil.*

(c)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs*—

*Nil.*

(d)—*Education*—

24. Building site for a Sikh school at Lyallpur (*Hindustan*) ... ... ... ... ... 126

(e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land*—

*Nil.*

(f)—*Railways and Communications*—

*Nil.*

(g)—*Postal matters*—

25. The proposal to extend the V.-P. P. system to England (*Vakil*) ... ... ... ... 126

(h)—*Miscellaneous*—

26. Frontier affairs (*Panjabee*) ... ... ... 126
27. Political prisoners (*Tribune*) ... ... ... 128
28. Aid to Pindi Das's family (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... *ib.*
29. The *Tribune* newspaper (*Aftab*) ... ... 129

[Vol. XXI.] [No. 10.]

[Confidential.]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

Received up to 7th March 1908.

---

### I.—POLITICS.

#### (a)—*Foreign.*

England and Egypt.

1. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 26th February 1908, writing on Egyptian affairs, says that it will be a mistake on the part of Egypt to seek the help of Turkey (in getting rid of British protection). Those who advocate such a course of action should remember that Turkey herself is being deprived of her legitimate rights and is not allowed to profit by her conquests. She has been forced by the European Powers to give up Crete and there is no likelihood of her being allowed to interfere with Egypt. Egypt must continue in her present position for at least a century to come since the occupation of the country is highly profitable to the English and they will be loth to leave it. Some people believe that England is spreading education among Egyptian agriculturists in order to improve their moral and material condition. They should, however, remember that education will be certain to incline the *Fellahsen* to the use of articles of luxury, which will only add to the trade of England and other foreign countries. After remarking that the future of Egypt depends chiefly on the university recently established in that country, the writer says that when Egyptians succeed in placing themselves on a footing of equality with the British in every respect, the latter will restore them their liberty. It, therefore, appears desirable that the Khedive's subjects should remain on terms of friendship with England for the present and should take steps to educate themselves.

England and Turkey.

2. The *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 26th February 1908, deplores the existing tension of feeling between England and Turkey and says that it will be a serious mistake on the part of the British Government to continue its present policy towards the Turkish Empire. It blames Mr. Gladstone for having been responsible for the cessation of friendly relations which had formerly existed between the two powers until 1881, and states that Germany now enjoys the

confidence of the Sultan and is deriving from Turkey all the benefits which, but for Mr. Gladstone's foolish conduct, would have accrued to the English. The views expressed by Lord Ripon in connection with the recent debate on the King's speech show that England has not as yet realised her mistake and that only bitter experience will open her eyes to the evil consequences of her present attitude towards Turkey. The "Sick Man of Europe" recovered his health long ago and running counter to his wishes cannot but lead to very undesirable results. Turkey is a veritable powder magazine, and it will take little to cause an explosion which will endanger the safety of Europe, Asia, and Africa. The Editor then refers to the reforms which are proposed by the powers for introduction into Macedonia, and says that the sole reason for interference with Turkey is that she rules over a portion of Europe which observes the Christian religion. This is evident from the fact that the bloodshed and plunder which have prevailed in Russia for the last 4 years have called forth no action from the Powers.

The Macedonian question.

3. The *Paisa Akhtar* (Lahore), of the 29th February 1908, writing about the recent reference in Parliament to the situation in Macedonia says that the adoption of Mr. George Hardie's proposal that Macedonia should be placed under an administration which should be answerable, not to Turkey, but to the Powers, would only lead to the oppression of Muhammadans by the Christians of the country. It states that the policy pursued by the Liberal Government in regard to Macedonia is most disappointing, both to the Porte and to the Muhammadan subjects of the King-Emperor.

The Macedonian question.

4. The *Rajput Gazette* (Lahore), of the 24th February 1908, accuses Muhammadans of disloyalty, in that while professing devotion to the British Government they pray for the Sultan of Turkey daily, and because recently, when the state of affairs in Macedonia nearly led to war between the European Powers and Turkey, Muhammadan newspapers dared to make an open threat that if Islam was attacked there were 30 lakhs of Turks and as many Afghans who were prepared to lay down their lives in its defence.

Treatment of Indians abroad.

5. The *Arya Gazette* (Lahore), of the 20th February 1908, remarks that the contemptuous treatment of Indians in the British Colonies should not be taken to mean that they are not respected in foreign countries. They are treated with contempt only by the narrow minded among Europeans who despise them on account their political slavery. Sensible, thoughtful and far-sighted Europeans, on the contrary, entertain feelings of respect for India and her children. In support of this assertion the paper quotes the names of Max Muller and other eminent European writers as being amongst those who praise the Hindu system of philosophy in the highest terms.

(*b*)—*Home.*

Rulers and the ruled.

6. The *Raghbir Patrika* (Jhang), for February 1908, publishes some verses written by the Editor, who says that although natives (*lit.* black men) are grossly ill-treated (by the English), they have not as yet learnt to respect

themselves. They should remember that sycophancy is at a discount in these days and that only those who return blow for blow can escape oppression. The writer asks Government (*lit.* fowler) not to oppress natives, who are thoroughly in its power, but at least to let them eat their fill. If it can do nothing else for them it should at least forbid Ralli Bros. and Sandy (Patrick) to export grain from the country. Again, it should not muzzle natives after having taught them to speak out their minds.

Rulers and the ruled.

7. The *Raghbir Patrika* (Jhang), for February 1903, publishes a poem written by "Almast" of Chahal, who calls upon natives to shake off their sleep, adding that other Asiatics are already awake. Those (the English?) whom the people regard as their friends do not wish them well. They have lost their wealth by placing reliance on others. Their life-blood has been drained, and their treasures have been taken away over the seas. They raise grain for the benefit of foreigners and have to suffer the pangs of hunger themselves. If the existing state of affairs continues, the days of natives are numbered.

Rulers and the ruled.

8. The *Raghbir Patrika* (Jhang), for February 1908, publishes some verses from the pen of one Sardar Wadhawa Singh, of chak No. 105, who refers to the execution of Charles I and says that natives do not even dream of treating their rulers in the manner in which the English treated their sovereign in the past. Government creates a new law every day and has sealed the lips of the people. It also flogs and imprisons their beloved sons, and calls them rebels for speaking the truth. The present rulers of the country are pleased to see the ruin of the people and have sucked their life-blood. After accusing Government of not fulfilling the pledges contained in the proclamation of 1858, the writer further finds fault with it for the ill-treatment of Indians in the Transvaal.

Government's repressive policy.

9. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 23rd February 1908, remarks that great changes have taken place in India since the partition of Bengal. The outcry raised by the people over the adoption of a repressive policy by Government has evoked expressions of sympathy for them in all parts of the world. Not a few Englishmen, among whom may be numbered Dr. Rutherford and Mr. Nevinson, have learnt to sympathise with natives. Mr. Morley, however, endeavours to justify his repressive policy by alleging that the people have become rebellious. Will he, however, announce for what actual breach of the peace respectable men like Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh were deported? Why the liberty of the press was interfered with? Why the severest punishments were inflicted on those who hawked newspapers and why boys under 15 years of age were heartlessly flogged in public? The paper then goes on to say that a society has been established in America with the object of helping Indians and having their grievances redressed. It has been named "The Society for the Advancement of India" and consists of 10 or 12 respectable Americans, who have vowed to further the cause of this country. One of these noble souls is the famous Dr. Cuthbert Hall who visited India some time ago. Before accepting help from foreigners, however, natives must combine, otherwise they will achieve nothing.

10. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 29th February 1908, remarks that no man can command the respect of others who is himself devoid of self-respect, and that a nation which does not respect itself must come under the subjection of other people. A nation which allows foreigners to usurp its rights in silence and does not return blow for blow cannot maintain its position for long. While Indians respected themselves their country occupied an exalted position in the world. Now, however, since they have lost all sense of self-respect they are being disgraced (*lit.* shoe-beaten). The National Congress has for 22 years been demanding the rights of which the English have by deception deprived the people, but no heed has been paid to its demands. Had Indians possessed any sense of self-respect they would have ceased to petition Government long ago. If a beggar is rebuked and turned back from a rich man's house he does not go near it a second time. Natives, however, among whom there are thousands of statesmen like Sir Ferozeshah Mehta and the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, continue to clamour at the gates of the English, although they know full well that the latter will restore them none of their rights without a struggle. Such weakness on the part of Indians has greatly encourged the English, who now regard them as worms beneath their feet. Although the English have ruined India's arts and industries the people do not feel ashamed to buy British manufactures. Can they not retaliate and return a crushing blow to their oppression by the English? They undoubtedly could do so if only they knew how to respect themselves. After referring to the struggles of the Americans to prevent the English from killing their industries the Editor says that even Budha, who preached universal peace, teaches men to fight for, and die in defence of, their rights and honour, and that Kabir also has taught men to respect themselves. He then exhorts Indians to become self-respecting and to adopt a system of boycott. This, he asserts, will increase the trade of the country and will make the English restore the people their rights.

How natives can obtain their rights from the English.

11. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 23rd February 1908, says that the patriotism of the Bengalis has been made patent to all the world. Handsome Bengali young men, who have scarcely seen the world, have been gladly sacrificing their lives in the service of their motherland. Bepin Chunder Pal refused to give evidence in the Bande Mataram sedition case, although he had to go to jail for his refusal. After referring to the prosecution of the patriotic newspapers in Bengal, the Editor says that the rulers desire that the ruled should continue in the chains of slavery; that the latter should not raise their voice against the gross oppression, which is being practised on them; and that they should continue to suffer all sorts of sufferings and still minister to the comfort of their oppressors. He next refers to the fresh prosecution of the *Sandhya*, and publishes a report of the statement made by the accused Editor in court. The trying magistrate, he adds, being a foreigner cannot be expected to do justice in the case. Indeed, he has already received orders (from Government) to send the accused to jail. The latter should, therefore, no longer defend himself. The *Aftab* then goes on to say that a tyrant should not be prevented from oppressing his victims: the sighs

Recent prosecutions for sedition.

of his victims are potent enough to bring his power to naught. It will be cowardly (on the part of the Editor of the *Sandhya*) to appeal to higher courts. Appeals should be made to God alone who has made the tyrant powerful. Government has been trying to keep the accused from serving his country, but the latter has continued to do his duty. He has shown the people the path to righteousness and has proved to them that a man who is in the right is the same both at home and in jail. To serve one's nation is tantamount to giving up one's life, and like a brave soldier one should not consider one's life in the struggle. Every person or nation desirous of advancement should offer his or their blood at the altar of the god of progress. The garden of progress can thrive only if it is continually watered with fresh blood and if its grounds are sprinkled, not with rain, but with the hot and boiling blood of stalwart youngmen. A person or a nation possessing a spirit of sacrifice and selflessness is bound to see good days. After endorsing the remark of the Editor of the *Sandhya* that a person can serve his country much better in jail than in the editorial chair, the paper says that it would please it exceedingly if Government were to fill its prisons with people, transport every native editor, place every city under martial law and plant cannon in every street and lane. This will have the effect of opening the eyes of the people and making them realise their fall and helplessness. In conclusion, it asks why Government does not now prosecute editors in the Punjab, although they continue to write strongly enough to warrant their prosecution for sedition.

**Decentralization Commission.**

12. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 23rd February 1908, says that Government has appointed the Decentralization Commission merely to dupe the people and to win a good name among the nations of the world. It next quotes an extract from the evidence of Babu Moti Lal Ghosh in which the cause of the prevalence of plague and other epidemic diseases in the country is attributed to the poverty of the people. The paper then goes on to say that the Commission can prove of no use to natives and that they have been burdened with its cost to no purpose. Those who compose it have no sympathy with the people and their travelling expenses from and to England, as also the money spent by them here in enjoying themselves, will be paid from the Indian Exchequer at the expense of natives.

**Decentralization Commission.**

13. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 29th February 1908, remarks that, whenever the subjects of a Western Power become dissatisfied with it the latter does not redress their grievances, but appoints a commission of inquiry with a promise to redress the grievances if they prove to be well founded. This kindness on its part has the effect of silencing the people, while it construes their silence to mean that they have no grievance left. The object of a government in appointing commissions is to silence its subjects and not to redress their grievances. This has been the case with all commissions appointed in India from time to time, and in all probability, no better result will follow the labours of the Decentralization Commission.

**The Congress.**

14. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 23rd February 1908, says that the recent events at Surat are being represented by Anglo-Indians as proof of the inability of natives to rule the country independently of the English. The

former should, however, remember that although the people may fight among themselves, still they are children of the same soil, they have been groaning under the same disabilities, and are being oppressed by the same tyrant. They cannot always continue at logger heads, but are bound to come to some understanding sooner or later. After remarking that a similar union between the English and Indians is an impossibility, the paper says that it remains to be seen what the former will say about the reconciliation between the Moderates and Extremists at the Pubna Provincial Conference.

The Swadeshi movement.

15. The *Raghbir Patrika* (Jhang), for February 1908, publishes a poem by "Almast," who says, that India was rich and free from plague, famine and other evils as long as her children manufactured themselves the articles required by them. Since, however, that the people have left off using home-made articles they have been dependent on foreigners and all their wealth has been drained away to foreign lands. The writer then calls upon them to shake off their lethargy and take steps to promote indigenous arts and industries.

## II.—AFGHANISTAN AND TRANS-FRONTIER.

The expedition against the Zakka Khels.

16. The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 26th February 1908, says that the expedition against the Zakka Khels will justify itself only if it proves instrumental in putting an end to tribal raids into British territory. If it bears no result like all former punitive expeditions against this tribe the money spent on it will have been thrown away, which will be highly criminal in view of the prevailing famine in the country.

The expedition against the Zakka Khels.

17. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 4th March 1908:—

"A PRESS communique announces that the operations against the Zakka Khels have come to an end. * * * * * * The termination of the expedition was brought about, according to General Willcocks' report, by the Maliks and elders of all the Afridi tribes, including the Zakkas, having presented a petition to him signed by 322 representative Maliks. In this petition the Zakkas are said to have made complete submission, the other Afridis also throwing themselves on the Government's mercy. Further, the Jirgah undertakes, with the assistance of the elders of the Zakkas, to punish the leading offenders in the recent raids, and have deposited as security rifles worth Rs. 20,000 which are not be returned until the Political Agent in the Khyber is satisfied that the thieves have been sufficiently punished. The Zakka Khels promise to co-operate with the Afridi Jirgah in every way. General Willcocks accepted these terms, on behalf of the Government of India, at a public Darbar at which all the senior officers of the Field Force were present.

"So far so good. But what about the losses caused to those whose property was looted and whose bread-winners have suffered death at the hands of the raiders? Who is going to indemnify them? It was in the interests of the past and future victims of these raids that the expedition was undertaken, and unless the tribesmen are made to pay a more substantial penalty than the *nominal* one of the security of a number of rifles, to be redeemed after *seeming* good behaviour for a while, they cannot help assuming that they have been let off on very cheap terms. And the reputation that the

Zakka Khels bear for faithlessness and bad character by no means adds to the chances of their future good behaviour after a few months of trial have passed away. In any case, those who have suffered losses by the raids, either in person or property, should be indemnified, if not by the tribesmen, certainly by Government, for it was only laxity on the part of the local authorities that could make such daring dacoities possible. The officers and troops will, we dare say, have their reward of 'bravery' and 'achievements,' but the greatest sufferers get no redress by the terms accepted by General Willcocks."

The following extract from a letter written by a Hindu resident of Peshawar district, the full text of which we are sorry to have to put off till our next, will give an idea of the feeling that has been caused among the population of the Frontier Province by the withdrawal of the expedition :—

"If the Government had no idea of adequately punishing the turbulent marauders of the hills, they ought not to have undertaken the so-called expedition at all. It has done more harm than good. We are told that the Afridis have lost much, are adequately punished, and have made overtures for peace, and the Government also consider that their work has been done. People in the Frontier Province, however, don't yet know what work has been really done by the force, but they know for certain that raids have not yet ceased. The general impression is that the Political Officers, either of their own accord or under orders from 'Honest John,' were eager to patch up the affair anyhow, though some of the military officers were against withdrawal. The impression of the native soldiery (the wounded men who have returned) seems to be that the officers appear to have a vague 'fear' of the Afridis, and this is now becoming the popular idea also. These things have given a very rude shock to the Frontier Hindus, who feel that the hillmen will be emboldened still further. One fruit of this vacillating policy is already visible. The local *badmashes* are having a good time and crime is not likely to decrease under the loss of prestige suffered by the Government in the people's eyes."

The expedition against the Zakka Khels.

18. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 7th March 1908 :—

"SIR,—I hope you will raise a vigorous protest against the terms of Settlement arrived at between the Government of India and the Zakka Khel. The terms are (1) the Zakkas have made complete submission; (2) the leading offenders in the recent raids will be duly punished by the tribesmen *with the assistance of the Zakkas*; and (3) the *jirga* has deposited as security rifles worth (or, according to some accounts, worth) Rs. 20,000 *to be returned to the tribesmen.*

"Now, there is not a word about the helpless, unfortunate, and law-abiding citizens who were wantonly murdered and robbed by the raiders in defiance of the troops and the police. The cash and jewellery extorted from the subjects of British Government is *not* to be recovered and restored to them, and no compensation is to be made to them for the murder of their people. No part of the cost of the expedition is to be recovered from the offending tribes, nor are their allowances to be stopped. In the case of the penniless and harmless Tibetans, a heavy indemnity was imposed and the last penny had to be paid into the British treasury, but in the case of the Zakkas what we have got is only the *promise* of the tribesmen including the Zakkas to punish the raiders. We all know what it would mean. The Zakkas to punish their own raiders! Or the Afridi freebooters to punish their own kith and kin! and for what? For raiding into British territory and shooting down a few infidels whom their mullahs are constantly encouraging to murder as the surest way of gaining Paradise. The few rifles (or rupees) deposited with Government are to be returned to be used again against its subjects. No doubt the Political Agent in the Khyber is to be satisfied with the punishment the *jirga* proposes to inflict, but in the first place what means has this officer of ascertaining if the proposed punishment has been inflicted at all, for

we presume he will not be a witness to it, and secondly, if he is dissatisfied, will Government launch another expedition? This being obviously impossible, we should be prepared to hear in the course of a few weeks that the P. A. in Khyber has been approached and assured by the tribesmen and communicated to the Government his complete satisfaction with the steps taken by the *jirga*, and there the matter will end. The *Jingo* papers will applaud the heroism of our troops, and the excellence of their training under Lord Kitchener; Lord Minto and Mr. Morley will congratulate each other on the brilliant success of the operations, and the 'tactful' British Officer seeking the bubble expedition (and something more substantial) even in the cannon's mouth will receive his reward in due course. According to Reuter Colonel Roose Keppel's ability and tact has already been flashed over the wires to Mr. Morley.

"From whatever point of view we regard the settlement it appears to us to be insufficient. Only the other day the columns of the Anglo-Indian papers were filled with an account of the treachery and faithlessness of the Zakkas. To-day we have let bygones be bygones and have withdrawn our forces from their territory on receiving a verbal assurance from them. If it be urged that heavy punishment has fallen on them and some of their prominent leaders have either been killed or wounded, surely that is no satisfaction to the Indian tax-payer. The losses on our side, including a Major, have not been insignificant considering the nature of the skirmish, and the reconstruction of the mud strongholds demolished by our troops will not cost the tribesmen one-tenth of the amount they have carried away from the Frontier towns and villages during the last fortnight. Look at their audacity! With a strong force in their midst, they have continued their raids, have burnt villages and carried away booty, and have defied British troops stationed within 100 yards or so of them. And now they are again to be left to themselves. Their leaders are not to be arrested and detained as securities for the behaviour of their clans; they are not made to disgorge the money they have taken away by force of arms, and no idemnity is to be demanded from them. Where is the guarantee beyond the word of the faithless, that raids will never recur?

Yours, &c.,

DELHI, March 4th. NOT SATISFIED.

## VI.—LEGISLATION.

Lala Harkishen Lal's appointment to the Punjab Legislative Council.

19. The following letter on the subject of the appointment of Lala Harkishen Lal to the Punjab Council appeared in the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of 7th March 1908:—

### "HONOUR" AND "HONOURABLE."

#### THEIR "FACE" AND THEIR "INTRINSIC" VALUE.

"SIR,—'A grand public meeting was held on Monday in the Bande Mataram Hall, Amritsar, to express sincere thanks to the Government for the nomination of Lala Harkishen Lal to the Legislative Council and to congratulate the Lala on his appointment to the said Council,' writes a correspondent to the *Panjabee*. Similar meetings have been held in Multan and other places, and in their train comes the grand evening party in Lahore given by the Bharat Insurance Company and other institutions, the subscription for which was raised, according to some, from unwilling subordinates, and according to others from willing admirers. It is absurd to suppose that Lala Harkishen Lal could at all have been in favour of anybody levying contributions from poor clerks for such a purpose. But what I fail to understand is that a sensible man like Lala Harkishen Lal should have allowed such a party being given in his honour on his appointment to the Legislative Council. In my humble opinion it would have been very much better if he had written a note to the Press asking his friends and admirers to let

him alone and not to make so much fuss over the matter. He could easily have prevented all this gush of sincere thanks to the Government in public meetings and newspapers by the simple question:—'What have I gained by the appointment? Does a seat on the Punjab Council, as at present constituted, give one an opportunity of serving his country?' With the exception of suggesting some verbal changes in the Bills before they are passed and become Acts, an Indian member of the Punjab Council has no power for good. In the absence of the right of interpellation he cannot bring the grievances of the public before the Council. But even if Lala Harkishen Lal would be very useful as a Councillor, there is hardly any ground for jubilation and thanksgiving over his nomination. He is already widely respected for his many-sided commercial activity. A seat on the Council cannot by itself raise him higher in the estimation of the public. On the contrary, there is a danger of the gentleman becoming a less independent member of society by sitting side by side with high European officials, a kind word from whom is enough to unnerve the best of us in the present weak state of our character.

"The Government has only to make any one of us a Rai Bahadur orthe Vice-President of a Municipality, or bestow on him some sort of honour or a piece of land in the Lyallpur district, and the man is transformed in no time. A case in point is that of Lala Lal Chand, M. A., now Advocate of the Chief Court, whose Presidential Address delivered at the first Provincial Conference, held in 1895 at Lahore, is still ringing in my ears. The Government made him first a Rai Bahadur and then a temporary Judge of the Chief Court. The result is that quite unconsciously our respected friend, who is so simple and unassuming, is paying the penalty that attaches to the recognition of a man's worth by the Government. I am told that he paid a big sum towards a fund in connection with the visit of the Prince of Wales, and that he is now a member of the Committee appointed to perpetuate Sir Denzil Ibbetson's memory in the Punjab. I doubt very much if Lala Lal Chand would have paid a subscription like that or would have become a member of the above Committee if he had not come very much to the fore and been recognised by the officials. It is unnecessary to speak of smaller men in this connection. One has to pay a price for the favours received from Government, and I am sure that it would be very difficult for Lala Harkishen Lal 'the Honourable' to behave as independently as he did when he opposed the proposal to erect a statue to the late Queen and almost created a confusion in the meeting convened in aid of the proposal under the presidency of Mr. Justice Frizelle. I therefore think that Lala Harkishen Lal's nomination to the Council does not mean much either for him personally or for the public. And when I remember all the kind treatment that the 'base-born' Hindus received from the Government in the year 1907, I cannot help wishing that Lala Harkishen Lal had refused to be made 'Honourable' and respectfully asked the Government to bestow the honour on some protégé of the *Civil and Military Gazette*.

"But it is a pity that in these days it is difficult for our leaders to see their awkward position and to restrain the enthusiasm of their friends and followers. An honour is an honour whether it means anything or not to them, and their admirers who would cut up other people for their faults have not the courage and the desire to put in a word of reasonable protest. Otherwise it would have been impossible for really good men like A. B. C. D., to have their carriages unhorsed and drawn by human beings here, there, and elsewhere during the last two years. People say this is idol-worship. They talk in whispers about its impropriety, but they do not speak out for fear of offending somebody and being called envious and malicious. And all this when we are loudest in our bragging about Colonial Self-Government and Absolute Autonomy.

"I trust Lala Harkishen Lal will not misunderstand me. I would not have written all this if some uneducated rich man had been appointed to the Council. But I really believe that to a man of Lala Harkishen Lal's position and attainments, this honour means nothing, and the jubilation over his nomination at Lahore and elsewhere is quite

uncalled for and unbecoming in the present circumstances of the country. Public life in our country must have come to a low ebb indeed if men of education can afford to run mad over toys when there is so much on all sides to make us sick and sorry. We have, however, to learn many things yet and above all the capacity of taking things at their real worth."

AMBALA:
*The 1st March* 1908.

MADHO RAM.

## VII.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

### *(a)—Judicial.*

Invidious distinction between Native and European offenders.

20. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 29th February 1908, remarks that if a native gives an Englishman even a slight push, he is punished in a most severe manner (*lit.* is sent to hell). On the contrary, Englishmen kill natives every day, but they are let off with a fine of Rs. 10 or Rs. 15. After stating that the Settlement Officer of the Sunderbans has been fined only Rs. 10 for kicking a coolie to death, the Editor enquires whether natives are required to feel thankful for this sort of justice.

The death of a coolie at the hands of the Settlement Officer of Sunderbans.

21. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 23rd February 1908, remarks that people say that one should not oppose Government. The Editor is also aware that Government is very powerful and can make use of its oppressive laws to deport him or imprison him for years. He knows that it is a great sin tantamount to committing suicide to court danger, but even if the worst were to befall him he cannot control himself, for he regards imprisonment and deportation as sources of pleasure and comfort. It makes his blood boil to see an Englishman, who is charged with kicking a native to death, escape with a fine of fifteen or twenty rupees. The Editor then refers to the case in which the English Settlement Officer of the Sunderbans has been only fined Rs. 10 for causing the death of a coolie by kicking him. After deploring that a native's life should have fallen to the value of only Rs. 10. under British rule, he enquires whether Englishmen in India are not amenable to law or whether they are meant only to loot the country and kick natives to death.

Separation of Judicial from Executive functions.

22. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 1st March 1908 :—

"A day or two ago, the *Pioneer* announced that the Government have at last decided to try an experiment in the separation of Judicial and Executive functions. Bengal and Assam provinces have now been definitely chosen to be the places for the experimental scheme of taking a few selected districts and trying the separation of the Judicial from the Executive functions. The two Local Governments concerned are now being consulted on the subject and they will doubtless indicate the districts in which the scheme can be given a fair trial. When their views have been ascertained a reference will be made to the Secretary of State for the requisite administrative arrangements. We are glad that after all there is to be a beginning. Indeed no administrative reform could be said to be of greater urgency than the one which the Government seems to have finally decided to carry out, and they will have every support in their proposed action. We may say that the separation of the Judicial and Executive

functions has been one of the reforms for which the Indian National Congress has been pleading since its birth, and it is some comfort to find that the Government no longer regards it as a mere "counsel of perfection." We have no misgivings that the experiment, if given a fair trial, will prove eminently successful. But it is not enough to effect the separation in a faint and half-hearted manner. The separation in order to be really beneficial must be absolute and thorough and the judiciary should be placed under the control of the High Court, otherwise the reform will be more illusory than real and fail to improve the administration of justice, which indeed is the avowed object of the measure. We have observed on more than one occasion that an impression is slowly gaining ground that the administration of justice in this country is to some extent weighed down by political considerations and that the judiciary in some cases come to regard themselves as the right hand of the executive. * * * * We think if the two services, Judicial and Executive, are entirely separated, the former being placed entirely under the control of the High Court and dependent on it for its prospects and promotion, the reform may be more acceptable to the public. In the absence, however, of any further information it is impossible to say anything as to the nature and the scope of the experiment, and it is a pity that the Government is not going to enlighten us by any resolution on the matter. We trust, however, that the Government will see the advisability of taking the public into its confidence in this matter by making its proposals public. And lastly we protest against the decision of Government limiting the experiment to only a few districts in Bengal and Assam. It is essential for ensuring good results—an object which we trust the Government has as much at heart as the public—that the scheme should be put to a somewhat varied experiment, and we do not see what reasons can there be for shutting out the other provinces from the operation of the scheme. The demand for the separation is not less crying in other provinces than in Bengal and Assam, and we think a variety of experiments tried under a variety of conditions will better enable the Government to come to a right conclusion. We hope that the Government will see its way to extend the experiment to a few selected districts in other provinces also."

**The criminal administration of the Frontier Province.**

23. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 7th March 1908 :—

"One melancholy feature of the situation created in the Frontier Province is that the notoriety acquired by the Afridi depredations on the one hand, and by the police on account of their incompetency on the other, tends to encourage local *badmashes* in imitating the enterprise of the former by counting upon the apathy and sleepiness of the other. It is clear that the abortive "Punitive Expedition," by lowering the prestige of the Government, will help to intensify this evil ; for it is sufficient to proclaim a dacoity as a *Dhara* (raid) for the police to recoil within their shell and get an excuse for abstaining from investigation, and for the higher authorities to go on enjoying their salaries and amusements after simply observing with a shrug of the shoulders— 'Well, sorry, but there's no help.' The police incompetency of the Frontier Province and the apathy of the local authorities have been made too evident. In the face of repeated raids not the slightest precautions appear to have been taken, by way of increasing the watch or strengthening the police ; and now the paraphernalia of a gigantic expedition ending in no substantial results is calculated only to excite a sense of mockery in the minds of those for whom it was meant than one of fear. As a matter of fact, it was the police and the local authorities whose conduct was deserving of severe notice more than of the Afridis, who have only been following their hereditary vocation with which civilised neighbours must always count. There would have been no need of an expedition if proper measures had been taken locally, and the only remedy still lies in strengthening the police and the military, and punishing seriously any acts of cowardice or dereliction of duty on their part. The facts reported by our correspondent, that after the loot of the Peshawar City Station in which the lives of the Station Master and his staff were in jeopardy, the police came in leisurely,

and the Europeans whose business it was to afford protection only laughed over the situation, illustrate perhaps all too faithfully the attitude of the local authorities. It is ridiculous to talk of 'Pax Britannica' under such conditions. It is disgraceful that an Administration which found in the presence of a poor inoffensive man like Lala Dhani Ram, of Abbottabad, so much imaginary danger to the interests of peace, is helpless before the actual destruction of the lives and property of its subjects by dacoits and *badmashes*. During the last twelve months we have seen the whole force of the Government, from the Secretary of State down to the lowest sepoy and constable, turned with fierce energy to crush an imaginary rebellion. Now, however, Mr. Morley talks of quiet having been restored by the deportations and arrests of peaceful citizens, while daring dacoities are being committed with impunity in Cantonment towns and their neighbourhood. Lives are endangered, and property looted in sufficient amounts to invest the raids with the character of expeditions, but there is none to render help to the sufferers. Is this the 'Pax Britannica' of the Morley-Minto régime?"

*(d)—Education.*

24. The *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 28th February 1908, reports that a deputation of Sikh colonists, the majority of whom were retired soldiers, recently waited upon the Deputy Commissioner, Lyallpur, to pray for the grant of a piece of land, either free or on payment, on which to build a school for their boys. This officer refused to give a plot of land, but offered to sell them land at Rs. 3,000 per acre, which means that he is unwilling to accede to the request of the deputation. This conduct on his part is, perhaps, due to his dislike of the intention of the zamindars to employ Sikh teachers only at their school. It was hoped that the prayer of the deputation would be granted, because most of the Sikhs who waited on the Deputy Commissioner were retired soldiers, who have rendered very valuable services to Government and who were treated with great respect by the authorities during the recent unrest. After remarking that the treatment accorded them by the Deputy Commissioner must have given them offence, the paper regrets that the authorities should continue to behave in a way which is calculated to spread discontent in the country.

Building site for a Sikh school at Lyallpur.

*(g)—Postal matters.*

25. The *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 22nd February 1908, supports the proposal to extend the V.-P. Parcel system to England and endeavours to refute the objections raised by Anglo-Indian newspapers and traders against the contemplated change.

The proposal to extend the V.-P. P system to England.

*(g) Miscellaneous.*

26. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 7th March 1908:—

Frontier affairs.

"In our last we quoted the words of a Hindu resident of the Peshawar district commenting on the withdrawal of the Zakka Khel expedition. Since then both men and letters have come to us from the Frontier districts giving loud expression to deep disappointment of the peaceable population in the Province at the result of the expedition. In the present article our object is to give Government an idea of the feeling caused by recent events, not in our own words, but in those of people directly concerned, which we reproduce almost literally. It goes without saying that the Hindus are specially alarmed, not only because they are in a minority in the Province, while the raiders belong to the Muhammadan faith,

but also because they pursue those avocations of peace and thrift which make them at once an object of cupidity and an easy prey for neighbours maraudically disposed. Just at present the condition of the Frontier Hindus may be said to be really deplorable. They can neither defend themselves nor are they protected by others (whether by the Police or their Muhammadan neighbours) against the raids, murders, decoities and robberies that are being directed against their lives and property almost every night. Themselves they are too few in number and have hardly any arms. Their Muhammadan neighbours, especially the Khans and Maliks, to whom they paid allegiance in ancient times, and who in return protected them, now consider their duty transferred to the Government, while their peasant neighbours make an excuse of want of arms, &c. Thus the only powers that remain to protect them are the Police and the prestige of the Government. Now as regards the former, the less said the better. The raid in the very heart of the Peshawar City in January last has sufficiently shown to the people what stuff the police are made of. * * * *

"It is said the Afridis have now given assurances as to their future conduct and the Government has been pleased to accept their terms and discontinue the punitive expedition. The Station raid, committed on the eve of the settlement of terms, is perhaps an earnest of their future good behaviour. * * * *
In the Peshawar district, the Hindus, who are mostly village traders, have come to have such an uncertain existence that they are in a funk what to do under the present circumstances. Since the organisation of the New Province they have clearly realised that they have no *status* in the Province, and many have been thinking of coming down to the Punjab, but Punjab events of the year 1907 have so alarmed them that they now consider their condition to be altogether hopeless. The impression is gaining ground that their lives, property and honour, in fact, everything, is unsafe in the Frontier Province. There is no incentive to the people, under such circumstances, to develop trade and industry, for which purpose security of life and property is the first requisite. It is impossible for the village folk to understand that such a powerful and mighty Government as the British is practically powerless before a handful of Afridi dacoits, who commit serious crimes under the very nose of the police and the much-vaunted Army of the Government. Who does not know the doings of the police? They are very smart in so-called sedition-hunting and making false reports against individuals and communities whose only fault is that they cannot flatter the police, but when the time for real duty comes they consider discretion to be the better part of valour; and when the danger is over, they just put in appearance to grace the scene with their presence. These are the agents of the Government to keep its prestige! It can very well be imagined of what sort the prestige will be (at least in the eyes of the Afridis) of those who can only overawe the weak but fly away before the strong.

"The *virtues* of the police are patent enough, but nobody could imagine that our great Government, by following a weak and vacillating policy towards the Afridis, such as they have been doing of late, and which has been made especially conspicuous by the conduct and termination of the recent expedition, would contribute further towards the loss of its prestige. The conduct of the police has been, to say the least, unworthy; and if the police are not, as the military always are, punished for such grave neglect of duty and cowardice and if the Government does not assume a stronger attitude, it is feared in the course of a year it would become very difficult for the Government to keep this part of their territories under proper control, and impossible for the Hindus, who are already extremely terrified, to live in this part of the country.

"If the Government is unable to do this, then either the Hindus should be driven across the Indus, back to the Punjab, or all the people, Hindus and Muhammadans should be allowed arms and clearly told to defend themselves and their neighbours.
* * * * *

"People are now tired of the sympathy and humanity of Mr. Morley. Where it is needed it does not come; where it is not required it comes profusely. The Afridis are

a rough and savage-like people. They cannot appreciate his sympathy and humanity. They are a brave and manly people. They can better understand the strong arm than the white feather. The hasty withdrawal of the Zakka Khel expedition when the raids still continue, and allowing the police to go unpunished for their cowardly behaviour and neglect of duty, are not likely to improve matters. The poor Hindus of the Frontier, who are the chief sufferers in these cases, look only to the Government to defend them in their present helpless condition, and the Government must do this as in duty bound—if for nothing else, at least to keep up their own prestige.

Political prisoners.

27. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 4th March 1908:—

"The Indian Penal Code may be one of the most systematic and comprehensive attempts at legislation, it may represent in a most compact form the most up-to-date notions of criminal jurisprudence, but it labours under some grave defects. We here do not refer to the sedition section (Section 124 A.) as amended on the lines of the judgment in the Tilak case, for the sweeping and the inconclusive nature of the definition has been generally recognised. Indeed, not the staunchest advocate of a policy of repression has claimed that the definition of sedition is a particularly clever piece of legislative draftsmanship. Leaving, therefore, the question of definition aside, we find that the underlying principle in the Indian Penal Code as regards punishment by imprisonment is exceedingly crude and clumsy. The Penal Code recognises only two forms of punishment, simple and rigorous. A system of criminal jurisprudence which condemns the youthful Editor, whose only fault is the hot-headedness of youth and loving his country 'too well but not wisely' to the same sort of punishment as the hardened murderer or despoiler of feminine virtue, and which tars both with the same hall-mark of felony does not certainly strike one as rational or equitable. The former generally is not guilty of any moral turpitude, while the latter is a villain whom society detests and abhors. And yet under the Indian Penal Code, both are subjected to the same treatment at the hands of law. To regard such a procedure as sweeping or irrational is to say the least of it. It is, therefore, gratifying to find Sir Henry Cotton again calling Mr. Morley's attention to this unsatisfactory state of things and Mr. Morley giving an assurance in reply that the matter is engaging his attention. Mr. Morley has already earned the gratitude of the Indian people by countermanding the humiliating form of handcuffing in the case of Editors and other political offenders, who might be prosecuted under the sedition laws. It is hoped that Mr. Morley will now see his way to repeal this curious anomaly, which can only be justified as a relic of barbarous times and which brands political offences of the foregoing description with the same label as homicide and other heinous offences. This object may be achieved by directing all writers or speakers who might have run their heads into the noose of sedition section to be treated as first-class misdemeanants. The latter step seems all the more to be called for, as the Government may have been convinced by this time that its drastic measures have not been able to curb the youthful persistence of disinterested even if misguided martyrs."

Aid to Pindi Das's family.

28. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 29th February 1908, publishes a communication from one Amar Nath, who praises the Editor for opening a fund in aid of Pindi Das's family, and exhorts all Indians to befriend the family of one who has sacrificed himself in the service of the country. Pindi Das was a patriot and devoted all his time to promoting the welfare of his motherland. The people should go into mourning for him and make sacrifices to render help to his family in return for the unique example of self-sacrifice set by him. They should worship the living gods who have been sent to

jail for the offence of loving goddess India. Pindi Das is the greatest of such gods in the Punjab, and his name will live as long as there remains even one Indian in the world. In conclusion, the writer calls upon the people to render help to the family of Pindi Das.

The *Tribune* newspaper.

29. The *Aftab* (Delhi) of the 23rd February 1908, takes the *Tribune* to task for endeavouring to discredit Lala Lajpat Rai's contradiction of its statement that he had been released only on giving assurances as to his future behaviour. The *Tribune*, adds the Editor, has been growing more hostile to Indians from day to day and can no longer be called a national journal. Will it be allowed to exist, he asks, even after having called Lala Lajpat Rai a liar and are the people of Lahore incapable even of bringing the journal to its senses? It should be borne in mind that by questioning the veracity of the Lala the *Tribune* has insulted and heaped humiliation on the whole nation. In conclusion, the Editor says that, but for the *Tribune* conducting itself in its present manner, Lala Harkishen Lal would not have been nominated to the Punjab Legislative Council.

F. ISEMONGER,

*Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*
*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

LAHORE:
*The 27th March* 1908.

Punjab Government Press, Lahore—14-3-08—1199—96—H. L. S.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 11. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

Received up to 14th March 1908.

---

## CONTENTS.


I.—Politics.

Page.

(a)—*Foreign*—

1. Anglo-Russian Convention (*Hindustan*) ... ... 131
2. Anglo-Russian Convention (*Punjab Samachar*) ... *ib.*
3. Macedonian question (*Seraj-ul Akhbar*) ... ... *ib.*
4. Macedonian question (*Vakil*) ... ... ... *ib.*
5. The Powers and Turkey (*Hindustan*) ... ... 132

(b)—*Home*—

6. Rulers and the ruled (*Hindustan*) ... ... *ib.*
7. Native soldiers and their employment in the Artillery (*Hindustan*) ... ... ... ... *ib*
8. The Indian Army (*Tribune*) ... ... ... 133
9. Prosecution of the *Sandhya* and *Naraskati* for sedition (*Aftab*) ... ... ... ... 134
10. Advisory Councils (*Wafadar*) ... ... ... 135

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

11. Expedition against the Zakka Khels (*Akhbar-i-Am*) ... 135
12. Expedition against the Zakka Khels (*Akhbar i-Am*) ... 136
13. Expedition against the Zakka Khels (*Parkash*) ... *ib.*
14. Expedition against the Zakka Khels (*Punjab Samachar*) ... ... ... ... *ib.*
15. Expedition against the Zakka Khels (*Akhbar-i-Am*) ... *ib.*
16. Expedition against the Zakka Khels (*Parkash*) ... *ib.*
17. Expedition against the Zakka Khels (*Panjabee*) ... 137
18. Tribal raids into British Territory (*Jhang Sial*) ... 138
19. Tribal raids into British Territory (*Punjab Samachar*) *ib.*
20. Tribal raids into British Territory (*Civil and Military News*) ... ... ... ... *ib.*

III.—Native States.

*Nil.*

IV.—King-Killing.

Page.

*Nil.*

V.—Native Societies and religious matters.

*Nil.*

VI.—Legislation.

21. Proposed expansion of the Supreme Legislative Council (*Hitkari*) ... ... ... ... 138

VII—General Administration.

(a)—*Judicial*—

22. Administration of Justice in India (*Hindustan*) ... 139
23. Cases between Natives and Europeans (*Rajput Gazette*) *ib.*

(b)—*Police*—

24. The Indian Police (*Tribune*) ... ... ... *ib.*
25. Lawlessness in Sind (*Tribune*) ... ... 140

(c)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs*—

*Nil.*

(d)—*Education*—

26. Building site for a Sikh school at Lyallpur (*Hitkari*) *ib.*

(e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land*—

*Nil.*

(f)—*Railways and Communications*—

*Nil.*

(g)—*Postal matters*—

*Nil.*

(h)—*Miscellaneous*—

27. Aid to Pindi Das's family (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 140
28. Morality of the Europeans in India (*Jhang Sial*) ... *ib.*
29. Poverty and Plague (*Panjabee*) ... ... *ib.*

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 11. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 14th March 1908.**

---

### I.—POLITICS.

#### (*a*)—*Foreign.*

1. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 6th March 1908, says that great uneasiness is felt in the Foreign Department of the Government of India owing to the Amir not having given his assent to the Anglo-Russian Treaty. Will the Government bring pressure to bear on His Majesty to give his assent to the convention, or will it, after its usual practice, try to humour him? Perhaps the Amir is of opinion that the agreement has been concluded in order to weaken Persia and Afghanistan.

Anglo-Russian Convention.

2. The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 29th February 1908, says that the convention should induce the Ministry to reduce the strength of the Indian Army.

Anglo-Russian Convention.

3. The *Siraj-ul-Akhbar* (Jhelum), of the 3rd March 1908, says that the reforms which the powers wish to introduce into Macedonia are likely to inflame the Turks. The Sultan's natural strength, *i.e.*, the world's Muhammadan population, is by no means inconsiderable and ought not to be wantonly provoked. After remarking that interference by the Powers in the affairs of Macedonia threatens to lead to universal war, the paper asks England not to fall out with Turkey. The construction of the Hedjaz Railway has added greatly to the strength of Turkey, and she has also succeeded in securing the friendship of Japan. Further, in the event of an outbreak of war between the Sultan and the Powers it is quite possible that the Islamic countries, namely, Persia, Arabia, Afghanistan and Baluchistan, will side with His Majesty. It, therefore, behoves the Powers to leave Macedonia alone and to drop their proposal of introducing reforms into that part of Turkey.

Macedonian question.

4. The *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 3rd March 1908, regrets that England who ought to have made friends with Turkey at all cost should try to involve the latter in fresh troubles by re-opening the Macedonian question. The recent debate on Macedonia in the Commons tends to show

Macedonian question.

that the question of introducing reforms into that part of Turkey is shortly to be brought up again. However, signs are not wanting to show that in this case the Sultan will assuredly submit the matter to the arbitrament of the sword.

The Powers and Turkey.

5. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 6th March 1908, says that the hostility of Christian Powers to Turkey is attributable not to political but to religious differences. That this is so is evident from the fact that even those Powers which have nothing whatever to do with Turkey are in the habit of interfering with her. Why should all Christian Powers be anxious to introduce reforms into Turkey, while they wink at the existence of administrative evils in their own dominions? As an instance in point, the paper says that while they are desirous of the introduction into Turkey of democracy and liberty of speech and press, they seem bent on abolishing these institutions in their own territories. Again, they ask for autonomy for the Sultan's Christian subjects and would have them placed on a footing of equality with their rulers. On the other hand, these very Powers have been humiliating their own subjects in Africa and forcing the latter to leave that part of the world. The Turks, adds the paper, have never required their Christian fellow-countrymen to have themselves registered, whereas Indians in Africa are being forced to do so. It then goes on to say that although railways are believed to contribute towards the progress of trade and civilisation the construction of a railway in Turkey causes the so-called civilised Powers of Europe intense anxiety. Does not all this show that the Powers wish to crush Islamic Power and spread Christianity throughout the world? Does not this constitute a struggle between the Cross and the Crescent, and are not Muhammadans aware of the fact?

*(b)—Home.*

Rulers and the ruled.

6. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 6th March 1908, says that it is characteristic of genii to do the reverse of what they are asked to perform. The same is the case with the authorities in this country. If the public desire the transfer of an officer from a place on the ground of his being oppressive Government refuses to remove him. On the other hand, if they request that an officer may be allowed to remain in a district Government promptly transfers him. In all probability the authorities behave in this way in order to crush the spirit of the people and to make them submit to despotic orders without demur. Perhaps they consider it derogatory to their dignity to accede to the requests of the people.

Native soldiers and their employment in the Artillery.

7. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 6th March 1908, says that the reason why Indians are turned out of Europe, Africa and America is that they can work on low wages and live on a small sum of money, and also because they are ready to endure abuse, kicks and blows, and will suffer ill-treatment in silence.

The reason why they are being expelled from all departments is that they are more intelligent and industrious and cost less than Europeans.

The intelligence of natives has proved a curse to them in the matter of employment in the Army also. Since the Mutiny native soldiers have been equipped with arms inferior to those supplied to their white comrades. They have also been excluded from almost all batteries because artillery plays the most important part in wars in which Europeans are engaged. Nevertheless one or two batteries have hitherto been manned by them. It was to be hoped that after fifty years of loyal service Government would repose greater trust in native soldiers. The reward, however, which they are about to receive is their dismissal from the batteries in which they are at present employed.

Why? Because they make very efficient marksmen. This is no mere conjecture, but is supported by very strong evidence. After publishing a translation of a statement by General Cotton of Peshawar, who recommends the abolition of native batteries on this ground, the paper enquires whether natives can still believe that Government is pleased to see them become proficient. Is it for their good that Government interferes in the management of Indian Universities on all possible occasions? Is it with the object of increasing their ability that Government lays more stress on primary than on higher education? Is this the only reward for their loyalty, nay slavish flattery, during the past 150 years, that their ability should be considered a source of danger to Government? Is this the way in which Government can win the love and confidence of the people? After replying to these questions in the negative, the Editor says that it is only love and trust which can win a similar response. It is Government, and not native speakers and journalists, who have caused ill-feeling. Government should reflect deeply in the matterand abstain from needlessly disheartening and angering the loyal native soldiery. Disregard of this advice will gladden its enemies and displease its friends. Native soldiers will have no incentive left to lay down their lives in its defence: mercenaries will prove of no service in the hour of need. In time of war British soldiers will have to be told off to watch Jack sepoy lest he be guilty of treachery. Government itself is reducing its power by one-half.

* * * * * * * *

It can be confidently asserted that native soldiers are loyal to the Crown. They may have some grievances, but Government should redress them and not wantonly offend the men and turn friends into enemies.

The Editor does not insist that natives should not be expelled from every battery. Government is free to do so, but the present is not the proper time to take this step when a war between Europe and Asia seems imminent. The British Government has a very large stake in the Asiatic Continent, and should act with the greatest caution and foresight if only to keep up appearances.

8. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 10th March 1908 :—

The Indian Army.

"It is strange and perverse irony of fate that the path of the Liberal administration of all should so far have smitten with blasted hopes and broken hearts so far as the people of India are concerned. The advent of the Bannerman Ministry to power raised high hopes and great expectations, the selection of Mr. Morley to the portfolio of the India Office further confirmed those expectations, but what a record of despair and disappointment has the Liberal régime been. We need not here recount the events of the period of

storm and stress, for their bitter memory has yet to be effaced by the healing influence of time. The dark and heavy clouds, which so long hung upon the Indian political horizon, were, however, thanks to the ordainings of a merciful Providence, dispersed, and many have read a gleam of light which may after all prove to be a harbinger of dawn. But the inevitable irony is there and continues to mock us. Another of our fondest expectations has been well nigh dashed to the ground by Mr. Asquith's reply on the reduction of armaments in India. The Liberal Ministers came into power pledged to effect great retrenchments in the military expenditure. And what is more important, Sir Henry Bannerman has all along taken a distinguished part in the promotion of peace conferences and reduction of armaments. Immediately on succession to power, Mr. Haldane, the War Minister, brought out his scheme of Army reform, and the latest reports say that he has effected a mammoth saving in the British Army. The other day the Earl of Portsmouth, Parliamentary Secretary to the War Office, claimed that a total annual saving of four and a half million pounds have been made on the Army since the Government came into office and all this has been done without in any way affecting the efficiency of the Army. Well might Mr. Haldane congratulate himself on this record retrenchment.

"But this leads us to a consideration how this enormous saving has been effected. And hereby hangs a tale. It is the old story of the giant and the dwarf. As both Sir Charles Dilke and Sir Henry Cotton pointed out last year, one of the means by which this great saving was made has been to abolish the mountain battery at Home and to throw the whole burden on India. The salt of the famished Indian peasant has thus been taxed in order to equip and maintain the mountain battery which may be available for service anywhere in the Empire. This was neither a fair nor an equitable arrangement, and when Mr. Haldane was cornered on this point by the friends of India last year in the Commons, he wanted to take shelter behind the plea that he exercised no control over the Indian Army. Since then, the Anglo-Russian Convention has been signed and that has, even according to Mr. Morley, secured to a great measure the safety and the peace of the Indian Frontier. And the expectation ran high that the Liberal Government would seize this opportunity to right the wrong done to India in the matter of the mountain battery and give some relief to the starving millions of His Majesty's subjects in India. The necessity of such relief has been more urgent than ever, for not only has the burden on the Indian tax-payer already reached the proverbial limit of the last straw on the camel's back, but the whole country has been hopelessly in the grip of famine of an unprecedentedly wide-spread character. But Mr. Asquith's reply has thrown a wet blanket over our hopes. He said that the force in India was fixed immediately after the Mutiny with reference to a large number of considerations quite apart from the possibility of foreign invasion, and the weight of many of those considerations still remains undiminished. He then went on to traverse the notion that the Anglo-Russian agreement would necessarily lead to substantial reduction in the garrison of India. All that he could say was that Mr. Morley had been in communication with the Government of India on this matter, but he could not anticipate the result. So the subject is going to be treated once more as a sort of a football between Mr. Morley and the India Government and the War Minister, and it is quite on the cards that it may lead to another disappointment. As we observed some time ago, India's only concern in the Anglo-Russian Convention was that it might lead to some relief being given to the poor tax-payer, who has been groaning under the overpowering burden of armaments. If this cannot be done in these piping times of peace, when the danger of foreign invasion has been reduced to a lower minimum than it was at any time during the last century, there would be very little to choose between a Liberal and a Jingo administration."

Prosecution of the *Sandhya* and *Navasakti* for sedition.

9. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 1st (received on the 6th) March 1908, after referring to the sentences passed in the *Sandhya* and the *Navasakti* sedition cases, says that two more young men have been sacrificed at the altar of the goddess of Indian nationality. The Editor then addresses them as fol-

lows :—"You should not lose courage; we are all about to follow you in the path which you have trodden. Your young and fresh blood will not be spilt in vain. It will produce a stir in the heart of every Indian. Hearts will ache (for you, but) the tongues of men will praise you. Your holy and bright persons will now illumine the dark and narrow cells of jail. The story of your selflessness and true patriotism will live for ever. If you had been born in a nation it would have felt proud of you. You are not human beings but angels sent by God to rouse the lifeless Indian nation. It is only the blood of its young men which helps a nation forward. No nation can win the respect of the world until it produces men who will sacrifice their lives for its sake. You are a pillar of light sent by God to purify and illumine our hearts, and He alone will reward you for the self-sacrifice made by you." The Editor then goes on to say that it is noteworthy that the article for publishing which the Editor of *Navasakti* was prosecuted was not seditious at all. This was admitted even by the Court, but as Government wanted the accused punished he has been sent to jail. After remarking that to edit a newspaper in these days is tantamount to courting death, he observes that natives are quite ready to sacrifice their lives for the sake of their nation and country. It remains to be seen, he adds, whether the jails are spacious enough to contain them.

Advisory Councils.

10. A correspondent writing to the *Wafadar* (Lahore), of the 28th February (received on 11th March) 1908 suggests that the Hindu, Muhammadan and European members of the proposed Advisory Councils should be equal in number, and that the Imperial and Provincial Councils should consist of at least 91 and 25 members respectively. He also advocates the establishment of similar Councils for Native States, as also the representation of these States on the Viceroy's Council. He further suggests that every district should elect one or two members for each State or Provincial Council.

## II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

Expedition against the Zakka Khels.

11. The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 5th March 1908, writing on the subject of the expedition against the Zakka Khels, says that they carried away about one lakh of rupees in a single raid on Peshawar and could well afford to furnish security of Rs. 20,000, and that in rifles. It remains to be seen whether peace will reign on the frontier and what return the people will get for the lakhs of rupees which the expedition has cost them. After remarking that a number of Zakka Khels raided Peshawar City Railway Station when the expeditionary forces were about to be withdrawn, it says that the tribesmen are past-masters in the art of securing benefits from the British authorities. The Government, which is strong and a source of dread to Indians, is as clay in the hands of the frontier Pathans. The latter looted several villages in British territory and killed or took prisoners a number of British subjects, but their misdeeds have been overlooked and forgiven on a mere promise of good behaviour for the future. Every offence committed by them was so serious that if a native had even been suspected of having abetted them he would assuredly have been completely ruined. In conclusion, the paper remarks that the Zakka Khels deserve to be envied for their good luck.

12. The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 7th March 1908, publishes similar remarks and says that the expedition will not have any permanent beneficial result. All that can be hoped is that the Afridis will abstain from committing raids into British territory for a few weeks or months.

Expedition against the Zakka Khels.

13. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 10th March 1908, says that the Zakka Khels have been let off very cheap. If another Power had concluded peace with a turbulent frontier tribe on the terms granted to the Zakka Khels, the Editor would have accused it of having proclaimed its own weakness. As, however, it is his own Government that is concerned, he can only assert that it has been victorious. Nevertheless he would like to enquire whether the object with which the expedition was despatched has been gained. After remarking that that object was not merely to burden the Indian exchequer with the expenditure of a few lakhs of rupees, but also included the infliction of condign punishment on the Zakka Khels, the paper says that the less said about the punishment inflicted the better. It would, however, like to know whether the restoration of the lakhs of rupees looted by Zakka Khel brigands will be demanded or not. It next accuses Government of caring nothing for its subjects and thinking only of adding to its influence. The *Parkash* then goes on to say that both the Police and the Military have failed to afford protection to the residents of Peshawar and its neighbourhood against the raiders, and urges the Chief Commissioner to allow the people committed to his charge to carry arms. After remarking that it is only Hindus who are being looted, it wishes that Sir Harold Deane would use his specific for protecting the weak, *viz.*, that he would deport all the Hindus from the Frontier Province as he did in the case of Dhani Ram of Abbottabad. In conclusion, the Editor says that Government's confession of its weakness is not likely to deter Afridis from raiding into British territory, and in support of his assertion refers to the raid on Peshawar City Railway Station.

Expedition against the Zakka Khels.

14. The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 10th March 1908, expresses dissatisfaction with the terms of the agreement and urges Government to compensate the victims of the Zakka Khel raids.

Expedition against the Zakka Khels.

15. The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 10th March 1908, publishes similar remarks and adds that the residents of the Frontier Province should be allowed to keep arms to enable them to protect themselves against raiders.

Expedition against the Zakka Khels.

16. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 3rd March 1908, writing about the Zakka Khel Expedition, says that the looting of Peshawar City Railway Station shows that the peace concluded with the enemy is only a farce. The paper then publishes a copy of a letter alleged to have been received by an Afridi soldier at Rawalpindi in which the writer speaks of a large number of Government's soldiers having been killed by the Zakka Khels.

The telegrams, however, it adds, published by the Military Department speak only of a very few deaths, which is perhaps a stroke of policy.

Expedition against the Zakka Khels.

17. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 11th March 1908 :—

"The premonitions of the Hindu residents of Peshawar to which we have been giving expression in our last two issues are being fulfilled to the very letter. It is plain that General Willcocks' expedition, instead of frightening the Afridis, has served to make them more bold. The loot of Peshawar city bazar, on the 6th instant, by an unarmed body of Afridis, following so shortly after the punitive expedition, can be explained only on the supposition that the tribesmen have understood that the Sirkar is disposed to look tenderly on their depredations. The promises of fresh contributions to purchase their good behaviour, which even an expedition means to them, can only further and further whet their avarice, and they have evidently come to feel that the British Government is a milch-cow out of which as much as possible is to be squeezed by them by alternate cajoling and bullying. Our rulers talk of the Afridis as if they were moved by the same motives and instincts as civilised people, and that they would appreciate generosity instead of being encouraged by it in their greed, or that they would look upon contributions as other than blackmail, to be increased indefinitely by persisting in their old course. The account given by the *Pioneer* correspondent of the origin of the raid of the 6th instant throws a curious light on this aspect of Afridi character and their relations with the British Government. It is said that the Jirgah, numbering about 900 or 1000 men, which had come to Peshawar to know the terms of the Zakka Khel settlement, had gathered at the residence of Sahibzada Abdul Quayum, Assistant to the Political Officer of the Khyber; and that 'according to the usual custom subsistence money was paid to the heads of the tribes to meet the cost of their food while in Peshawar.' Even over this food allowance, given by our Government as if they were its sons-in-law, the tribesmen quarrelled with their Maliks, and a large number of the former ran had off to the bazar to make up by looting for what they took to be short distribution of ration money. What does this mean but that the Afridis understand the British Government and its subjects to be their provision suppliers, and that they are fully justified in looting the latter when they cannot bully more out of the former to feed their insatiable greed? * * * * * * *

"It is curious to note how the authorities, as represented by their organs in the Press, are interested in minimising the disagreeable features of the situation and magnifying their own insignificant achievements. Congratulations come from the King-Emperor and Mr. Morley about the great things done, and the *Pioneer* thinks never was a punitive expedition more successful; but the people know that things have been rendered worse rather than improved. The raid of the 6th confirms the bazar *gup* as to the Afridi's boast—'What has your Government done to us! Your men have retired in shame, hiding their faces.' That the raiders were unarmed is a clear index to their opinion of the childish character of British arrangements. The *Pioneer* announces that the cost of the expedition is not expected to exceed 12 lakhs of rupees, stating that it is the smallest bill known in connection with frontier operations of a punitive kind; while Mr. Morley significantly said in Parliament that he has 'received estimates, but they are rough estimates because, owing to the secrecy involved, estimates have not yet been received from the Comptroller of Accounts.'. Well, the public will never know the exact cost but the rumour in the bazar is loud that there has been a greater shower of rupees among the tribesmen than of buckshot to bring about General Willcocks' so-called settlement. Whatever this rumour may mean, there can be no question that the Government has adopted an altogether wrong policy in trying to purchase the friendliness of the border tribes by pandering to their cupidity. The payment of contributions is interpreted as a sign of weakness, and semi-savage peoples like the Afridis are amenable only to the influence of the strong arm. * * * * * *

"The fact is that the tribesmen are showing the British Government what they think of the latter's diplomacy and high statecraft. They are giving our authorities a hint in advance that fear and selfishness being the only basis of their mutual friendship there cannot be any permanent good relations; that the British need put no greater reliance on the Afridi's good faith than the Afridi does on that of the British; and that a warlike people cannot be dealt with by using a figurehead in the India Office like Mr. Morley who will say anything in Parliament that may be put into his mouth by Indian officials to represent the state of things in this country. They are tough customers, the Afridis, who have in them the power to show what real 'unrest' in India may mean, and that to maintain 'Pax Britannica' in India it is not enough to send lawyers, editors, and Swadeshi workers in shoals into the jail."

Tribal raids into British Territory.

18. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 7th March 1908, says that the Zakka Khels have made things very hot for British subjects in the Frontier districts, who have to pass sleepless nights for fear of being looted. After referring to the raid on Peshawar city railway station, the Editor says that the expedition against the Zakka Khels has not frightened the Afridis.

Tribal raids into British Territory.

19. The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 3rd March 1908, writing about the raids on Peshawar railway station and Akarpura village, says that Government ought to publish true reports of the losses suffered. It adds that gross anarchy has been prevailing in the nighbourhood of Peshawar for some time past and that people are being looted in broad daylight. It is of opinion that the Zakka Khels alone are not responsible for the recent raids into Peshawar and its neighbourhood and that they are helped by some other people, whose identity the authorities should discover. After remarking that the people concerned should be placed in a position to defend themselves, the paper asks Government to allow them to keep arms. It adds that it is the belief that their victims are wholly unable to defend themselves which has made the raiders so daring.

Tribal raids into British Territory.

20. The *Civil and Military News* (Ludhiana), of the 3rd March 1908, publishes a report of the looting of the Peshawar railway station by Zakka Khels, and regrets that the railway police should have been conspicuous by their absence during the raid. If they stayed away, it adds, of set purpose in order to save their skins, this was an act of arrant cowardice on their part. In case, however, there were no policemen at the station it argues gross negligence on the part of the railway administration not to police an important frontier station like Peshawar. After remarking that the smaller stations must be completely at the mercy of the raiders the paper suggests that the strength of the police at railway stations in the Frontier Province should be increased and that they should be required to patrol the station day and night.

## VI.—LEGISLATION.

Proposed expansion of the Supreme Legislative Council.

21. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 2nd (received on the 10th) March 1908, writing about the proposed expansion of the Supreme Legislative Council says that there is no likelihood of these reforms being introduced for one or two years to come. Besides,

if they are introduced at all they are likely to serve no useful purpose. An increase in the number of members who are powerless to accomplish anything in the Council can do no good to the country. They only help Government to preserve its despotic character.

## VII.—General Administration.

### *(a)—Judicial.*

Administration of Justice in India.

22. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 6th March 1908, says that Dr. Rutherford's recent speech in the Commons does not exhaust the list of the grievances of Indians. It is very easy to mention scores of grievances which have found no place in the learned Doctor's speech. As an instance in point, the paper says that the advancement of Police and Judicial officers is regulated by the maxim "No conviction no promotion." After remarking that this leads to the judiciary disregarding the ends of justice, it says that the sole object of the law courts in India is to put money into the coffers of Government. There can be no doubt as to the good intentions of the British statesmen who framed rules and regulations for the guidance of the Government of India. Most of them were undoubtedly anxious to give India a better form of Government than it had ever known. It is, however, a matter for regret that in practise the British has not proved the best Government for this country.

Cases between Natives and Europeans.

23. After reporting that the Settlement Officer of Sundarbans has been let off with a fine of Rs. 10 for having kicked a coolie to death, the *Rajput Gazette* (Lahore), of the 1st (received on the 7th) March 1908, regrets that in cases between Natives and Europeans the narrow-minded courts should not do that even-handed justice for which the British Government is known throughout the world.

### *(b)—Police.*

The Indian Police.

24. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 14th March 1908 :—

"Fresh arrivals in India are struck by nothing more than the unsatisfactory character of the lower ranks of the Police in this country. In England and on the Continent the men and officers of the Police Force are of real service to the people. To the evil-minded and the wrong-doers they are a veritable terror whilst to the innocent and those in need of assistance they are a source of comfort and succour. Indians themselves who have resided in Europe for any length of time are on their return to their native country greatly struck by the contrast afforded by the Indian and the European Police. We do not at all exaggerate matters when we say that in this country the innocent and the helpless are greatly afraid of the Police, whilst the criminal classes have no fear whatever that the members of the Force will be ever able to get at them. Recruited from the lowest strata of Indian society the Police constable has little or no character. In fact his predilection for corruption is well known. The number of educated men among the Inspectors and Deputy Inspectors is so very small as to have little or no influence on the *morale* of the force. Men promoted from the ranks where for years they may have thriven on corruption and blackmail cannot suddenly become honest soon after their promotion as Deputy Inspectors. In some cases the taint may

last until after they have risen to the higher grades and there may be cases in which it may prove irremovable. The introduction of the educated element into the Executive and Judicial branches of the Provincial Civil Service in several parts of India has done much to raise the moral tone of the service. In the Punjab the arrangements initiated by Sir Charles Aitchison in the early eighties have proved highly successful. Men of University education who have been able to secure admission into the service through the open door of a competitive examination have after several years of hard work established their reputation for honesty as well as for efficiency. If this has happened in the Provincial Service there is no reason why it should not happen in the Police Force, if a similar experiment is tried here. The matter has been more than once pressed on the attention of Government but hitherto without much success. The Police Force in the various parts of India constitutes a service the door of which is largely shut against the educated classes."

Lawlessness in Sind.

25. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 13th March 1908:—

"What are things coming to in Sind? The insecurity near the Peshawar border may be due to Afridi raids, but no such explanation can be alleged in respect of the loud complaints and prevailing sense of insecurity of life and property in Sind. Some time ago, we drew the attention of the authorities to the general panic in Sind and to the urgent need of strengthening the constabulary throughout the province, and it was further given out that the Government of Bombay had represented the whole matter to the Government of India. But so far the upshot of the business has been singularly *nil*. Cases of thefts, robberies and dacoities go on as ever, the unwelcome visitors not having spared the bungalows even of high officials. At Karachi, besides the two dacoities reported sometime ago, the mail-van was at sunset attacked on the public road and in Larkhana district, it seems from the telegram printed elsewhere, there have been numerous cases of dacoities by armed gangs of robbers. Protection of the lives and property of its subject is the rudimentary duty of every civilised Government and we trust the Government will not permit any further delay in affording this protection. It may be an instance of departmentalism, which works as Lord Curzon once trenchantly said, after the manner of the diurnal round, but the matter demands the immediate and urgent attention of the Sind Government. There was another meeting on Sunday last at Hyderabad to consider the question of the general insecurity and in that meeting several resolutions were moved indicating some of the remedies to the allaying of panic. The first resolution referred to the sense of insecurity and alarm engendered in Hyderabad by frequent and daring crimes, the second deplored the inordinate delay, which despite repeated representations occurred in sanctioning the Sind Police reform scheme and in dealing effectually with the grave insecurity prevalent for years throughout Sind and caused by numerous and serious crimes often culminating in regular outbreaks of organised dacoities, in which the gangs even used fire-arms. The third and fourth resolutions referred to the condition of the existing Police and suggested the more effective supervision by higher Police officials. The fifth suggested patrolling by military and mounted police in places where lawlessness existed. But the most significant of the resolutions is the sixth resolution which suggested that in view of the delay in making prompt arrangement by the Government and in view of the fact that *badmashes* had fire-arms, licenses should liberally and freely be given to the people so that they may defend their homes and hearths against the raids of the dacoits. Comments on the resolutions are superfluous. We trust that the Sind Government will not fail to consider the suggestions and take necessary measures for safe-guarding the lives and property of the citizens of Sind.

### (*d*)—*Education.*

Building site for a Sikh School at Lyallpur.

26. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 2nd (received on the 10th) March 1908, deprecates the treatment accorded by the Deputy Commissioner, Lyallpur, to the Sikh deputation, which recently waited on him to ask for a grant of land

for a building site for a Sikh school (*vide* para. 24 of Selections No. 10). The news, it adds, is calculated to cool the enthusiasm of the Sikh soldiers in China and elsewhere in the cause of Government and make them think that the authorities treat them in a considerate manner only in the hour of need Government and its officers should prove by their conduct that they govern India for the benefit of the country and not with the object of taking the bread out of the mouths of the people and filling the pockets of the merchants of Manchester.

(*h*)—*Miscellaneous.*

Aid to Pindi Das's family.

27. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 7th March 1908, acknowledges the following subscriptions in aid of the family of Pindi Das :—

| | Rs. | A. | P. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Amount already acknowledged ... ... | 95 | 1 | 0 |
| Lala Ganga Ram of Ghakkar, Gujranwala district | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Received through S. Pritam Singh ... ... | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Lala Ram Rattan Girdhari Lal, banker, Ludhiana ... ... ... ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Received through Lala Sita Ram, Malhotra ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| From an anonymous donor ... ... | 3 | 8 | 0 |
| Received through Pars Ram, contractor ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Total ... | 117 | 9 | 0 |

Morality of the Europeans in India.

28. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 7th March 1908, says that Lord Curzon used to sing the praises of Western Civilisation. He should, however, know that Europeans in India leave natives far behind in the matter of fornication, drunkenness, lying, deception, theft and robbery. It is true that very little notice is taken of their misconduct, but this is due to Government's partiality for persons of its own nationality. The paper then publishes a brief account of the case in which two British soldiers at Allahabad are alleged to have been imprisoned for three months each on a charge of theft.

Poverty and plague.

29. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 4th March 1908:—

"POVERTY AND PLAGUE.

"(By J. Keir Hardie, M. P.)

"To understand the condition of the people of India it is necessary to keep one fact constantly in mind. It is a fact given on the authority of Lord Curzon when he was Viceroy, and is this—that the 'average income of the people of India is only two pounds per person per annum.' The corresponding figure for other countries is :—

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Russia ... ... ... ... | 11 per head |
| Germany and Holland ... ... ... | 22 " " |
| France ... ... ... ... | 27 " " |
| America ... ... ... ... | 39 " " |
| England ... ... ... ... | 42 " " |

"Mr. William Digby—no mean authority—estimated the income of India to work out at only £ 1 5*s.* 1*d.* a year per person. But even accepting the higher official estimate, it is easy to see that in a country where the income of the people is less than one-fifth that of Russia, itself a poor country, and less than one-twentieth that of England, perpetual poverty is bound to be the lot of its inhabitants.

"Of late years plague, famine, and pestilence have stalked through the land, carrying death and destruction in their wake. The authorities are at their wits' end to account for the persistent prevalence of plague, which seems to have come to stay, and are scouring the laboratories of the world for a serum which will exterminate the plague bacillus. They are also making war on rats (which, it appears, carry the plague from village to village,) and like famous Dick Whittington, are introducing ship loads of cats to exterminate them. After a hundred years, more or less, of prosperous British rule, during fifty of which Parliament has been kept annually informed, mainly in glowing terms, of the material and moral progress of India, it is a trifle annoying to find that people die of plague and famine even more persistently than ever. But for the rat, and the flea which torments him, and which is the real disseminator of the plague, I know not what the British Raj would do. So long as he has the rat and the flea to fall back upon, his reputation as a heaven-sent administrator, is safe. Having conquered all the other enemies of peace and order in India, he has but to prove his mettle, or poison, against the rat and the flea, and peace and health and plenty will reign, and the brightest jewel in the British crown will shine flawless. Such appears to be the theory; alas for the reality!

"If only one could shut one's eyes to facts, this rat and flea theory would be very comforting. It appears, however, to be the fact that rats and fleas were not introduced into India by John Company or his successors, and that, despite their presence and without the aid of serum, plague did not persist then as it does now. In fifty years thirty millions (30,000,000) of people died of hunger in India—that, too, under the benign rule of the British Raj. What number died of disease in the same period will never be known, but all are agreed that the plague is now persisting and continuing in a way and manner hitherto unknown, and I find the cause to be the 'growing poverty of the people.'

"I have read Lord Curzon's famous defence of British rule and of its beneficent influence upon the condition of the people, and have listened to much talk on the same subject, backed by official tables and percentages, without being convinced. That the condition of the peasants was ever worse than it is now is difficult to believe; that it was much better at no very distant date is, I am convinced, true. That the native rulers extracted all they could, and often much more than they should, out of the people is certainly true; that their methods were often the reverse of gentle is also true; but that they were able to apply the methods of precision now in force for extorting the last pie from the peasant and keeping him in abject poverty all the time is equally not true.

"For one thing, the machinery did not exist for doing so, whilst the methods then in vogue had a certain crude human elasticity which made it impossible. Under native rule the peasant's rent was not a fixed money payment, but a certain portion of his crop. When the harvest was poor, the ruler's share of it was in proportion. Each village had its Panchayet for the settlement of disputes, and its council for all that pertained to its government. As has been often pointed out, kingdoms waxed and waned in India; one wave of invasion followed another; dynasties were established and overthrown with scarce a ripple on the surface of village life. Each village was a little self-contained, self-governing republic, which, so long as it paid its tribute in meal and malt to the ruling chief, was rarely interfered with. It had its own officials, full control over its lands; and even to this day the Government of India has hesitation in treating land as personal property, so firmly was the idea of its common ownership rooted in the popular mind. The peasant had the free use of pasture land for his cattle, was free

to cut fuel from the forest, and was free to fish the streams and rivers all around. He did not require to dance attendance on half a score of officials and grease the palm of their underlings. If he required a new plough he cut the wood for it, and had it fashioned by the village carpenter, who was also paid in kind. When there was a pucca crop he had his straw or clay binns, in which he stored away the surplus, against the lean years of famine, and custom had established his claims to certain perquisites during festivals, or on the occasion of a birth, a marriage, or a funeral in his family. He and all his relatives lived *en famille*, as they still do in the country districts, and the family was itself an integral part of the larger family which oomposed the village.

"Nor were the ruling chiefs so remiss in their duties as it is now the fashion to pretend they were. To this day are to be seen, though often in disgraceful disrepair, the great tanks and waterways for irrigation purposes, carried out by these same native chiefs. Much boast is made of what is being done by the British in the way of irrigation; hitherto, beyond some few great dams and canals, some of them marvels of engineering skill, the most that has been done has been to repair and improve the works which were there hundreds of years before the conquering white man set foot on Indian soil. I have no wish to minimise all that has been and is still being done by the British Raj to introduce a settled form of government in India, but we must not overlook the fact that there is another side to the picture, and that the main concern of the rulers of India is not the improvement of the condition of the people but the increase of the sources from which revenue can be drawn.

"In saying this I am not imputing evil motives to the men who rule India, but simply stating a fact which in my mind admits of no dispute.

"Turn now to the present condition of the peasant. His rent is a fixed quantity whether the crop be good or bad. In wet land, *i.e.*, irrigated lands, if there is no water and no crop, no rent is charged, but, if there is a one anna crop—and a twelve anna crop is reckoned the average, sixteen annas being a pucca or bumper crop—the rent to the Government has to be paid in full. For the past ten years only three have been average years, all the rest being under. As the rent, or revenue as it is called, is fixed on the assumption that the yield will average twelve annas a year, it requires no great stretch of imagination to see what this means to the peasants, who, even at the best of times, are always at close grips with poverty, with hunger only one degree, and not always that, removed from them.

"Now, when he wants fuel he has to go to the Government depôt and buy it, or obtain a license, on the payment of a fee; of course, to go and cut it, even when the trees grow on his own land! Before he can catch a few fish for his own and his children's supper, he has to take out a license. The pasture land on which his cattle formerly grazed is now being enclosed as forest, and he has often to go long distances to find pasturage, and then has to pay. If one of his beasts should stray within the *unfenced* area of the forest, it is liable to be impounded and he himself fined. Wild pigs and other animals may root up and otherwise destroy his crops, but he is not allowed to carry a gun to frighten them away. He is usually up to the neck in debt to the money-lender, who claims a lien upon the crop ere it is reaped, the railway system giving facilities for having it carried to market. Thus the binns in which the surplus grains were formerly stored now stand empty or have totally disappeared. If this irrigation system is out of order, he is bandied about from one official to another to find out who is responsible, since, incredible as it may seem, in almost every department there are several sets of officials each acting independently of the other. The subordinates of each of these departments require to be bought off and woe betide the luckless tenant who fails to stump up properly. If the raiyat wishes to see an official he has often to walk miles to the nearest district office, wait there for hours, and then learn that he has gone to the wrong place. He will often spend days in this fashion, and only too often all to no purpose.

"The Indian peasant is often sneered at as being unprogressive and shiftless. But what incentive has he to be diligent and active? Strive as he may, he realises that in the end the Sircar's *kist* will swallow up everything, and as he feels the weight of one impost after another weighing him down, and one restriction after another hemming him in, little wonder that his inherited fatalism comes to his aid, and he lets things drift feeling it to be helpless to try to do battle against the tide which is carrying him forward towards the abyss. As with the peasants, so too with the landlords where these exist. They are made to feel in a score of ways that their presence is an offence to a Government which exists for the 'protection of the people,' and so they are subjected to all sorts of imposts and restraints. They are forced to give terms and conditions to their tenants which the Government steadily refuses to those *raiyats* who hold direct from itself. Government officials tell of the exactions which the zamindars take from the *raiyats*, and how but for the intervention of the Government they would make the lot of the peasant unendurable: and yet, strange as it may appear, I did not meet a single case of a cultivating *raiyat*, and I met hundreds of them, who did not prefer to hold his land from a zamindar rather than hold it direct from the Sircar. There is a human element present in the one case which is wholly absent in the other.

"The real rat of plague, then, in India is poverty, and the flea which spreads the disease is the Government. The emaciated, bloodless body of the *raiyat* has no plague-resisting power and so the fell disease finds him an easy victim. With more physical stamina he would have more power to resist and the disease would die out. The Government and its officials all over the land battle manfully against plague and famine when these become acute; on that score there is no complaint against either their zeal or their humanity. What is overlooked, however, is the fact that the system now at work produces the conditions which make plague and famine inevitable; it, as it were, tills the soil and sows the seed of which plague and famine are the harvest.

"And yet all might be so different. This country, so richly endowed by nature, and blessed with a population whose wants are few and easily met, might be made the garden of the world. Everywhere these kindly, simple people are full of discontent they find themselves in the grip of a set of circumstances which they do not understand and which they cannot break through. Turn which way they will they are hemmed in by poverty, by restraint, which they did not create and which they are powerless to remove. The officials they have to meet are mostly of an alien race engaged in the performance of a more or less irksome task, and to whom each complaint means a fresh duty. The peasant is a poor, unlettered, half-naked, half-starved, cringing being. He knows what he wants, but how is he to make what he knows known to the strong, clean-limbed, well-fed, well-groomed, well-educated official who only imperfectly understands his language, who knows nothing, or next to nothing, of the conditions of his life, and who sees in his petitioner only a fresh cause of annoyance in an already overworked official life.

"By one means or another the peasant must be given a corporate organ through which he can make his complaints manifest; must be given some effective control over the affairs which concern him; must be given some hope and assurance that if he exerts himself and seeks to improve his position, that shall have some other end than being turned into a reason for still further adding to the *kist* of the Sircar. What I say of the *raiyat* applies to the weaver and the artisan also, though if the peasant could be put well on his legs, that of itself would go a long way towards helping all the others. Meantime, amongst the many hapless poor whom commercialism is crushing into a shapeless mass there are few more helpless than the poor, patient, viceless Indian *raiyat*, with his one scanty meal a day, which in times of famine becomes no meal."

F. ISEMONGER,

*Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*

*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

LAHORE:

*The 14th March* 1908.

Punjab Government Press, Lahore—19-3-08—1822—95—J. B. & H. L. S.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 12.

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

Received up to 21st March 1908.

---

## CONTENTS.


I.—Politics. Page.

(a)—*Foreign*—

1. Anglo-Russian Convention (*Akhbar-i-'Am*) ... 145
2. Anglo-Russian Convention (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... *ib.*
3. Islamic world and Christendom (*Akhbar-i-'Am*) ... *ib.*
4. Liberals and the Sultan (*Observer*) ... ... 146

(b)—*Home*—

5. British Public and Indian affairs (*Jhang Sial*) ... 146
6. Mr. Nevinson on Indian affairs (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... *ib.*
7. Mr. Keir Hardie on Indian affairs (*Panjabee*) ... 147
8. Strength of the Indian Army (*Jhang Sial*) ... 149
9. How natives can raise themselves (*Aftab*) ... *ib.*
10. Capabilities of natives (*Aftab*)... ... ... *ib.*
11. The new spirit in India (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 150
12. The situation in India (*Sewak*) ... ... *ib.*
13. An ode to the goddess of liberty (*Akhbar-i-Am*) ... *ib.*
14. Bengali nationalists (*Aftab*) ... ... ... *ib.*
15. Political agitation in the Punjab (*Jhang Sial*) ... *ib.*
16. Bepin Chandra Pal (*Parkash*) ... ... 151
17. Boycott movement (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... *ib.*
18. Decentralization Commission (*Tribune*) ... ... *ib.*

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

19. Expedition against the Zakka Khels (*Sanatan Dharm Gazette* ... ... ... ... 152
20. Expedition against the Zakka Khels (*Panjab Organ*) *ib.*
21. Expedition against the Zakka Khels (*Parkash*) ... 153
22. Expedition against the Zakka Khels (*Jhang Sial*) ... *ib.*
23. Tribal raids into British territory (*Akhbar-i-'Am*) ... *ib.*
24. Tribal raids into British territory (*Akhbar-i-'Am*) ... 154
25. Tribal raids into British territory (*Panjabee*) ... *ib.*

III.—Native States. Page.

*Nil.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

*Nil.*

V.—Native Societies and religious matters.

*Nil.*

VI.—Legislation.

*Nil.*

VII.—General Administration.

(a)—*Judicial*—

26. The Lahore and Rawalpindi riot cases (*Aftab*) ... 154
27. Prosecution of the *Aftab* under the Press Act (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... ... ... ... 155

(b)—*Police*—

28. Tinnevelly riots (*Punjabee*) ... ... ... 155
29. Lawlessness in Sind (*Tribune*) ... ... 156

(c)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs*—

*Nil.*

(d)—*Education*—

*Nil.*

(e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land*—

30. Condition of the peasantry (*Zamindar*) ... ... 157
31. Export of grain from India (*Panjabee*) ... ... *ib*

(f)—*Railways and Communications*—

*Nil.*

(g)—*Postal matters*—

*Nil.*

(h)—*Miscellaneous*—

32. Aid to the family of Pindi Das (*Jhang Sial*) ... 158

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 12.]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 21st March 1908.**

---

### I.—POLITICS.

#### (*a*)—*Foreign.*

Anglo-Russian Convention.

1. The *Akhbar i-'Am* (Lahore), of the 11th March 1908, deprecates the Amir's prolonged silence in respect of the Anglo-Russian Convention, and says that if His Majesty disapproves of the agreement he ought to have said so. After finding fault with Habibulla Khan for his inappreciation of England's friendship for him, the paper says that it is to be feared that if he continues obdurate the Russian and British Political departments will endeavour to work the ruin of Afghanistan.

Anglo-Russian Convention.

2. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 14th March 1908, writing on the same subject observes that England and Russia ought to have consulted the Amir before concluding the agreement which affects His Majesty's dominions. It is true that the Convention is not likely to injure him in any way, still it was reprehensible on the part of England to come to an understanding with Russia without consulting him first.

Islamic world and Christendom.

3. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* (Lahore), of the 12th March 1908, publishes the substance of an article contibuted to a recent issue of the *Nineteenth Century* by Captain H. A. Wilson who alleges that the Sennousi Muhammadans of Africa have organised a movement with the object of removing Islamic countries from under the Christian Yoke, and that a great war between the followers of Christ and Muhammad all over the world is imminent. He also asserts that the organisers of the propaganda have been making systematic efforts to win the sympathy of their co-religionists in all quarters of the globe, and advise them to bide their time, remaining friendly towards their (Christian) rulers outwardly and making loud professions of their loyalty from time to time. The Editor then criticises the article and remarks that it is likely to place a new difficulty in the way of the prosperity of Indian Musalmans and constitutes a serious attempt to prejudice the British nation against the followers of Islam.

Liberals and the Sultan.

4. The following is from the *Observer* (Lahore), of the 18th March 1908:—

"The present Liberal Ministry is apparently determined to maintain Mr. Gladstone's traditions for worrying the Sultan. The Muslim Press of India and elsewhere has spoken in no uncertain voice, when it has declared that the attitude adopted by the party in power in England towards the Turks is altogether unwise, based merely on false sentiment and exceedingly irritating. It is, however, evident that the Liberals are not prepared to listen to the voice of reason or heed the dictates of expediency. The first proposal for the 'reform' of Turkey, as submitted by Sir Edward Grey, threatened to shatter the European Concert and was rejected by other Powers. But not content with his rebuff, the British Minister for Foreign Affairs submitted another proposal suggesting the appointment of a Governor-General for Macedonia, and gave the other European statesmen an opportunity of vetoing this scheme also as impracticable. The net result of Sir E. Grey's proposals has been that he has drawn upon himself and the Liberal Ministry the laughter of the whole civilised world, further alienated the Sultan from the British and injured the interests of British capitalists Surely, if the party in power in England is bent upon reform, it need not go further afield, but begin at home. It has as yet failed to 'reform' the House of Lords, to persuade the Colonials to mete out equitable treatment to their coloured fellow-subjects, or to bring about reform in the disgraceful administration of the Congo. And finding all other ways for its 'reforming' activities' blocked up, it turns upon the Sultan and tries to force down his throat reforms which are as inapplicable to Turkey as, to quote Mr. Morley, a fur coat would be for the people of the Deccan."

(*b*)—*Home.*

British Public and Indian affairs.

5. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 14th March 1908, states that Mr. Gokhale will leave for England on the 25th proximo, and, if rumour is to be believed, that he will be accompanied by Lala Lajpat Rai. The Editor considers that Lajpat Rai is needlessly undertaking much expense and discomfort, for he will gain nothing by going to England and begging for help from Englishmen. It would be far better for him to remain in India and continue his work of conveying relief to the famine-stricken.

Mr. Nevinson on Indian affairs.

6. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 13th and 14th March 1908, quotes extracts from Mr. Nevinson's farewell letter to the Editor of the *Indian Review* and says that among other things the writer refers to the members of the secret police force who were deputed to shadow him. The *Paisa Akhbar* is of opinion that Government's conduct in setting the secret police to dog the footsteps of British Journalists and members of Parliament who visit India not only constitutes an insult to those gentlemen but to Indians also, inasmuch as it shows that Government doubts their loyalty. The sooner, therefore, this objectionable practise is discontinued the better. If Government objects to the public acquainting visitors with their grievances in order that they may be brought to the notice of Parliament, it should redress those grievances itself and thereby make it impossible for tourists to promote sedition in the country. If, however, the wrongs are allowed to continue, some people will assuredly take the opportunity to foster the feeling of discontent. The Government of India therefore should not endeavour to conceal the defects of its administration. In conclusion the Editor remarks that a perusal of Mr. Nevinson's letter will show that he regards Indian problems through Hindu, or more properly speaking, through Congress spectacles.

7. The following is an extract from the concluding letter of Mr. Keir Hardie, which was published in the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 21st March 1908 :—

Mr. Keir Hardie on Indian affairs.

* * * * *

"Everyone admits that the estrangement between native and European is growing, and many and varied are the explanations put forward to account for the undoubted fact. In the days when railway and other communication was less complete than it now is, the officials were perforce more in touch with the people among whom they lived all the time. Now an official looks to going home every few years, and so does not feel the same need for companionship. Formerly, also, it was customary for a man to remain for years at a stretch in one district. Then, also, the work was not so specialised as it has since become, and the District Collector was more in touch with all that went on. Nowadays it is a rare thing for a Collector to remain longer than two years in a district, which may be as large as Scotland or Wales, and then he is moved on to another where he is a total stranger. The result is that he never gets in touch with the people or their needs.

"Add to all this the fact that education is spreading, that business is developing, and that the educated Indian feels his position more keenly than he did a generation ago, that he is still, for all practical purposes, shut out from the higher and better paid positions, has no effective voice of any kind in sharing the destinies of his country, and is treated as a pestilent fellow if he suggests that he should have a voice, and one sees grounds enough for the growing unrest in India. For let it not be forgotten that the Indian people are of the same Aryan stock as ourselves. * * *

"For the moment the gulf between the British official and the Indian people is widening. I have fared sumptuously with princes, sat at the table and broken the bread of the educated middle-class, and munched grain with the raiyats, and the uniform unvarying testimony has been the same in every case. Nor can I discern any signs of an immediate change for the better. The partition of Bengal has not only alienated the Bengalees, but is regarded as an act of hostility by the Hindu population in every part of India. Recent acts of the authorities, especially the deportation without trial of men against whom no charge could be formulated; the suppression of public meetings, the support given to corrupt and inefficient police officials, and the establishment of a secret police service, with its agents in every corner; the growing oppression of the raiyats, and the supercilious way in which their claims for redress are met, are all tending to shake the belief which was formerly universal in the impartiality of British justice and the fairness of British administration.

"At present there is no such thing as sedition in India. There is a reform party, part of which is extreme in its moderation, whilst the other part is moderate in its extremism. There are men in both camps who have grown grey in trying to win for their people some rights of citizenship, and who find themselves apparently as far from the realisation of their hopes as ever. What wonder that some of them have become soured, and that they and many of the younger men are now advocating a more forward policy? There is no sedition in India to-day. What there may be ten years hence, unless there be a great change for the better, I would not like to predict.

"Mr. Morley's 'reform' proposals are too absurd, in parts at least, to even merit serious consideration. They are intended to propitiate the landed aristocracy, weaken the influence of the educated middle class, and take from the working class in the towns the small modicum of power in municipal affairs which they now possess. If only the House of Commons can be made to understand the true bearing of the proposal, it will, I feel confident, refuse to sanction anything so reactionary.

"I have said that I see no immediate hope for improvement in the situation in India. And yet it may be that the darkest hour is already past. A very little statesmanship, inspired by a very little sympathetic appreciation of the situation, could easily set things right. If the bureaucratic official view is allowed to prevail, then the outlook is

black. If, however, Mr. Hobhouse's Decentralisation Commission takes heed to the situation, it may give the necessary lead in the right direction. Centralisation and lack of effective popular control are at the root of the trouble. If only the withering hand of the bureaucrat could be removed from the municipalities, that would go a long way.

"It is made a cause of complaint that the native Indian has not shown any great capacity for Government even in the municipalities, where he has had the chance. But what self-respecting man of strong convictions is likely to come forward to take part in the unreal deliberations of a body whose every decision may be upset by an official who is not even a member. If the Madras Municipal Board is not permitted to increase the salary of an underpaid workman by 4 *d.* a week, of what use is it talking of municipal powers? At Bombay, where Sir Ferozeshah Mehta proved himself a man of mettle on the Municipal Board, the entire official influence of the city was openly cast into the scale against him to bring about his defeat. I know that the law is that officials shall not take part in elections, and that save in important matters municipal boards shall not be interfered with; but the law is one thing and the practice another.

"Then every village should have its popularly elected council, to whom should be given control of the village school, the village wells, and irrigation tanks, the grazing lands, the supply of fuel, and other matters closely connected with the life of the people. Let these be elected on a broad, popular basis, giving, if need be, proportional representation to Muhammadans and pariahs. Then let the Taluk Boards be elected by these, and the District Board by the Taluk Board, and that will work wonders. The change would not be great—simply the creation of a village or parish council; but the whole would rest on popular election, and not on nomination, as is the case at present over the greater portion of India. I would also revert to Lord Ripon's proposal of 1884, that no Collector or other permanent official should be chairman of any board. Let him and others be present as advisers, not as dictators. Finally, let the District Boards, singly or in combination, elect members to the Provincial Councils, and clothe these councils with living powers. Let certain matters be delegated to the councils, and then leave them free to deal with them. If it be thought that this would be dangerous, let it be borne in mind that the Governor of a province, as also the Viceroy, has always the power of veto in reserve.

"The one thing I ask is that the people of India shall be made to feel that they are being trusted, and are not regarded either as incapables or rebels. They are neither the one nor the other. They are, if anything, too loyal; whilst their capacity as rulers and administrators is being proved in every direction. One other reform I would suggest. Let the way be opened up whereby capable men may be promoted from the Provincial Civil Service to the Indian Civil Service. It is monstrous that an Indian, no matter what his qualifications, should have nothing higher than a deputy collectorship or district judgeship to look forward to, whilst an Englishman of inferior capacity who has sat for a certain examination in London may one day rule over a department at Simla, or even become Lieutenant-Governor of a province.

"There is nothing wild or startling about these proposals, nor would they be difficult to realise if only the necessary spirit were there in which to approach them. But that spirit and influence must come from without; the bureaucracy, after the nature of its kind, is hopeless. There is more, much more, I would like to say, but my time and space alike forbid. I would like to tell of the Native States, of the wonderful industrial arts of the people, of the sanitary condition of the towns and villages, of the personalities in the Indian movement, of my own personal experiences of missionary work; and much else. Some day I may return to these topics. For the present I can only say that I went to India to see the people and to learn of their grievances; that during the two months I was there I mixed with them, compassioned with them, and found them sociable, trustworthy and lovable."

8. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 14th March 1908, says that Indian politicians have long been asking for a reduction of military expenditure by lessening the strength of the Indian army, but Government has ignored their requests and will continue to do so in the future. The reason for the attitude of Government is that it is always apprehending a rising of the people in India and wishes to be in a position to protect Anglo-Indians. This impression is confirmed by the recent statements, made in Parliament on this subject, and the Editor to support his contention, publishes the statements made. He enquires whether Moderates will not abandon their policy of mendicancy now when the English insinuate that they cannot reduce the strength of the Indian army because they distrust the loyalty of natives. Distrust, he adds, is synonymous with gross hypocrisy, and natives should retaliate by distrusting the English and learning to help themselves.

Strength of the Indian Army.

9. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 8th (received on the 19th) March 1908, remarks that in one of his recent speeches in the House of Lords, Lord Curzon spoke words which, if uttered by a native would have led to his imprisonment, for Lord Curzon asked the English to preserve the dignity and greatness of England. If a native were to imitate the ex-Viceroy and exhort his fellow-countrymen to try to regain their lost liberty and glory, he would be promptly prosecuted. This, it adds, is natural, seeing that the English are a free and ruling race, while natives are a nation of conquered slaves. The Editor then goes on to say that the English had to make great sacrifices in order to attain their present position, and that if natives also wish to command the respect of the world they must efface themselves and learn to prefer death to dishonour. The world is transient and they should not love it and bring disgrace and humiliation on themselves. The path to progress is coloured red. If they wish to acquit themselves creditably they should sacrifice themselves for their nation and country. No progress is possible except at the cost of life. It is by shedding blood that one rises in the world. It is only by standing on the heaps of the bodies of its youngmen that a nation can rise to eminence. If natives wish to save their nation from humiliation and disgrace they should lay down their lives in its service.

How natives can raise themselves.

10. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 8th (received on the 19th) March 1908, refers to Mr. Gait's appreciative remark in the Bengal Legislative Council about the services rendered by the National Volunteers on the occasion of the Ardhodhya fair at Calcutta. After enquiring whether Anglo-Indians still persist in their opinion that Indians are unfit for *swaraj*, the paper says that no one could have dreamt that a handful of young men would be able to control an immense gathering like that which assembled at the fair. It adds that each son of India could become a great man provided he were given the requisite education and training and had not the heavy chains of slavery rivetted on him. In conclusion, it says that Naoroji and Gokhale can hold their own against English politicians of the highest rank and that many more natives of their calibre die from hunger daily or cannot obtain education owing to their poverty.

Capabilities of natives.

Reverting to the same subject in another place the paper says that educated natives are an eye-sore to Anglo-Indians. After remarking that during the last 150 years two crores and 80 lakhs of so-called seditious natives have died from hunger, it observes that while the dogs of Anglo-Indians are fed on milk, thousands of the children of the soil go to sleep on empty stomachs.

The new spirit in India.

11. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 14th March 1908, says that a complete change has come over India during the past four years. Her patriot sons have been sacrificing their lives in her service and editors of newspapers have been going to jail in quick succession. After remarking that the hand of God is discernible in the change, the paper refers to the courageous conduct of Bhupendro Nath Datt, the late Babu Brahma Bandhu Upadhya, Bepin Chandra Pal and Pindi Das in connection with their prosecution by Government. It adds that the moral courage and the spirit of fearlessness and self-sacrifice displayed by them were unknown in India a few years ago. The Editor then goes on to say that no human leader is guiding natives but God himself and that the Divine voice is saying to them, "Move forward! Move forward! No power can stand in your way. The soul is immortal. The body is (only) a garment; if it drops off you, let it do so. You can put on another. Do not lose courage! Your destination is near at hand." Natives should obey this voice. This is the time to obey and not to reflect.

The situation in India.

12. The *Sewak* (Hissar), for March 1908, reprints from *Zaban*, an illustrated magazine issued from Delhi, a poem entitled "We belong to India and India belongs to us," composed by "Raunak" of Delhi. The writer says that India, which was once a paradise on earth, is now a wilderness; that it has become difficult for natives to preserve their existence; and that they are about to be swept off the face of the earth.

An ode to the goddess of liberty.

13. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* (Lahore), of the 17th March 1908, publishes an ode to the goddess of liberty in which the writer says that those whose minds are illumined by her know neither fear nor cowardice, are always sustained by hope, and cease to be slaves. He next invokes the goddess to reveal herself to natives, so that every one of them may desire and try to obtain *swaraj*, and that slavery and poverty may depart from the country.

Bengali nationalists.

14. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 8th (received on the 19th) March 1908, asks the people outside Bengal to imitate the Bengali nationalists in boycotting Government courts of justice and establishing committees everywhere for the settlement of disputes.

Political agitation in the Punjab.

15. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 14th March 1908, publishes a communication in which the writer says that their conduct during the recent unrest proves that the Punjabis are a cowardly people. A little repression on the part of Government has had the effect of cowing them. The deportations, the Rawalpindi case, the prosecution of native editors and other oppressive measures,

which ought to have proved instrumental in rousing them from sleep and stiffening their backs, have only made them give up political agitation. Similar, nay, greater oppression has been and is still being practised in Bengal, but this has not induced the Bengalis to relax their position even an inch. If the Punjabis have failed to set an example to others they should at least learn from others how to carry on political work in future. The writer then exhorts the leaders in the Punjab to take steps to hold a provincial conference.

Bepin Chandra Pal.

16. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 17th March 1908, writing about the release of Babu Bepin Chandra Pal, says that his imprisonment has so sanctified jails that no patriotic native will henceforth dislike being sent to prison. Government should bear in mind that jails have no terrors for those who are imprisoned for the offence of loving their country and that their imprisonment does not lower them in the estimation of the public. After remarking that by sending him to jail Mr. Kingsford has added immensely to the popularity of Babu Bepin Chandra Pal, the paper says that even in a sleepy hollow like Lahore nearly 2,000 persons met to express joy at the release of the Babu. Similar rejoicings, it adds, are being held in other cities, while Calcutta will also present a purse to the hero of the hour. This should show that patriotism is a very good thing, particularly for those who sacrifice themselves for the sake of their country. They are gods whom the people are always ready to worship. Mr. Pal is a true patriot and it is for this reason that he is being adored.

Boycott movement.

17. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 14th March 1908, remarks that some persons, who do not deserve to be called men, disapprove of boycott and such measures, and tell their fellow-countrymen that it is inhuman even to try to injure foreigners. Humanity does not, however, consist in complacently seeing foreigners rule, plunder and starve one's fellow-countrymen, bind the latter with the chains of slavery and ruin their arts and industries. Such humanity is moral weakness, and a person who is not patriotic is unworthy of being called human. The Editor then exhorts natives to wield the weapon of boycott and impress on foreigners that they also are human beings.

Decentralisation Commission.

18. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 17th March 1908 :—

"If there is one thing which more than another strikes an onlooker who has cared to read through the proceedings of the Decentralisation Commission, it is the striking unanimity with which leaders of every shade of public opinion have fought shy of the delegation of larger powers to the Provincial Governments. In fact, the one point which has been forcibly brought home by the leaders of the Indian reform party is that any step in the direction of rendering the Provincial authority more powerful without rendering it more responsible to public opinion would have the inevitable effect of increasing the present discontent. In the small note which Sir Pherozshah Mehta sent to the Commission pleading his inability to give evidence, he observed 'I cannot help thinking that no provincial decentralisation standing by itself would be of much benefit unless it were safeguarded by such checks as could be provided for by measures of publicity and popular control.' In some respects, indeed, larger power in the hands of local officials, unless so guarded by checks might, he said, prove more oppressive than at present, and he pleaded in

favour of increased popular franchise and to give larger powers to presidency and district Municipal Committees and District Boards. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale also in his evidence strongly deprecated the idea of setting up 'petty despotisms' in place of the present Provincial Governments. And the same view is expressed with equal emphasis in the admirable evidence which Mr. Tilak gave before the Royal Commission. In a note of remarkable moderation and perspicuity, Mr. Tilak points out that the real genesis of the cry for decentralisation is to be sought in the desire of the local officers to have a freer hand in the administration of the areas committed to their care. These officials complain that their life has been made rather mechanical or soulless by over-centralisation and having naturally attributed to the same cause the growing estrangement between themselves and the people, they have proposed decentralisation as a remedy to remove this admitted evil. But such, rightly pointed out Mr. Tilak, are not the views of the people. The people believe that centralisation secures greater uniformity and regularity and reduces the chances of the conscious or unconscious abuse of power resulting from unappealable authority being vested in lower officers and they would rather oppose decentralisation in this respect. Mr. Tilak then pointed out that the adoption of the loose and irregular system of earlier days would not remove the present estrangement between the officials and the people. The cordiality of relations in early days was due to the fact that in those days the system of British administration had yet to be evolved and settled and so the help of the leaders of the people was anxiously sought by officials as indispensable for smooth and efficient administration of a new province. But at present Mr. Tilak said no amount of decentralisation by itself can restore that cordiality between the officers and the people which existed in those days, for it is no longer that *conditio sine quo non* which it was in those days. At present any system of decentralisation from one official to another will simply encourage local despotisms against which the people have rightly set their face. Here Mr. Tilak puts the whole case against decentralisation in nutshell, and he has boldly laid his finger on the true remedy. Let the people be allowed more and more effective voice in the management of their own affairs, let the wishes and the opinion of the people have a recognised place in the affairs of the State and then alone can a genuine and effective decentralisation be effected."

## II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

Expedition against the Zakka Khels.

19. The *Sanatan Dharm Gazette* (Lahore), of the 11th March 1908, writing about the conclusion of the expedition against the Zakka Khels, remarks that Government claims victory for itself, saying that it has succeeded in obtaining sixty rifles from the enemy. On the other hand, the Zakka Khels contend that victory has favoured them, in support of which contention they state that they have looted four lakhs of rupees from British territory in two months, have killed a number of British subjects, have made Government waste several lakhs in sending an expedition against them, have been treated to feasts by the British authorities, and that they will get the stores not used by the expeditionary forces. They, therefore, claim that they have driven the English out of their territory. The paper leaves it to its readers to decide as to which of the combatants is right.

Expedition against the Zakka Khels.

20. The *Punjab Organ* (Sialkot), of the 12th March 1908, writing on the same subject, says that the only way to make the Zakka Khels behave themselves, is to give them a taste of the iron hand.

21. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 17th March 1908, remarks that it is unfair to say that repression is the guiding principle of Government.

Expedition against the Zakka Khels.

It is also capable of showing mercy, although unfo rtunately for natives it does so only to injure them. As an instance in point, the Editor says that Government has taken pity on the Zakka Khe ls and recalled the expeditionary forces sent against them, but that the conse quences will have to be suffered by its subjects. In support of this assertion, he refers to the looting of the money-changers of Peshawar on the 6th and goes on to say that Hindus are being plundered simply because they are a weak people. He adds that if they continue weak they will not be allowed a foothold in India or in any quarter of the globe. If they wish to preserve their existence in the present state of modern civilisation they should make serious efforts to add to their strength. The fact that they alone excite the cupidity of even the mere handful of Afridis should make them realise the feelings with which they must be regarded by the powerful nations of the world. Th e paper then takes the Peshawar police to task for having done nothing to arrest the Afridis, who looted the money-changers and reproduces the story in which a police sowar is alleged to have endeavoured to rob a young Hindu of a bag containing Rs. 1,000, adding that although the police are the guard ians of the public peace they loot the people in a most heartless manner. It also suggests that the best way to put an end to tribal raids into the Frontier Province would be to inflict exemplary punishment on the police officers in whose jurisdiction the raids occur. In conclusion, it says that Government cares nothing for the looting of a city, but has hastened to prosecute Sayad Haidar Raza for having omitte d to make a certain declaration in an issue of his paper.

22. The *Jhan g Sial* (Jhang), of the 14th March 1908, says that simultaneously with the return of the expeditionary forces the Afridis have begun to commit fresh ra ids into British territory.

Expedition against the Zakka Khel s.

After referring to the looting of the money-changers of Pes hawar on the 6th, it enquires whether the prevailing lawlessness is to become the order of the day. General Willcocks, adds the paper, has neither inflicted condign punishment on the Afridis nor has he made them disgorge their booty, which reflects great discredit.

23. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* (Lahore), of the 12th March 1908, writing about the recent tribal raids into Peshawar, says that some people are of opinion that the local police are in league with the raiders and that it is for this reason that the brigands have not been arrested up to the present. The paper then refers to the looting of the money- changers of Peshawar in broad day-light and says that if the expeditionary for ces had inflicted condign punishment on the Zakka Khels, the Afridis would never have ventured to commit fresh raids into British territory. Will the Government, it asks, despatch another expedition against the offendin g tribes or will it exempt the residents of the Frontier Province from the operation of the Arms Act? It also enquires whether the authorities have made any arrangements to compensate the victims of the raids.

Tribal raids into British territory.

24. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* (Lahore), of the 14th March 1908, publishes an account of the looting by Afridis of the money-changers of Peshawar on the 6th, and says that no well-to-do Hindu resident of the city considers his life and property safe. The paper also condemns the pusillanimity displayed by the police in the early stage of the looting and says that they cannot be too severely punished for their conduct on this occasion. It then goes on to say that some shop-keepers arrested two Afridis, but that the culprits were rescued by the local *badmashes*. The incident, it adds, shows that the *badmashes* in Peshawar are in league with the frontier brigands, and if this is so Government should lose no time in teaching them a lesson. The Editor next refers to the raids into two villages near Peshawar on the 3rd, and enquires whether the incidents show that the Zakka Khels really desire peace and will henceforth obey Government.

Tribal raids into British territory.

25. The following is from the *Fanjabee* (Lahore), of the 18th March 1908:—

Tribal raids into British territory.

"'The cry is still they come!' To nothing could this be applied with greater truth than to these Afridi depredations in the Peshawar district. As a local correspondent writes to us: 'Since the "most successful and glorious" termination of the "punitive expedition" hardly a night passes without a raid on some place or other in the neighbourhood of Peshawar, which should convince even the most sanguine or the most blind as to the incompetence of the authorities to cope with the Afridi methods. The grey-beards who carry reminiscences of the most efficient administration of General Aboutobile, the Sikh Governor of Peshawar, shake their heads in sore disappointment over the failure of the authorities to bring the Afridis to their knees. They cannot understand for their life how the largest and mightiest power on the face of the earth should be unable to defend its subjects against a handful of turbulent semi-savages and prevent them from making plundering descents into their territories.' Inhabitants of Peshawar and other frontier districts who understand Afridis well, trace the root of the evil to the Government's policy of making too much of these hillmen and trying to seek to purchase their friendship, which has given them the idea that the British are afraid of them. The main suggestion of these elders for the remedy of the situation is that all *mowajibs* (contributions) and other concessions granted to the border tribes should be at once discontinued. These subsidies are only a heavy and useless drain on the resources of the poverty-stricken Indian tax-payer, while past experience has shown the utter futility of trying to *buy* peace on the frontier; it must be *enforced* by the strong arm. In spite of the fact that millions of Indian money have gone into their pockets, the Government has been frequently forced to appeal to arms owing to the outrageous conduct of the so-called friendly Afridis, Waziris, and Mohmands. These frontier expeditions have cost the Government thousands of valuable lives and crores of rupees. Surely, the Amir of Kabul does not pay anything to the Afridis in the shape of subsidies to purchase their good behaviour. Why? Simply because he understands them full well, and shows them no leniency should they be ever found guilty of misconduct in his territories. These hillmen are amenable to no soft influences, and being thoroughly barbarous in their traits should be treated as such."

## VII.—General Administration.

### *(a)—Judicial.*

26. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 8th (received on the 19th) March 1908, after referring to Mr. Morley's recent refusal to compensate the Rawalpindi lawyers, says that no value is placed on the lives of natives. They are so

The Lahore and Rawalpindi riot cases.

many dogs whining for a crust of bread on the roadside. They submit to kicks (from Anglo-Indians) and are shot by the latter, being mistaken for deer, monkeys and bears. Their sufferings are no concern of their present rulers and large numbers of them die a very painful death from hunger. The Editor then refers to the hardships alleged to have been suffered by the lawyers, repeats the charge of bribery preferred against the police in connection with the Rawalpindi riot case, and contrasts the heavy sentences passed on some of the accused with the treatment accorded to offenders like Sterling and Moore. The mobbing of Mr. Keir Hardie in South Africa, he adds, has been passed over as a boyish prank, but some boys at Lahore were imprisoned for two years each for garlanding their national heroes and shouting *Bande Mataram.* He next questions the respectability and reliability of the prosecution witnesses in the Lahore riot case, and enquires why frequent mention was made before the Special Magistrate of the political doings of the accused. After remarking that this was done to ensure the conviction of the accused, the paper writes as follows :—

"If we were human beings and had sympathy for one another, would foreign traders have laughed at hearing our tragic story? We ourselves are to blame for this .....Indian, rise from your sleep, or we will be swept off the face of the earth."

NOTE.—Several parts of the article are illegible.

Procecution of the *Aftab* under Press Act.

27. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 14th March 1908, writing about the prosecution of the Editor of the *Aftab* under section 3 of the Press Act, says that the authorities must have been watching for a false step in order to bring the Editor to grief. After remarking that the Editor could have been let off with a warning, the *Jhang Sial* says that the fact that this has not been done shows that Government wishes to put an end to its existence. In conclusion, he says that Sayad Haider Raza, who is a great patriot, has the sympathy of the general public in his trouble.

## (*b*)—*Police.*

Tinnevelly riots.

28. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 21st March 1908:—

"Latest news from Tinnevelly seems to show that it was impatience and indiscretion on the part of the local authorities that was not a little, if not mainly, responsible for the disturbances of the 13th. It was, in fact, to a certain extent the case of Rawalpindi repeated. Official organs are now anxious to make it appear that the situation had already become so serious that the District Magistrate was justified in remanding the three agitators—Chidambaram, Subramanya Siva, and Padmanabha—into custody; also that when the riot actually came off, the attitude of the mob was so dangerous that Mr. Wynch was compelled to give the order to fire after all the usual preliminary steps had been taken. With regard to the latter contention it is somewhat difficult to understand how a Madrasi mob could be considered as unduly violent when half a company of troops, or only 50 soldiers, have sufficed to put them in check. The *Pioneer* asks some very pertinent questions which can be construed only in favour of the populace: 'Such force as was available, and did in the end suffice, to check the riot,' writes the Allahabad journal, 'would have only been enough to goad the spirit of a Northern India mob into an attempt to overwhelm it. During Friday night (13th) it is plain that *even one or two determined men* might have revived the rising and wrecked the whole town and station. Some explanation, too, is wanting of the reasons that

*situated so mild a populace to break out into flagrant outrage*: for considering its excitement and the free hand it enjoyed, *the mob seems to have done its rioting very gently*, as well as very impartially. Finally, it would be interesting to know why this isolated corner of the country, in the extreme South of the moderate and rational Madras Presidency, has become a nursery for the rank political growths of Poona and Bengal.' The italics in the above are ours. A little detailed examination of the facts will, we believe, throw light on the *Pioneer's* queries and show how the 'rank political growths' are facilitated by the soil prepared for them by the officials themselves. Such a demonstration, as is reported, on the part of a typically mild people, can be explained only by the goading process having been carried to the length of making even the worm turn.

"It is evident from the reports in the Anglo-Indian papers that no such demonstration was apprehended by the authorities, and so absolutely no precautions had been taken, which would go to show that in their opinion no serious mischief had been caused by the speeches of the three men in question. The transfer of the proceedings from section 108 to 107 appears to have been due to the men 'continually moving backwards and forwards between Tinnevelly and Tuticorin and delivering lectures' even after the first notice on them had been served. It was evidently meant as punishment for the men individually, not as a safeguard against any mischief they might have caused; for if the speeches were really so bad they might have been made indictable under section 124 A or 153 A, which, however, the District Magistrate did not consider necessary. The Hon'ble Guruswami Iyer, a gentleman of well-known 'Moderate' learnings, seems to be of the opinion that the beginning of the disturbance was a small affair, only a limited number of people taking actual part in it * * * * Be that as it may, it was the remanding of the accused to prison, followed by refusal of bail, that seems to have set fire to the fuel. That bright and by no means 'Extremist' journal, the *India n Patriot* of Madras observes in this connection with sufficient local knowledge:

'That Mr. Chidambaram Pillay and his coadjutors have been organising public meetings and making speeches is a fact well known to us. But was there anything exceptional in their speeches of a few days ago, any more than there was in the speeches which they had been delivering for over two years? The fact of the proceedings under section 108 being converted into proceedings under section 107 shows unmistakeably that their speeches and writings have not made them liable under the law. But that their offence is merely an attempt or preparation to commit a breach of the peace or cause disturbance of the public tranquillity. This offence they must have been preparing to commit by other means than speeches and writings, and we have yet to know what they were. Whatever that may be, it is the remand of these people into custody rather than their freedom that seems likely to disturb peace and public tranquillity; for undoubtedly there are large numbers of people who feel for them and who are indignant at the treatment to which they have been subjected. We would, indeed, for the present put the most favourable construction upon the action of the authorities; but even by doing so we cannot altogether resist the impression that there has been a regrettable miscalculation of possibilities.'

"'Miscalculation of possibilities,' to be sure. How like Rawalpindi? And what a contrast with Peshawar! Educated men thrown into prison for making speeches among a proverbially mild population because trouble *might* occur; Afridi dacoits released without punishment and taking of security after having looted a town—the third operation of the kind within a few days! The British Government seems to be teaching the Indian people in so many words—'Be like the Afridis, not like the Hindus, if you want to be treated with *izzat*!' And it is to be feared the people may, under stern necessity slowly take up the lesson."

**Lawlessness in Sind.**

29. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 19th March 1908:—

"The panic and the general sense of insecurity throughout Sind still continues and the dilatoriness of the official machinery to move in the matter of affording better protection to the lives and properties of its subjects has naturally aroused the greatest surprise in all circles. There can be no doubt that the complaints about the inefficiency

of the police appear to have reached a climax and the halting policy of the authorities is straining the patience of our Sindhi brethren to the utmost. The grave nature of the situation may be apparent from the fact that the usually apathetic European community has in this matter joined hands with the people of the province to beg the Local and the Supreme Governments to rise to a higher sense of their responsibility and to move them to take immediate steps for the protection of the person and the property of the people from the raids of *badmashes* who have created such a panic and alarm, as has perhaps not been witnessed since that province came into British rule. * * * * * * Meanwhile the *badmash* element is as active as ever and at present seems to have shifted its scene of operations to Hyderabad, the old capital of Sind. We noticed a few days ago the plaintive appeal of the citizens of that place for protection against lawlessness, and the public meeting of protest. Under these circumstances, it is quite natural that the official dilatoriness to move should have set the local press quite furious over the matter. The Government of India machinery has been sometimes compared to a mill that grinds slow and small, but we think that the wail of the inhabitants of Sind has raised sufficiently strong currents to make the mill move fast enough, and we trust no further delay will be permitted to give the residents of Sind the much-needed protection and relief."

### (*e*)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land.*

Condition of the peasantry.

30. The *Zamindar* (Karmabad), of the 8th March 1908, publishes a communication from Lala Radha Kishan (the father of Lajpat Rai), who says that the condition of zamindars, who are an oppressed and ignorant community, has been growing from bad to worse during the past thirty years, and that if they continue to sink lower during the next ten or twenty years they will be utterly ruined, nay, swept off the face of the earth. The transfer of a large part of their holdings into the hands of others and the passing by Government of the Alienation of Land Act constitute sufficient proof of the writer's assertion. He does not, however, entirely approve of the Land Alienation Act, and proceeds to repeat some of the stock objections against the measure. He then enquires why zamindars were well-off in the early days of British rule and why they are poor and discontented now. The Lala promises to answer the questions in his next letter.

Export of grain from India.

31. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 18th March 1908:—

"The last meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, held on the 13th instant, was of more than usual importance, as in it two very important questions were raised and the Civil Procedure Code Amendment Bill was passed into law. The two questions related to the desirability of regulating the export of food-grains and of amending the Whipping Act so as to bring it more into accordance with modern ideas of humanity. With regard to the first, though it was brushed away by the Government in its usual self-satisfied style, it is of some consequence that our public men have begun to seriously consider the connection of frequent famines with the question of unrestricted trade in food-grains. The Hon'ble Mr. Chitnavis made the proposal that in view of the abnormal and general rise in prices during the last few years, the Government should consider the desirability of placing an embargo on grain exports. The Hon'ble Mr. Miller, in a lengthy speeeh, went into the reasons why the Government of India could not entertain such a proposal. These reasons are, from the Indian point of view, about as convincing as the stock arguments in favour of Free Trade for a country circumstanced like India. * * * * However, it is some gain that the question has been raised, and there is hope of its being threshed out by and by, when the fallacies of the Government's position will be made as clear as they have been in respect of the arguments in favour of free trade."

(*h*) *Miscellaneous.*

32. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 14th March 1908, acknowledges the following subscriptions in aid of the family of Pindi Das:—

Aid to the family of Pindi Das.

| | Rs. | A. | P. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Amount already acknowledged ... — | 117 | 9 | 0 |
| Lala Ram Log Agarwal, of Dosanja Kalan (?) | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Lala Norotta Ram ... ... ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Lala Ram Lal, Khorana, of Sarai Sidhu ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Lala Jagan Nath ... ... ... | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| An anonymous donor ... ... | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| Total ... | 150 | 2 | 0 |

F. ISEMONGER,

*Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*

*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

LAHORE:

*The 21st March* 1908.

Punjab Government Press, Lahore—31-3-08—1436—98—H. L. S.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 13. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 28th March 1908.**

---

## CONTENTS.


I.—Politics.

Page.

(a)—*Foreign*—

1. The Anglo-Russian Agreement (*Hindustan*) ... 159
2. The Anglo-Russian Agreement (*Wafadar*) ... ... *ib.*
3. England's present and future (*Haq Pasand*) ... *ib.*
4. Egyptian Nationalists and England (*Hindustan*) ... 160
5. Macedonian question (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... *ib*
6. The Islamic world and Christendom (*Hindustan*) ... *ib.*

(b)—*Home*—

7. The Budget (*Tribune*) ... ... ... 161
8. The Budget (*Observer*) ... ... ... 163
9. The Budget (*Punjabee*) ... ... ... *ib.*
10. Rulers and the ruled (*Raghbir Patrika*) .. ... 165
11. Mr. Morley's reform proposals (*Tribune*) ... ... *ib.*
12. The Bengalis (*Hindustan*) ... ... ... 166
13. The Bengalis (*Aftab*) ... ... ... 167
14. The Bengalis (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... ... *ib.*
15. *Swadeshi* and boycott movements (*Aftab*) ... ... *ib.*
16. Hindu Deputation to the Viceroy (*Hindustan*) ... *ib.*

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

17. Expedition against the Zakka Khels (*Akhbar-i-'Am*) ... 167
18. Tribal raids into British territory (*Akhbar-i-'Am*) ... 168

III.—Native States.

*Nil.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

*Nil.*

V.—Native Societies and religious matters.

*Nil.*

VI.—Legislation.

19. The proposed press law (*Hindustan*) ... ... 168
20. The proposed press law (*Akhbar-i-'Am*) ... ... *ib.*
21. The proposed amendment of the Whipping Act (*Tribune*) ... ... ... ... *ib.*
22. The proposed amendment of the Whipping Act ((*Tribune*) ... ... ... ... 169

Page.

VII.—General Administration.

(a)—*Judicial*—

23. Partiality of the Courts for European offenders (*Hindustan*) ... ... ... ... 170
24. Oppressive Magistrates (*Haq Pasand*) ... ... *ib.*
25. Judicial and Executive functions (*Tribune*) ... ... *ib.*

(b)—*Police*—

26. Tinnevelly riots (*Hindustan*) ... ... ... 171
27. Tinnevelly riots (*Tribune*) ... ... ... *ib.*
28. Tinnevelly riots (*Punjabee*) ... ... ... 172
29. Tinnevelly riots (*Tribune*) ... ... ... 173

(c)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs*—

*Nil.*

(d)—*Education*—

30. A complaint (*Tribune*) ... ... ... 174

(e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land*—

31. The past condition of zamindars (*Zamindar*) ... 174

(f)—*Railways and Communications*—

32. Outrages on native female passengers (*Aftab*) ... 175

(g)—*Postal matters*—

*Nil.*

(h)—*Miscellaneous*—

33. Stoning Lord Mintes' motor car (*Hindustan*) ... 176
34. Stoning Lord Minto's motor car (*Wafadar*) ... *ib.*
35. The late Lala Gurdas Ram, Bar.-at-Law (*Hindustan*) ... *ib.*
36. How Pindi Das is treated in jail (*Hindustan*) ... *ib.*
37. How Pindi Das is treated in jail (*Jhang Sial*) ... 177

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 13.]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 28th March 1908.**

---

### I.—POLITICS.

#### (*a*)—*Foreign.*

The Anglo-Russian Agreement.

1. The *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 20th March 1908, remarks that the Amir has not as yet given his assent to the Anglo-Russian Convention. British statesmen are greatly exercised about the event and regard it as a bad omen. It is not improbable that a mission may have to be sent to Kabul to explain to His Majesty the terms of the convention. After remarking that Russia is enraged at the conduct of Habibulla Khan, the paper says that the British Government wishes to secure His Majesty's assent by peaceful means. It concludes by remarking that the outlook is reverse of satisfactory.

The Anglo-Russian Agreement.

2. The *Watadar* (Lahore), of the 14th (received on the 23rd) March 1908, writing on the same subject, says that the British Government should bring round the Amir to its views by gentle means. High handedness will only drive His Majesty to take up arms, which will, however, injure himself alone. The paper concludes by advising Habibulla Khan to continue friendly relations with Great Britain.

In another place the paper finds fault with the Ministry for not consulting the Amir and the Government of India before the conclusion of the convention. But for this, it adds, Habibulla Khan would not have been "sulking" to-day.

England's present and future.

3. The *Haq Pasand* (Amritsar), of the 11th (received on the 24th) March 1908, publishes an article from the pen of Bhai Parma Nand, formerly a Professor in the D. A.-V. College and at present residing in England. The writer refers to the present greatness of England and says that her prosperity dates back from the time of her conquest of India. After remarking that it remains to be seen how long she will occupy her present position, he says that according to some she has already begun to show signs of decline, her

children having become luxurious and idle. It must, however, be stated as a set-off against this that the authorities in England perform their duties in a most conscientious manner and neglect no means of perfecting the defence of their country. Again, the rapid spread of socialism among the labouring classes is the only internal danger which threatens the British Government. The writer then goes on to say that England's love of wealth and glory may possibly prove harmful to her, and has already gained her two rivals, namely, Germany and Japan. It has been her constant endeavour to possess a fleet powerful enough to hold its own against a combination of the navies of any two Powers. On the other hand, Germany has been spending enormous sums of money on her navy with the object of extending her sphere of influence in Asia and Africa. Japan is at present a friend of England, but her anxiety to develop her commerce and found colonies abroad may be relied upon to bring her into conflict with the English. The two Musalman kingdoms of Asia, *viz.*, Persia and Afghanistan, may also prove a source of danger to England; but the recent Anglo-Russian Convention will enable the British Government to exercise as much control over Afghanistan as it does over native states in India, while the agreement will greatly strengthen the hold of the Czar on Persia. After remarking that the vast extent of the British Empire in itself spells danger to England, the correspondent says that the Musalmans of Egypt and the people of India have been demanding their natural rights from the British Government and that God alone knows how the agitation will end.

Egyptian Nationalists and England.

4. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 20th March 1908, reports that the General Assembly of the Egyptian Nationalists has sent a telegram to the Foreign Secretary demanding the evacuation of Egypt. The Nationalists have also asked Sir Edward Grey not to put them off with an evasive reply, adding that the extension of the Councils and other measures cannot satisfy them and that they will have nothing but complete independence.

Commenting on the above the paper says that it remains to be seen what reply the telegram will elicit and what action the Nationalists will take in the event of evasion or refusal.

Macedonian question.

5. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 21st March 1908, referring to the murder of the first translator employed in the Greek Consulate at Salonika, says that if the Powers wish to see Macedonia at peace they should cease inciting the local Christians to violence and should use their influence against these turbulent subjects of the Sultan.

In another place, the paper finds fault with Sir Edward Grey for alienating the sympathies of Turkey from England by endeavouring to introduce his so called reforms into Macedonia.

The Islamic world and Christendom.

6. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 20th March 1908, says that Captain Wilson has contributed a mischievous article to the *Nineteenth Century* with the object of inflaming Christians against the Islamic world. Captain Wilson says that secret efforts are being made to induce the Prophet's followers to wage a *jehad* against Christians. He would, however, have been

nearer the truth if he had stated that Christians were mad with the desire to sweep Musalmans from off the face of the earth. After quoting some extracts from the article and remarking that apparently the writer wishes to prejudice England against her Muslim subjects; the paper says that it is absurd to imagine danger from the present generation of Muhammadans. All their time is occupied in trying to make a living and quarrelling among themselves, apart from the fact that they have been developing slavish instincts. They are lacking in the religious enthusiasm and regard for their faith which was their characteristic a hundred years ago, and the feeling of brotherhood which actuated them in the early days of Islam has become extinct. The Sultan has been deprived of several of his possessions, but have the Prophet's followers raised any outcry? They also keep silent over his constant harassment (by the Powers), as also over the doings (of Christians) in Morocco, Egypt and the Soudan. Moreover, are not Turkey and Persia at logger-heads now at a time when it is extremely necessary for them to unite? Did not Indian Muhammadans break one another's heads on the occasion of the recent Muharram, and are they not ever ready to cut one another's throats for a mere four or five rupees? Can any one believe then that Musalmans can ever unite or wage such a *jeha d* as is feared? All that they can do is to submit memorials (to the ruler), and it is certain that they will wage a *jehad* against themselves and perish a short time hence. The Editor then goes on the say that the article under discussion casts a slur on the loyalty of Indian Muhammadans, who would abjure even their Caliph to please Government. After referring to their opposition to English education in the early days of British rule, as also to their present hostility towards the *Swadeshi* movement, he says that it was left for Captain Wilson to fear and make Government dread such a foolish people and that only fools can believe the story told by him.

(*b*). *Home.*

The Budget.

7. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 24th March 1908:—

"Thanks to a succession of 'prosperity' Budgets, and the fat surpluses which it has been the good fortune of the Finance Member to dispose of and apportion, many people had begun to picture the Indian Chancellor of Exchequer as a veritable Crœsus with jingling millions at his disposal to dole out to the various State institutions. And during the past few years, the picture has not entirely been without its application, for Mr. Baker's predecessors could not have dreamed for a moment what a windfall would come to their successor, mainly as the outcome of the currency legislation they took to ward off the difficult situation that drove them well nigh to despair. Mr. Baker has given two instalments of remission of salt tax, has raised the taxable minimum of the income tax, made large grants towards improving the personnel of the Police and their pay and prospects, and has been enabled to make big allotments towards education and other purposes. One would have wished that the education grant had, at all events, been largely increased to bring within practical realisation the problem of free and compulsory primary education. The separation of the judicial and executive functions would have required some though not a substantial amount of money, but if the reports are to be believed, the experiment in this direction is to be on a very limited scale for the present and who can say, how long it will take for the 'counsel of perfection' to emerge from its trial in a couple of provinces.

"But as the Finance Member himself plaintively tells us at the outset, the dominating feature of the present Budget is the famine which unhappily is widespread over a large part of Northern India, and some other tracts elsewhere. The grim spectre of famine stalks over the land and although the calamity which has befallen the country is of no small magnitude, the distress is believed to be 'more restricted in area and with some local exceptions less severe in intensity' than in the dark days of 1896 and 1899. This may be true roughly estimating the distress according to the failure of rainfall, or the numbers actually on the test works and on gratuitous relief, but we can hardly accept the statement as true to life, if the abnormal rise of the price of food-stuffs all over the country and the resultant pinch to the hundreds of thousands of the respectable poor, with their heads scarcely above water is taken into consideration. And the fact has to be recognised, as the Finance Member himself admits, that the crisis has not yet come and that a few days more will finally decide whether the wistful eyes turned heavenwards for the tardy rainfall are to turn back disappointed. We almost feel that the Finance Member is, with the multitudes, looking in the same direction for a partial return of his good fortune, and as it is, and if we are spared the worst, the present famine may fortunately fail to beat the record. With all this hoping for the best, the budget is admittedly a famine budget and the dismal tale is written on the face of it, if we except a relieving feature here and a healthy sign there. The year 1907-08 was estimated to close with a surplus of £1,326,100, but as finally made, the accounts show an improvement of £164,536. As regards 1908-09 the revenue is estimated at £73,438,900, the expenditure chargeable against revenue at £72,867,400 and the surplus at £571,500. The total expenditure is estimated at £73,392,500, but of this amount £525,100 will be met from Provincial balances. These estimates are based on the assumption that the monsoon of the coming year will be normal in character. Coming to the details of the Budget, we are at the outset struck with a curious fact which furnishes a strange commentary on the present system of land revenue. Over and above the figures of the Revised Estimate of the current year the Finance Member hopes for an *improvement* of £1,435,200. If these expectations are realised, he adds, we shall receive slightly more than was collected in 1906-07, but £ 265,900 less than we had originally estimated for 1907-08. What a windfall indeed! The country has been overwhelmed, for a portion of the year with drought and famine which have put the resources of the famishing people to the severest test, and yet the Hon'ble Member expects an improvement of nearly two crores. It would be less than was originally estimated by nearly 23 lakhs. This we can understand owing to the necessity for making liberal provision for suspensions and remissions in the United Provinces and other famine-stricken parts, but it is not easy to understand why the year 1908-09 should furnish slightly more than was collected in 1907-08.

* * * * * * * *

"The main interest of the tax-payer, however, centres round the expenditure side, as various interests struggle for allotments. In the present Budget the principal feature is an increase of £ 995,200 in the expenditure of the Civil Department or nearly a crore and a half. The Police get the lion's share, *viz.*, £ 301,100. The Medical Department comes next with £ 280,000 and Education comes last with £ 183,200, others resting contented with smaller sums. Vigorous efforts are being made by the various Provinces to expend the allotments of the last three years for the betterment of the pay and prospects of Police establishments and further grants aggregating 12 lakhs for this purpose are made on the present occasion, the Punjab being told that it has already practically received its full assignment. Under Medical, the increase is explained by a special grant of 30 lakhs for the improvement of public health, and of the general sanitation of the larger towns, with a view to combating the ravages of plague. The Punjab gets a sum of 4 lakhs out of this grant, and though the amount is welcome as a gift, and a gift-horse, as the adage runs, should not be looked in the mouth, we cannot help observing that it might have been larger, considering the extent of the area and the havoc wrought from year to year in this Province. The increase in the Education

grant goes partly to the two Bengals, but mainly to the United Provinces, where extensive schemes of educational improvement are on foot. Under the head of Famine Relief, provision is made for an outlay of 132·07 lakhs, of which one crore is for the United Provinces, 10 lakhs each for Bengal and the Central Provinces, and smaller sums for other parts. The reduction of £224,700 under Civil Public Works occurs chiefly in Bengal, Burma and the Punjab, where the diminution of the Provincial balances has necessitated a slackening of the rate of expenditure. The military charges show an increase of £233,900 in a year of great distress, but it is stated for what consolation it might afford, that the figures are less than those of 1906-07 by £831,700 and the budget provision of 1907-08 by £524,700. The result has been arrived at by restricting the grant for 'special' expenditure on the improvement of the Army to 2½ crores, no re-grant of lapses being made. It is pointed out that the reduction would have been larger but for the substantial increase of £130,000 in the cost of food supplies owing to the prevalence of high prices. So far then as the Punjab is concerned, the main items of interest are a grant of 4 lakhs for sanitary improvements and a reduction in the Public Works allotment. The Budget is a famine budget and the Finance Member has not been able to show any relaxation or relief in removing or lightening any old taxation."

The Budget.

8. The following is from the *Observer* (Lahore), of the 25th March 1908:—

"A brief summary of the more important points of this year's Financial Statement will be found in another column. It was presented to the Supreme Council on Friday last and is well worth a careful perusal. Of course, as the Hon'ble Mr. Baker said, the dominating feature of the present budget is the famine, which is widespread over a large part of the country and which has resulted in reduced revenue and increased expenditure in certain respects. This has, unfortunately, prevented Government from undertaking any measures for the remission of taxation or 'any schemes of administrative improvement involving considerable expenditure.' All the same, it is a matter of some satisfaction that no additional taxation will be imposed, while the current year will close with a surplus and the forthcoming year is also likely to witness larger income than expenditure. Moreover, the Government of India have resolved to effect general sanitary improvement with a view to the prevention of the plague, making an annual grant of 30 lakhs for the purpose. Out of this sum, the Punjab will get 4 lakhs a year. A sum of 12 lakhs per annum has been provided for police reform also. Barring these two items, there is little else of much interest in the Financial Statement, though undoubtedly it is put in a form which marks a decided improvement over previous Statements. Had it not been for the prevalence of famine, we would have reasonably looked forward to some kind of reduction in taxation. As it is, the only feature of the Statement, which will be received with popular relief, is the absence, as pointed out above, of any proposal to enhance taxation.

The Budget.

9. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 28th March 1908:—

"There is one announcement in Mr. Baker's statement which makes us particularly happy in this connection. It is that '*the export of wheat has been almost wholly stopped* in consequence of the prevalent high prices in India, and a great part of the Burma rice crop, which was fortunately abundant, has been *diverted* to India to take the place of that which had been lost.' This proves that, notwithstanding the declaration of Government's avowed policy by the Hon'ble Mr. Miller at the previous meeting—that it was not desirable to interfere with the freedom of trade—Government has found it necessary to interfere by reason of the prevailing conditions; and it

would be as well if such necessity, under special conditions, were frankly admitted as a part of State policy. The rice trade of Burma would *not* have been *diverted* to India, but would have been for the large part making its way to Europe under ordinary conditions, and if what Mr. Miller called the 'advantage of local trade' had been left to be looked after solely by the benevolent money-making instincts of the exporter. The same is to be said of the exPort of wheat from India. But, as we have said, until the Government admits such restriction of trade as a part of its settled policy, there can be no proper regulation, and the efforts are likely to be spasmodic instead of being timely and guided by local con ditions. Anyone who goes to Lyallpur even now will see the heaps of bags of grain that are lying there intended for export. Government's policy in this respect should be prompt, strict, and outspoken—not half-hearted and vacillating—so as to allow of nothing being done surreptitiously one way or the other.

"*Police Reform and Sanitation.*—" The financial situation being what it is, the Hon'ble Mr. Baker is not in a position to announce either remissions of taxation or any schemes of administrative improvement involving considerable expenditure. Still, however, as it were by way of doing something, a grant of £80,000 (12 lakhs of rupees) is sanctioned for Police Reform, and £200,000 (30 lakhs) for Sanitation, in the coming year's Budget. With regard to the first, it may be said that the expenditure will be practically useless, for supposing even the amount were not insufficient, any reform on the lines of the suggestions of Sir Andrew Fraser's Commission are likely to be of little or no effect in improving either the efficiency or the *morale* of the police. Moreover, with the development of Sir Andrew's conspicuous pro-Police predilections, Bengal which gets 4 lakhs out of the grant, has very little reason to feel happy, since most of this money may be expected to go to still further tighten the fetters of the people. Bombay gets the largest allotment out of the grants 4½ lakhs, and the people of Sindh may well claim the bulk of this amount in view of the notorious police inefficiency and increase of crime in that Province. The United Provinces and the Punjab are kept out of any share in the allotment, because these Provinces have received their full assignments in connection with the revision of the Provincial Contracts. In the matter of Sanitation, the paltry grant of 30 lakhs, to be divided among 8 Local Administrations, is a mere drop in the ocean, considering the requirements of one disease only, the Plague. The following observations of the *Statesman* (a paper by no means unfriendly to the Government) express the general popular view in this connection:—' While it is pleasing to find that the Government of India have at length recognised that the time has come for recognised effort to improve the sanitary conditions under which the people *exist rather than live*, we question whether it would not have been better to withhold any grant at the present moment rather than to allocate a sum which, in the face of the crying need of the country, seems almost a mockery.' The portion assigned to the Punjab out of the grant is 4 lakhs only ; which, distributed in accordance with the requirements of the plague alone, would fall at the rate of Rs. 2 per head of death cases of one month only—taking 50,000 per week as the mortality at the height of the epidemic.' For the town of Lahore alone the grant made by the Provincial Government last year was Rs. 20,000, which was regarded to be ridiculously insufficient. Considering the vast unexplored field of insanitary conditions lying before the sanitary reformer—conditions under which the people, in the words of the *Statesman*, only 'exist rather than live'—an amount of 30 lakhs for the entire country is indeed a 'mockery' But while sanitation is thus starved and education and other requirements get nothing, the Military expenditure is not curtailed at all. In the Revised Estimates of 1907-08 the figure is £20,530,000, in the Budget Estimates for 1908-09 it is £20,754,400, or somewhat higher. It remains to be seen whether the paucity of funds will be made an excuse for still further putting off the experiment of separating the judicial and executive functions, regarding which important announcements were made at yesterday's meeting."

10. *The Raghbir Patrika* (Jhang), for March 1908, publishes some verses from the pen of "Almast" who refers to the past greatness of India, and her present miserable condition, for which he blames natives themselves. The people, he adds, are sunk in the sleep of indifference which had led to foreigners coming here and obtaining a footing in the country. Indians have been robbed of all their wealth and have to live on vegetables, for the grain produced by them is exported to foreign lands. They know nothing of patriotism, are divided amongst themselves, enjoy no respect and are called niggers and damned fools. They are the descendants of *rishis*, but have become so shameless that they submit to abuse and shoe beating every day and persist in begging at the doors from which they are driven away like dogs. They should realise the meanness of begging and know that those who respect themselves are feared by all. Japan learned to respect herself and is now respected by the whole world. If natives wish to preserve their existence they should shake off their sleep and be up and doing.

Rulers and the ruled.

Mr. Morley's reform proposals.

11. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 28th March 1908 :—

"It was natural that the reform proposals set forth in the Simla circular of August last, 'adumbrating' what have been claimed to be constitutional schemes of an important and far-reaching character, should arouse the most profound interest both in this country and in England. No proposal or pronouncement of the Government has within recent years been looked forward to with greater interest and expectation than the reform proposals and in no instance has the publication of a scheme of constitutional reform produced more profound disappointment. * * * The people looked for progress in the administrative machinery, but the Simla proposals spell only retrogression. The people desired expansion of the popular elements in the Government, but the reform proposals involve contraction of the representative element. Indeed what the reform proposals do is that under the pretext of expansion, they eliminate from the Legislative Councils the elements of independence and progress or at least relegate the latter factors hopelessly to the background. Besides even a cursory survey of the proposals will convince anybody that the whole scheme is based upon the principles of counterpoises and set-offs. The so-called Advisory Councils are simply calculated to exclude the intellectuals from the position of public influence which they now occupy. And even as regards the composition of the Legislative Councils, the Simla proposals suggest an elaborate system under which, in substitution of the existing simple franchise, the electoral power will be given, according to race, caste and religion and to certain favoured classes and groups, and at the sweet discretion of the authorities. It was only natural that under such circumstances the people should give a wide berth to the reform proposals. Indeed, as Mr. Keir Hardie pointed out, the scheme, aiming as it does to keep down the intellectual element and to prepetuate and stereotype the old order of things, can hardly be designated as a reform. Hence the view that has been taken by almost every one, who is competent to judge is pessimistic and there are many, who view the proposals with positive alarm.

"But there have been some persons and amongst them are some of our most responsible leaders and most steadfast and sturdy champions and friends—who have been always exhorting us not to lose hope and heart. In the interview published in our columns Mr. R. C. Dutt tells us that the swing of the pendulum would be in our favour and that Mr. Morley should not be so hastily judged. And the same advice has been tendered by that sturdy friend and well-wisher of India, Sir William Wedder-

burn, in the columns of that Liberal weekly, the *Nation*. He admits that the reform proposals as they are, are wholly illusory and as such fully justify the misgivings entertained by the educated sections. He says that we have to bear in mind that the proposals are declared to be 'entirely provisional and suggestive' and that there is ample room for amends before they materialise in the hands of Mr. Morley. It may be remembered that this is not the first time that Sir William has offered us this advice. In a letter published sometime in September or October last Sir William urged the Indian leaders, that at the coming Sessions of the Indian National Congress, they should concentrate their attention on this project of constitutional reform and after focussing Indian public opinion, should draw up a constructive and well-considered scheme which while denouncing the defects of the Simla proposals would at the same time set forth a reasonable and practical project of constitutional reforms. He was of opinion that such a representation could not fail to influence the Government of India in making their further report to England and when the subject came on for hearing and final decision in the hands of the Secretary of State, that representation could be pressed home to Mr. Morley by a strong and influential deputation from India. In his contribution to the *Nation*, Sir William Wedderburn repeats the same advice and regrets that the aforesaid course was not pursued. The Surat Session of the Congress, owing to unfortunate and unforeseen causes, ended in a fiasco and the views of the most responsible and representative body of Indian public opinion could not be given upon the merits or rather the defects of these constitutional reforms. But as Sir William Wedderburn observes, there is yet time to mend matters. It is supremely necessary that the case for the people of India should during the next two months be clearly and effectually placed before the Secretary of State, the houses of Parliament and the British public. And for this purpose, Sir William suggests, it is indispensable that India should send to England, accredited representatives—men who could speak with weight and experience. We may say that Sir William's advice is being already followed. It is true that India's unofficial Parliament could neither make its pronouncement on the nature of the reform proposals nor adumbrate its own project of reform, but other important public bodies and Conferences have adequately voiced the feelings of the people in this matter. We may refer particularly to the reply of the Bombay Presidency Association, whose able contribution has drawn forth thanks from the Viceroy, of the Mahajan Sabha of Madras and last, not the least, the resolution of the Lucknow Provincial Conference. The aforesaid representations, not to mention several other important replies submitted by public associations or private individuals, clearly indicate the views of the party of reform in India and should in a large measure strengthen the hands of our friends in England. It has also been announced that the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale leaves for England next month to plead the cause of the Indian reform party and no better or abler representative could be selected for the purpose. We have no doubt that our English friends, under the able leadership of Sir William will do their best to impress Mr. Morley in favour of some large and generous concessions. All this will no doubt be done and Indian feelings and aspirations will be effectually voiced as Sir William Wedderburn desires, by Mr. Gokhale. But the real point is how far they will be able to make an impression on Mr. Morley. Honest John has of late so often veered with the tide as to cast grave suspicions in many quarters as to whether his anchor really holds. It is clear that his handling of the reform proposals will be the test of his reputation."

**The Bengalis.**

12. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 20th March 1908, reproduces a story in which a Bengali, who has been residing at Peshawar for a long time past, is alleged to have been taken by a Zakka Khel Afridi to see a Malik at Jamrud, who praised the Bengalis and their efforts to assist Swadeshi trade and promote boycott. The Editor adds that he knows an umber of Afghans who entertain feelings of sincere respect for the people of Bengal, whom they used only two years ago to call cowards.

13. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 15th (received on the 24th) March 1908, also reproduces the same story.

The Bengalis.

14. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 21st March 1908, writing on the same subject, remarks that even uncivilised people cannot help honouring patriots. The sole reason why natives are not treated like human beings in these days is that they do not love their country. If they were true patriots and followers of *Swadeshism* they would assuredly command the respect of the whole world. The paper, therefore, exhorts them to give up the use of foreign-made goods and become staunch supporters of *Swadeshism*.

The Bengalis.

15. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 15th (received on the 24th) March 1908, publishes an account of a meeting held at Delhi on the 8th instant under the auspices of the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Sanat-o- Hirfat. The Editor, Sayad Hyder Raza, was elected to take the chair and, after speeches on *Swadeshism*, made some very forcible remarks in which he explained what the word *Swadeshi* meant and observed that those who had not enough control over themselves to give up the use of foreign-made goods and could not follow the promptings of their consciences were not human beings. He also exhorted his hearers to use only country-made articles, although these may be lacking in finish.

*Swadeshi* and boycott movements.

Commenting on the above the paper exhorts the younger generation of natives to leave imported goods alone and become staunch supporters of the *swadeshi* and boycott movements. They may not gain the desired result at the very outset but will be certain to win the day in the end, provided they persevere and do not waver in their resolution. Indian politicians have declared boycott to be a legitimate means of agitation in this country, and they are right in this, seeing that it is impossible for natives to obtain their legitimate rights unless they learn the practical lesson of boycott.

16. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 20th March 1908, says that the Hindu Deputation which recently waited on the Viceroy stated in its address to His Excellency that, among other things, the Bharat Dharm Mahamandal aimed at exalting the national character of Hindus. This character of the followers of Hinduism, adds the paper, consists of their slavish instincts and the Mahamandal wishes to deepen these instincts. After finding fault with the Deputation for requesting Lord Minto to make arrangements for imparting religious instruction to Hindu children, it says that Hindus will perhaps next ask the King Emperor's representative in India to manage their households. In conclusion, it says that His Excellency's reply was a fine satire.

Hindu Deputation to the Viceroy.

## II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

17. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* (Lahore), of the 21st March 1908, says that from the standpoint of an Indian the punitive expedition against the Zakka Khels has not been a success. It was childish on the part of Government

Expedition against the Zakka Khels.

to withdraw the expeditionary forces when the enemy merely surrendered 60 rifles as a guarantee for future good behaviour. The paper then goes on to say that the conduct of the authorities in setting free the 40 Afridis who recently looted the money-changers of Peshawer must have brought a contemptuous smile to the lips of the tribal jirgas. After remarking that the release of the culprits will certainly not put an end to raids into British territory, and that they are not likely to fulfil their promise to return the booty, the Editor says that it has now been made manifest that the bad characters in Peshawar are in league with, and render all possible help to, Afridi brigands.

Tribal raids into British territory.

18. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* (Lahore), of the 24th March 1908, regrets that Government should have taken no notice of the sufferings caused by the tribal raids on the people of Peshawar, etc. After referring to the deputation of Hindu *sahukars* which recently waited on the Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar, but which the latter refused to receive, the Editor says that further news from Peshawar state that the Chief Commissioner after some hesitation took the petition presented by the deputation and promised to try to have their grievances redressed. The *Akhbar* then takes the Deputy Commissioner to task for the apathy shown by him adding that a mere smile on his part would have gone a long way towards reassuring the people and winning their hearts. What, asks the Editor, is one to say of Lord Curzon who having handed over the frontier to brutes and wild beasts has gone to England. The article concludes by praising Lord Kitchener for the promptness with which he punished the Zakka Khels.

## VI.—LEGISLATION.

The proposed press law.

19. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 20th March 1908, writing about the proposal to amend the press law, regrets that a liberal Government like the British should disgrace itself through fear of a few agitators. The native press has, besides, been already sufficiently muzzled.

The proposed press law.

20. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* (Lahore), of the 23rd March 1908, writing on the same subject, remarks that even the Moderates have condemned the proposed law as a mischievous piece of legislation. The measure is calculated to deal the liberty of the press a severe blow and make it impossible for the papers to freely criticise Government. After remarking that it will also afford the police greater facility for harassing journalists, the paper enquires whether the latter fall in the category of dacoits and the like that they should be placed at the mercy of the former. It concedes that some agitators have brought discredit on the native press, but contends that this does not justify Government in making no distinction between good and bad newspapers.

The proposed amendment of the Whipping Act.

21. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 22nd March 1908 :—

"Besides the Civil Procedure Draft Code, which was passed at the last sitting of the Supreme Legislative Council, a Bill to amend the Whipping Act was introduced at that sitting of the Council by Sir Harvey Adamson. In the speech the Home Member

made while introducing the Bill, he mentioned that an amendment in the Whipping Act had become necessary in view of the change in public opinion regarding whipping as a form of punishment within recent years, and that the object of the new Bill is to mitigate the severity of the Whipping Act and to bring it into line with public opinion of the present day. And in doing so Sir Harvey laid down the principle that 'whipping should be restricted to offences of a degrading nature and it should never be administered when it is likely to outrage self-respect.' We cordially welcome this enunciation from Sir Harvey, although we are bound to observe that this wholesome rule has been honoured more in the breach than in the observance. Indeed we can cite several cases in which boys of tender years have been sentenced to whipping simply because they allowed themselves to be carried away by their love for the country or zeal for *Swadeshi*. * * * * We think that we are not very much mistaken when we say that but for the outcry raised against the manner in which the Whipping Act was administered in India, the Government would not have probably seen the necessity of purging from the Whipping Act some of the obnoxious provisions. But while we congratulate the Government on taking early action in the matter, we are surprised to find that the Bill makes no alteration with regard to the form of punishment to juvenile offenders. The only change in the law in respect of juveniles is that punishment in the case of persons below the age of sixteen is not to exceed fifteen. This is no doubt a welcome change, but sentence of whipping inflicted on a boy of respectable parentage in cases where a mere reprimand or making over to the control of school authorities would be deemed sufficient is not only resented by the boy and his family but in fact by the whole of the Indian community. It is a pity that Sir Harvey while recognising the fact that whipping should not be inflicted when it is likely to outrage self-respect has omitted to take note of the public feeling on the point. Sir Harvey seems to draw from the analogy of the English law, but as the *Calcutta Weekly Notes* points out that Magistrates in England do not resort to this form of punishment lightly. Unlike some of the Indian Magistrates, they treat the juvenile offenders with almost parental consideration. It is therefore very desirable that the Legislature should limit the class of offences for which the juvenile may be flogged and not leave it to the unlimited and undefined discretion of individual Magistrates."

The proposed amendment of the Whipping Act.

22. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 22nd March 1908:—

"SIR,—The Government of India have thought fit, after a good deal of agitation in India and England for the abolition of flogging as a punishment, to amend the 'Whipping Act;' and have introduced a bill for that purpose into the Legislative Council.

"Sir Harvey Adamson, the Member in Charge of the Bill, while maintaining that the Whipping Act of 1864 is a very humane act, seems to think that some changes are necessary in the existing law in order to bring it into closer conformity with the trend of public opinion and the requirements of the present day.

"It is well-known that public opinion both in India and England has in quite unmistakeable terms denounced this brutal punishment as a relic of barbarous times. But the Home Member in the height of his wisdom does not see the way to the removal of this blot from the Indian Statute Book, and pleads the perpetual 'interests of peace' as standing in the way of this much-needed reform. This shows the great apathy which the Indian Civil Servant evinces towards all reforms in the Home administration. However the proposed amendments are some improvement in the existing law, as it is proposed to restrict the class of offences for which whipping may be inflicted, and to limit the number of officers who may be empowered to award it.

"But there still remains a very great defect in the law, and that is this, that in the Code of Criminal Procedure there is no appeal against a sentence of whipping.

It very often happens that in certain cases, some magistrates who are under the thumb of the police, when they find that their decisions are likely to be upset by the Appellate Court generally award a non-appealable sentence and that the sentence is sometimes of whipping—Against a non-appealable sentence it is very difficult, if not practically impossible, for the accused to get redress in the higher Courts. Because on the revision side there is rarely if at all any interference on the facts.

"It is therefore very important that provision for appeal against the sentence of whipping should be made in the existing law. I hope the non-official members of the Council will take up this matter in right earnest, and press upon the Government the necessity of this safeguard for a possible abuse of power by a certain class of magistrates."

Yours, etc.,
SHIV NARAIN KAPUR,
*Pleader, Chief Court, Punjab.*

## VII.—General Administration.

### *(a)—Judicial.*

Partiality of the Courts for European offenders.

23. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 20th March 1908, reports that five Indians at Mangleshwar have been transported for life on the charge of outraging a Native Christian girl while two more have been sentenced to seven years rigorous imprisonment each for abetment of the offence. A contrast of the sentences, adds the paper, with the acquittal of Moore and of the European Traffic Superintendent, who recently attempted to outrage a native intermediate class passenger, shows that power has completely blinded the British authorities in India.

Oppressive Magistrates.

24. The *Hak Pasand* (Amritsar), of the 11th (received on the 24th) March 1908, says that two Bengali magistrates at Calcutta had been oppressing the people in order to curry favour with Government. The Bengali public have, however, turned anarchists and are ever ready to punish oppressors of all descriptions. After remarking that on their way back from their courts (*lit.* slaughter houses) these magistrates were recently set upon by some men who threw vitriol in their faces, the paper says that if Government does not abandon its policy of "no conviction no promotion" similar scenes will be enacted at other places also.

Judicial and Executive functions.

25. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 28th March 1908:—

"The tardy though none the less welcome announcement that a beginning is after all to be attempted in the direction of the separation of the executive and judicial functions comes as an agreeable reminder that there is no standstill in the case of administrations as in the case of nations, and that however great a set back the forces of progress and reform may temporarily receive a time comes when they move forward and try to make up for the lost time. As things have been started, at present, there may be no particular reason for over-jubilation, for much depends on the way things are managed during the period of experiment, but still we cannot help feeling glad and it is something to be thankful for, that the Government of India have expressed themselves in favour of the reform that the whole Indian people have through their Con-

gresses and Conferences been demanding unequivocally. The late Monomphan Ghosh is no more in the land of the living to see the fruition of his labours, but Mr. R. C. Dutt, who prepared a working scheme in the face of discouragement and opposition is happily with us, and will have the satisfaction of finding that with certain minor differences the scheme is identical with his own. Every District will have a District Officer, the head of the Revenue Department and the Police, and in charge of preventive action with a staff of Deputy Collectors and Sub-Deputy Collectors under him, some of them having the preventive powers of the Magistrate, 1st class, while the judicial powers will be vested in the Senior Magistrate who will possess the rest of the powers now vested in the District Magistrate, supervising the work of his Deputy Magistrates, and hearing appeals from their orders. The executive sub-districts and judicial sub-divisions will not be conterminous and after a certain number of years, all the members of the Indian Provincial and Subordinate Civil Services will have to elect their line and to stick to it. Such is the outline of the scheme which will now be sent to the two Bengal Governments for criticism and final adoption."

### (*b*)—*Police.*

Tinnevelly riots.

26. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 20th March 1908, publishes an account of the Tinnevelly riots and ascribes the incident to the harsh treatment of the local public by the authorities of the place. It is of opinion that if the latter had treated the former with leniency the riots would not have taken place. After insinuating that repression has goaded even the mild Madrasis to commit a riot, the Editor asks the authorities to give the policy of leniency a trial now, adding that their present doings have been shaking the faith of the people in British justice.

Tinnevelly riots.

27. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 25th March 1908:—

* * * * *

"As regards the immediate cause of the disturbance it is evident that the real struggle commenced when Mr. Wynch, the District Magistrate, stopped the celebration of Mr. Pal's release and served notices on the three speakers to appear on the celebration day to answer the proceedings for security to be of good behaviour. From day to day went on the case and evening after evening the accused delivered speeches on the river bed. The District Magistrate became uneasy, and served notices on the accused to show cause why they should not be bound down to abstain from seditious speeches, immediately after ordering them into custody. Then came the sudden and regrettable ebullition of feeling which was entirely unexpected and carried everything before it. The authorities had made no arrangements to meet any difficulty, and the people knew of no indications of the coming storm. A small band of rowdies came, no one knows from where, and started operations on a plan that must have been pre-concerted among them. * * * * * * *

"Who is to blame for the day's work?—is the interesting question that awaits solution, and the man who places himself within two fires by undertaking the thankless task has to thank himself. Mr. Iyer has tackled the situation and apportioned the blame, but could hardly have satisfied either of the parties. He takes the view that unless the speakers wanted to precipitate the action against them, they should have abstained from speeches while the cases were pending against them. They may have stood on their rights, but they were certainly not well-advised, when the District Magistrate felt trembling in his shoes for the safety of the town, when he told them so, and appealed to them for help in keeping the peace, and finally, when he prohibited them from holding meetings. One is disposed to agree with Mr. Iyer that they should have abstained from

them and met Mr. Wynch half way. On the other hand, Mr. Wynch's mind must have been suffering from an attack of mental indigestion and an overdose of panic-stricken reports to have conjured dark horrors which led him to act as he did. He wanted security from the accused, and yet illegally refused it. They offered it conditionally, that is pending trial and contingent on a verdict against them. The Magistrate refused point blank, and adjourned the inquiry to 1st April. They wanted to move the High Court for transfer, and he remanded them to custody. They saw the Magistrate was firm like a rock, and they closed with the offer to give security unconditionally. This the Magistrate is reported to have brushed aside with a legal quibble hardly fitting a judicial tribunal. He argued he could not accept unconditional security without convicting them and this he could not do, in the face of their plea of 'Not guilty.' And the accused were forthwith marched to jail. This technical justice evidently had a maddening effect on certain temperaments, and the forces of passion broke loose into disorder and disturbance. Certain ardent spirits must have been brooding deep and long over the incidents that were occurring, and the sudden determination of the Magistrate to send the accused to jail must be held mainly responsible for precipating matters. The Magistrate himself was on the tenterhooks of anxiety and suspense we can well imagine, and very probably worked into a state of feverish activity and irritation we need hardly doubt, but that he might have kept the people in hand by less heroic measures attended with no untoward results will now probably be conceded on all hands. And it is a strange commentary on his attitude that when the crisis approached he does not appear to have consulted the popular leaders at all, men like Mr. Guruswami Iyer, who, we doubt not, would have lent the weight of their influence on the side of law and order, and tried to smooth matters. Indeed Mr. Wynch refused to receive a deputation of the leading citizens of Tinnevelly, who wanted to assure him of the attitude of the respectable classes of the people—a deputation which the Governor has since agreed to receive. The Sessions Judge followed suit and refused to let out the accused. The High Court, however, has on the motion of Mr. Guruswami Iyer, directed the release of the accused on their furnishing securities.

"In the meantime Tinnevelly and Tuticorin are the centre of the usual developments. Arrests are being made on an extensive scale, summary punishments have been meted out to a number of people, and identifications are still proceeding apace, daily adding to the number, failure in identification having brought ready punishment in the form of summary dismissal in certain cases. Punitive police, which not unoften punishes the innocent more than the guilty and at the best punishes both alike, has already been quartered and the inhabitants will have to pay the cost to the tune of Rs. 4,000 a month or Rs. 24,000 in all for the luxury of special police for a period of six months. In another direction the ball has been set rolling by serving notices on six lawyers to show cause why they should not be bound down to keep the peace. It is apparent that the same history is being repeated at Tinnevelly as has happened elsewhere. The most unfortunate element in the situation is that while the mob of rowdies indulged in their pranks, it is the peaceful and law-abiding citizens who will have to bear the burden of the cost. Cannot Sir Arthur Lawley intervene and direct a searching inquiry into the causes and incidents of the unfortunate disturbance in which the main, if not the sole, sufferers are the people and the rate-payers of Tinnevelly.

Tinnevelly riots.

28. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 25th March 1908:—

"The similarity in origin between the Pindi and the Tinnevelly riots has already been pointed out. Both were precipitated by the impatience and indiscretion of the district authorities, the very result being brought about by the measures adopted which it was their object to prevent. The notice served on the Pindi lawyers had its counterpart in the summoning of the Tuticorin agitators to Court, followed by their

remand into custody. In both cases there has been the same want of tact and alertness in dispersing the mob by treating with them in a conciliatory spirit, and the subsequent necessity of calling in the military. The resemblance extends even to details, giving rise to some very curious coincidence. *Six* lawyers were the principal accused at Rawalpindi, and at Tuticorin Mr. Venkataram Iyer, B. L., and *five* other Vakils have been summoned by the Joint Magistrate, Mr. Ashe, as a result of the riots, to show cause why they should not furnish security for keeping the peace. The order was based on information said to have been lodged before the Magistrate that the Vakils were likely to disturb the public peace by promoting enmity between classes and by criminally intimidating persons who did not support the *Swadeshi* movement. But the resemblance between Pindi and Tinnevelly assumes a most amusing aspect in the anxiety displayed by the respective Public Prosecutors for the welfare of the prisoners At Pindi Mr. Broadway pressed before Mr. Martineau for the refusal of bail to the accused on the ground that they would be better off in respect of health in jail than under the want of restraint as to food and living among their friends. At Tinnevelly Public Prosecutor Mr. Powell sought to prove the wisdom of the Magistrate's order by showing that if the prisoners had not been by a benevolent foresight put into custody, they would have run the risk of being charged with the authorship of the disturbances. Here is the gem:

"It seemed to him that from whatever point of view it was looked at, apart from the legal aspect and apart from the construction of the Section itself, the District Magistrate's action was wise because taking it in the interests of the petitioners themselves, and taking it that they were perfectly innocent of what took place on that day, it was much to their advantage that they were not at liberty that day, because if they had been at liberty there would have been a prospect and a possibility of charges being brought against them.

"There is the story of the thief who argued before the Magistrate, in extenuation of his offence that were it not for gentlemen like himself pursuing the nocturnal profession, His Worship would have no occasion to sit on the Bench, enjoying its honour and emoluments!"

Tinnevelly riots.

29. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 27th March 1908:—

"In the distant and troubled atmosphere of perturbed Tinnevelly, the rapid march of events continues unbroken. Incident follows incident in quick and breathless succession, and with almost dramatic sequence. And the latest batches of telegrams from the scene of trouble furnished no exception to what people have during the past few days learnt to expect from Tinnevelly. Our only fear is that surprises following each other in the heat of the moment are not generally calculated to throw oil over the troubled waters, and to smoothe ruffled feelings in the agitated world of Tinnevelly and Tuticorin. Strong and heroic measures like the reported prohibition of shouting *Bande Mataram* by the Magistrate may seal the lips for some time, but as we pointed out the other day, this is merely symptomatic treatment and takes no notice of the festering sore in the heart of the people of the distracted locality. Then again the District Magistrate of Tinnevelly may be perfectly within his rights in getting the sanction of Government for, and initiating proceedings under Sections 124A and 153A, Indian Penal Code, against Chidambaram Pillay and Subramania Siva, but he could hardly have selected a more unfortunate occasion for it. It may be said for him that from his standpoint he had no option in the matter and that the interests of law and order were supreme to him. But in his calmer moments he even may regret the fact that his precipitancy was calculated to further distract the people. The three accused in the security cases were sent up under Section 107 for security to be of good behaviour. He suddenly proceeded against them under Section 108 for security to keep from making seditious speeches, and remanded them to custody in the face of their contingent and unconditional offers to furnish the requisite security. They had to move the Sessions Judge but without success, and the High Court which directed their release on security. But the Superintendent of Jail is reported to have refused to release Chidambaram,

we presume, on the ground that the orders of the High Court had not yet reached him and the District Magistrate has remanded him to further custody till the 1st April, not allowing him facilities to communicate with his Vakil, or his relatives. He was marched off to the District Jail under a heavy escort, which appears to confirm the further report that sanction for the prosecution of Chidambaram and Siva has been received and a complaint lodged against them. Legally this is right, but coming after the High Court's order directing bail it would convey the unfortunate impression to the ordinary people at Tinnevelly that in a tussle between the executive and the judicial, even the High Court can come off second best, and that the District Magistrate's fiat stands the risk of going unquestioned. To add to the trouble, the High Court has declined to transfer the security cases from the Court of the District Magistrate. The only gleam of light in the situation so far is that the cases against the Tuticorin lawyers stand adjourned *sine die*, whether pending a motion to the High Court or under Government orders, it is impossible to say at present.

### (*d*)—*Education.*

A complaint.

30. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 24th March 1908:—

"It is high time, indeed, that the Punjab University turned its attention towards setting its own house in order, and adopted some effective means to stop the wail of the innocents that too often follows in the trail of certain examination papers in almost every examination. We shall not be so disrespectful as to suggest that the ears of the *alma mater* have become attuned to the cries of lamentations and bewailings, which inevitably follow every year's examinations; or is it that the spectacle of disappointed faces and pallid cheeks has by lapse of time, lost its novelty, and that it no longer means anything unusual or uncommon to those who wield the destinies of the poor examinees in their hands. The tale of complaints grows from year to year without any apparent relief, and we strongly appeal to the sense of justice and fairness of the University authorities to put an end to this sorry state of things. The Matriculation Examination led the way, and a wail rose against the papers in Mathematics, and Geography. The cry is by no means confined to any particular part of the Province, or any particular institution, and the complaint is universal. Specific objections may or may not be forthcoming against particular questions, and judged by the standard of the high attainments of the University examiners particular questions may or may not weigh the scales, but surely fairness demands that the Syndicate should see, whether taken as a whole the papers stand out as a fair test of the abilities of the average run of our boys, and here opinion seems to be almost unanimous that if the University does not make up its mind to intervene, there will be a general massacre of the young hopefu's, which will fall as a blight on their youthful dreams, and act as a damper on many a promising career. In the case of the Matriculation candidates, there is another emphatic reason why prompt action should be taken by the University. Under the new Regulations, this is the first year when the pass-percentage in these subjects has been raised from 25 per cent. to 33 per cent., and it is extremely unfortunate that the year when the new system comes into force should be heralded by papers which have only served to drive away the vestiges of hope from the minds of those standing at the threshold of University education, and this when the complaint has been heard in season and out of season that the quality of education imparted in our schools suffers in comparison with that obtaining in our colleges. Surely there should be no piling up of difficulties in the way of these examinees, and we trust there will be no hesitation in seeing justice done to them by showing the necessary consideration to their well-grounded complaints."

### (*e*)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land.*

The past condition of zamindars.

31. The *Zamindar* (Karmabad), of the 16th March 1908, publishes a communication from Lala Radha Kishen (the father of Lala Lajpat Rai) who, in continuation of his previous remarks (*vide* para. 30 of Selections

No. 12), says that, when he was a boy, patwaris had not to go to tahsil offices. Nor had lambardars to run about a great deal, while girdawars and the present worry over the alienation of land, were unknown. Even poor zamindars had not to contract debts, every agriculturist had always sufficient grain for his requirements, and none had to pay for it or for vegetables, *ghi*, milk, butter, and the like. They wore home-spun clothes, all of them could keep cows, bullocks, buffaloes, horses and mares, and had to buy very few of the articles required on the occasion of marriages from the bazaar. Their dealings with the *bania* were confined to the purchase of salt, chillies, turmeric and the like, which did not cost more than two rupees half-yearly. Pasture lands were in abundance, and so milk and *ghi* were always plentiful and zamindars could raise healthy and strong children. In short, although they led a simple life they passed their days in ease and comfort and knew nothing of their present anxieties and care, while they could always eat their fill. The writer then goes into figures to show that in those days a small family could live on one anna a day, and adds that agriculturists had not to dance attendance at the courts then, had not their village visited by the police and other Government officials, and were not subjected to beatings or abuse by Tahsildars. He further remarks that there used to be enough grain in the country even during a famine, because it was not exported to foreign countries. There were no municipalities then and sanitation was not carefully looked after. Still there used to be less disease than is the case now.

### (f)—*Railways and Communications.*

32. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 15th (received on the 24th) March 1908, refers to some recent cases of outrage on native women by Indian and European railway servants and says that the culprits have in each case escaped scotfree. This, it says, is calculated to fill the mind of every native, who possesses the smallest sense of self-respect, with feelings of anger and sorrow. The people of this country do not mind coolies and sweepers being kicked to death, nor do they mind the loss of life caused by famines. They were, however, once ready to lay down their lives in defence of the chastity of their women; yet their daughters and daughters-in-law are being violated to-day. After asking them to rid the earth of their presence, the Editor refers to the case in which five natives have been transported and two more rigorously imprisoned for seven years on a charge of outraging a Native Christian girl. If Indians, he adds, are not devoid of all sense of shame, incidents of this kind should break their hearts. They spend lakhs of rupees in order to secure empty titles of honour, but they should remember that they can never command respect unless they sacrifice their lives for the sake of the honour of their country. He next contrasts the treatment accorded by the courts to the ravishers of native women with that meted out to those guilty of outraging Christian women, and concludes as follows :—

Outrages on native female passengers.

" Dear Indians, listen to one thing. Do not go into the British courts. Can you trust these courts even after this? O God, what shall we do? We cannot bear this disgrace in our own country. In other countries we have taunts showered on us. Where are we to go? We wish the earth would

yawn and swallow us up. We can put up with everything except the dishonour of our mothers and sisters ..... Alas ... our heart is breaking... ..... Indians, rise and reflect."

(*h*)—*Miscellaneous.*

Stoning Lord Minto's motorcar.

33. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 20th March 1908, writing about the recent occurrence at Calcutta when some persons threw stones at Lord Minto's motor car, says that the Bengalis have been guilty of a very foolish act and that no sensible person can approve of their conduct. The poor Viceroy is a mere figure head and it can serve no useful purpose to throw stones at him. The Editor then asks why the Bengalis have been guilty of such conduct? The correct answer to the question, he adds, will not be found by punishing the culprits. The King Emperor's representative in India should try to find out the real cause of the incident and take steps to remove the same. Wounds cannot be cured by sprinkling salt into them.

Stoning Lord Minto's motor car.

34. The *Wafadar* (Lahore), of the 14th (received on the 23rd) March 1908, strongly condemns the conduct of the Bengalis who recently threw stones at the motor car of Lord Minto, and says that it is grossly inhuman and barbarous for natives to treat the present Viceroy, from whom they have received numerous benefits, in this manner. It also urges the police to bring the culprits to book and to find out at whose instigation the latter have misbehaved themselves.

The late Lala Gurdas Ram, Bar.-at-Law.

35. Writing about the death of Lala Gurdas Ram of Rawalpindi, *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 20th March 1908, says that the detention of the Lala in jail during the whole of the last hot weather had the effect of aggravating his heart disease. The deceased did his utmost to procure his release on bail, but to no purpose, and his sad death has been the result. Mr. Morley recently refused to compensate Lala Gurdas Ram and the other lawyers, but will he say who is responsible for the Lala's death (which may rightly be called wilful murder)?

How Pindi Das is treated in jail.

36. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 20th March 1908, publishes an account of a conversation which took place recently between its Editor and Lala Pindi Das in jail. In the course of the conversation Pindi Das said that he was made to prepare bamboo sticks for chicks and that he had to work eight hours daily. The Superintendent refused to give him the work of muharrir, saying that he had done enough of writing work outside the jail. He also complained of the food supplied to him and remarked that dust was mixed with the flour used for making *chapaties*. Pindi Das further complained that he was given half-baked *chapaties* to eat. The same invidious distinctions, he added, are made between natives and Europeans in jail as exist outside its walls. The latter had an easy time of it. They got bread, meat, vegetables, butter, tea, rice, &c., and were given light work to do, such as writing or making envelopes. Pindi Das said that he did not mind the troubles to which he was subjected, for those who bore such troubles were blessed. He considered himself fortunate that he was suffering merely because he

had tried to serve his country. He concluded by complaining that he had to live in the society of prisoners notorious for their immoral habits and use of abusive language.

Commenting on the above, the Editor remarks that it will be regrettable indeed if the entire native press does not unanimously draw the attention of Government to the ill-treatment of "the national hero" in jail.

How Pindi Das is treated in jail.

37. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 21st March 1903, publishes the substance of the interview and regrets that such hard labour should be exacted from Pindi Das. It is, however, of opinion that true sons of India should not mind the hardships to which they may be subjected for serving her.

F. ISEMONGER,

*Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*

*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

LAHORE:

*The 28th March* 1908.

Punjab Government Press, Lahore—4.4.08—152—95—H. L. S.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 14. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

Received up to 4th April 1908.

---

## CONTENTS.


I.—Politics.

Page.

(a)—*Foreign*—

1. England and Turkey (*Observer*) ... ... 183
2. The Anglo-Russian Convention (*Raghbir Patrika*) ... 184
3. Indians in foreign countries (*Hitkari*) ... ... *ib.*
4. Indians in crown colonies (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... *ib.*
5. Indians in the Transvaal (*Rajput Gazette*) ... *ib.*

(b)—*Home*—

6. The Budget (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... ... 185
7. The Budget (*Panjabee*) ... ... ... *ib.*
8. The Budget (*Tribune*) ... ... ... 186
9. British rule and famine in India (*Jhang Sial*) ... 188
10. The present condition of India (*Aftab*) ... ... 189
11. Mr. O'Donnell on the causes of present discontent in India (*Tribune*) ... ... ... *ib.*
12. Lord Minto and famine in India (*Hindustan*) ... 190
13. How Indians can raise themselves (*Aftab*) ... *ib.*
14. An appeal to Indians to unite (*Aftab*) ... ... *ib.*
15. Government and the people (*Raghbir Patrika*) ... *ib.*
16. Government and the people (*Hindustan*) ... ... 191
17. Government and Hindus (*Rajput Gazette*) ... 192
18. Mohammadans and politics (*Asad*) ... ... *ib.*
19. Mohammadans and politics (*Hitkari*) ... ... 193

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

20. Expedition against the Zakka Khels (*Aftab-i-Hind*) ... 193
21. Expedition against the Zakka Khels (*Hitkari*) ... *ib.*
22. Tribal raids into British territory (*Hitkari*) ... 195
23. Tribal raids into British territory (*Punjabee*) ... *ib.*
24. The Afridis (*Aftab*) ... ... ... *ib.*

III.—Native States.

*Nil.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

*Nil.*

V.—Native Societies and religious matters.

*Nil.*

VI.—Legislation.

25. The Whipping Bill (*Tribune*) .. ... ... 196
26. The Punjab Legislative Council (*Tribune*) ... 197

VII.—General Administration.

(a)—*Judicial*—

27. Judicial and Executive functions (*Panjabee*) ... 198

(b)—*Police*—

28. Tinnevelly riots (*Hindustan*) ... ... ... 199
29. The Police and public meetings (*Tribune*) ... ... *ib.*

(c)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs*—

*Nil.*

(d)—*Education*—

*Nil.*

(e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land*—

*Nil.*

(f)—*Railways and Communications*—

*Nil.*

(g)—*Postal matters*—

*Nil.*

(h)—*Miscellaneous*—

30. Rumoured prosecutions of the *Civil & Military Gazette*, etc., for libel (*Hitkari*) ... ... ... 200
31. Subscription in aid of Pindi Das's family (*Jhang Sial*)... *ib.*

## LIST OF NEWSPAPERS RECEIVED DURING THE QUARTER ENDING 31ST MARCH 1908.

| No. | Name. | Locality. | Name of Publisher. | Circulation. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **ENGLISH.** | | | |
| | **DAILY.** | | | |
| 1 | Tribune ... | Lahore ... | Mul Chand ... | 1,700 copies. |
| | **BI-WEEKLY.** | | | |
| 2 | Observer ... | Lahore ... | Abdul Rashid ... | 1,000 " |
| 3 | Panjabee ... | Do. ... | Ratan Chand ... | 3,100 " |
| 4 | Punjab Times and Frontier News | Rawalpindi ... | Jiwa Ram, Thapar ... | 300 " |
| | **WEEKLY.** | | | |
| 5 | Arya Messenger ... | Lahore ... | Arya Samaj, Anarkali ... | 700 " |
| 6 | Khalsa Advocate ... | Amritsar ... | Khalsa Advocate Committee. | 1,000 " |
| | **URDU.** | | | |
| | **DAILY.** | | | |
| 7 | Akhbar-i-'Am ... | Lahore ... | Govind Sahai ... | 2,000 " |
| 8 | Paisa Akhbar ... | Do. ... | Mahbub Alam ... | 700 " |
| | **BI-WEEKLY.** | | | |
| 9 | Hakam ... | Kadian, Gurdaspur district. | Yakub Ali ... | 900 " |
| 10 | Punjab Samachar ... | Lahore ... | Hira Lal ... | 2,000 " |
| 11 | Vakil ... | Amritsar ... | Ghulam Muhammad ... | 1,150 " |
| | **WEEKLY.** | | | |
| 12 | Aftab ... | Delhi ... | Saiyid Haidar Raza ... | 500 " |
| 13 | Aftab-i-Hind ... | Jullundur ... | Haji Barkat Ali ... | 200 " |
| 14 | Ahl-i-Hadis ... | Amritsar ... | Sanaulla ... | 700 " |
| 15 | Ahluwalia Gazette ... | Do. ... | Lehna Singh ... | 500 " |
| 16 | Army News ... | Ludhiana ... | Hira Lal & Co. ... | 1,300 " |
| 17 | Arya Gazette ... | Lahore ... | Bhowani Das ... | 550 |
| 18 | Civil and Military News ... | Ludhiana ... | Saiyid Muhammad ... | 1,325 " |
| 19 | Civil and Military Organ ... | Do. ... | Shah Din ... | |
| 20 | Curzon Gazette ... | Delhi ... | Mirza Hairat ... | 4,000 " |
| 21 | Dost-i-Hind ... | Bhera, district Shahpur | Ram Labhaya ... | 200 " |

G C

## LIST OF NEWSPAPERS RECEIVED DURING THE QUARTER ENDING 31ST MARCH 1908—CONTINUED.

| No. | Name. | Locality. | Name of Publisher. | Circulation. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | URDU—CONTINUED. | | | |
| | WEEKLY—*continued.* | | | |
| 22 | Haq Pasand ... | Amritsar ... | Ram Nath ... | 500 copies. |
| 23 | Hindustan ... | Lahore ... | Atma Ram ... | 1,300 " |
| 24 | Hitkari ... | Do. ... | Do. ... | 850 " |
| 25 | Jhang Sial ... | Jhang ... | Parabh Dial ... | 700 " |
| 26 | Kapurthala Akhbar ... | Kapurthala ... | Hamid Husain ... | 155 " |
| 27 | Khair Khah-i-Alam ... | Delhi ... | Mir Hassan ... | 110 " |
| 28 | Khair Khah-i-Hind ... | Do. ... | Maha Narain ... | 50 " |
| 29 | Koh-i-Nur ... | Lahore ... | "Master" Atma Ram ... | |
| 30 | Mr. Gazette ... | Do. ... | Ali Bakhsh ... | 150 " |
| 31 | Nazim-ul-Hind ... | Do. ... | Nazim Husain Khan ... | 200 " |
| 32 | Nur Afshan ... | Ludhiana ... | Revd. Dr. E. M. Wherry | 500 " |
| 33 | Paisa Akhbar ... | Lahore ... | Mahbub Alam ... | 13,500 " |
| 34 | Parkash ... | Do. ... | Soma Deva ... | 700 " |
| 35 | Punjab Organ ... | Sialkot ... | Brij Lal ... | 300 " |
| 36 | Rajput Gazette ... | Lahore ... | Thakur Sukhram Das ... | 650 " |
| 37 | Municipal Gazette and Sada-i-Hind. | Do. ... | Din Muhammad ... | 500 " |
| 38 | Sadiq-ul-Akhbar ... | Bahawalpur ... | Maulvi Ata Ulla ... | 392 " |
| 39 | Ditto ... | Rewari ... | Safdar Husain ... | 200 " |
| 40 | Sanatan Dharm Gazette ... | Lahore ... | Pandit Hari Kishan ... | 600 " |
| 41 | Sialkot Paper ... | Sialkot ... | Todar Mal ... | 500 " |
| 42 | Siraj-ul-Akhbar ... | Jhelum ... | Maulvi Fakir Muhammad | 450 " |
| 43 | Tahzib-ul-Niswan ... | Lahore ... | Mrs. Mumtaz Ali ... | 240 " |
| 44 | Vakil-i-Hind ... | Delhi ... | Ahmad Mirza Khan ... | 2,416 " |
| 45 | Victoria Paper ... | Sialkot ... | Gian Chand ... | 600 " |

## LIST OF NEWSPAPERS RECEIVED DURING THE QUARTER ENDING 31ST MARCH 1908—CONCLUDED.

| No. | Name. | Locality. | Name of Publisher. | Circulation. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **URDU—CONCLUDED.** | | | |
| | **WEEKLY—*concluded*.** | | | |
| 46 | Wafadar | Lahore | Fazal-ud-din | 600 copies. |
| 47 | Watan | Do. | Muhammad Insha Alla | 1,800 " |
| 48 | Zamindar | Karmabad, Gujranwala district. | Siraj-ud-din Ahmad | 750 " |
| | **FORTNIGHTLY.** | | | |
| 49 | Anwar-ul-Islam | Sialkot | Karim Bakhsh | 900 " |
| 50 | Jain Ratan | Ambala | P. Rishi Kesh Shastri | 400 " |
| 51 | Mohyal Gazette | Kala, Jhelum district | Mehta Sham Dass | |
| | **MONTHLY.** | | | |
| 52 | Almujadad | Lahore | Taj-ud-din Ahmad | |
| 53 | Amrit | Hissar | Ganeshi Lal, B. A. | |
| 54 | Arya Musafir | Jullundur | Wazir Chand | 1,300 " |
| 55 | Azad | Lahore | Bishan Sahai | |
| 56 | Indar | Do. | Dharm Pal | |
| 57 | Ishayat-ul-Quran | Lahore | Muhammad Chittu | 500 " |
| 58 | Kakezai Social Reformer | Do. | Fazal-ud-din | |
| 59 | Makhzan | Delhi | Abdul Kadir | |
| 60 | Sadhu | Lahore | Shivrat Lal, M. A. | |
| 61 | Sewak | Hansi | Kishori Lal, B.A. | |
| | **HINDI.** | | | |
| | **WEEKLY.** | | | |
| 62 | Sat Dharm Parcharak | Jullundur | Munshi Ram | 1,670 " |
| | **PUNJABI.** | | | |
| | **MONTHLY.** | | | |
| 63 | Raghbir Patrika | Jhang | Prab Dial | 500 " |

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 14.]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 4th April 1908.**

---

### I.—POLITICS.

#### (*a*)—*Foreign.*

England and Turkey.

1. The following is from the *Observer* (Lahore), of the 1st April 1908:—

"We reviewed in our last the first portion of Mr. Alfred Stead's article on this subject, which traces the source of the present British policy towards the Sultan and expatiates on its disadvantages. The writer points out that only two courses are open to British statesmen so far as Sultan Abdul Hamid is concerned. Either they may destroy the present spiritual head of the Muslim world and put up another under their direct tutelage, or they may be on friendly terms with the Sultan as the Khalifa, irrespective of his personal merits or defects, and the merits or defects of his administration. As for the first course, it is simply impossible. First of all such an action will be resented by other Muhammadan Powers and may entail war with some of the European Powers. Secondly, England does not possess a large army to penetrate into the heart of Turkey and conquer it and her navy cannot go into the interior of Macedonia. * *

* * * * * * *

"As for the second course, its advantages are patent. First of all, if the Sultan is convinced that the British are his true friends, he will listen to their advice and the work of reform will become easier. Secondly, the Balkan States will become calm and the massacres of Christians by Christians in Christian Churches which are now going on in Macedonia, will come to an end. Thirdly, British trade and commerce will increase in Turkey. Fourthly, the 80 millions of Muslim subjects of the King-Emperor will be satisfied. The present policy has proved injurious to British interests in Turkey. It has been wounding the feelings of the Muslims in the British dominions. And, instead of accelerating the pace of reform in the Turkish Empire it has clogged the wheels of progress and incited the subjects of the Sultan to butcher one another and convert Macedonia into a hell on earth. It has proved a decided failure. Instead of gaining the objects it was meant to realise, it has retarded their coming into existence and deserves to be abandoned at once.

"Thus, the best and most advantageous course would be to remain on friendly terms with the Sultan of Turkey, the Commander of the Faithful and the Guardian of the Holy Places of Islam. But the question is, how can this desideratum be realised? Lip professions will not be enough. The Sultan would never be content with words. He would demand acts, indicating the inauguration of a sane British policy towards him, and acts should be forthcoming to convince him. For instance, Bosnia and Herzegovina were temporarily occupied by Austria, but now she threatens to retain permanent retention of them. Let the British Government come to the help of Turkey and remind Austria of the provisions of the treaty. Again, Russia is assuming airs as if she were the sole mistress of the Black Sea. This is obviously to the disadvantage of Turkey. Let Britain assert her right to have two British cruisers there, and the Sultan will be grateful. But the most effective means of regaining the confidence of His Majesty would be to help him in the settlement of the Yemen trouble through the Sultan of Zanzibar, who has received English Education, stands well with the Sultan of Turkey and is not without influence with the people of Yemen. Mr. Stead advocates that just as England sends two ambassadors to Rome, one to the King of Italy and another to the Pope, similarly she should send two representatives to Constantinople, a Muhammadan ambassador to Abdul Hamid in his capacity of Caliph and a Christian one to the Sultan in his capacity of the monarch of Turkey. This proposal is worthy of consideration. But, we are afraid, the present Liberal Ministry is not sufficiently liberal so far as Turkey is concerned and it would be too much to expect it to listen to such disinterested advice. If, however, Mr. Stead's views prevail with his fellow countrymen, an era of Anglo-Turkish friendship would dawn and the difficulties of the Near Eastern problem would vanish in no time."

The Anglo-Russian Convention.

2. The *Raghbir Patrika* (Jhang), for March 1908, publishes a few verses in Panjabi from the pen of "Almast," who says that the Anglo-Russian Convention is calculated to injure the Amir and for this reason His Majesty has not as yet given his assent to it.

Indians in foreign countries.

3. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 23rd March 1908, says that Indians are not tolerated in any foreign country but are expelled wherever they go. Even the Americans, who claim to be the most liberty-loving people in the world, do not permit Asiatics to enter their country. Indians had therefore better go to heaven, for there the whites will have no power to expel them. Christ, who was an Asiatic, has not as yet been turned out from heaven. It is there alone that Indians will live in comfort.

Indians in crown colonies.

4. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 28th March 1908, says that the British Government, whose duty it is to protect Indians, does nothing to save them from being humiliated in the Crown Colonies. The German Government, on the contrary, has issued orders safeguarding the rights of Indian coolies in its colonies and threatening punishment for their ill-usage by white men. Indians cannot but feel thankful for these orders, although the German Government may have issued them from selfish motives and perhaps may not enforce them. The British Government has not even reassured Indians with empty words.

Indians in the Transvaal.

5. The *Rajput Gazette* (Lahore), of the 24th March 1908, writing about the ill-treatment of Indians in the Transvaal finds fault with the Government of India for its indifference in the matter.

(*b*)—*Home.*

The Budget.

6. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 24th March 1908, writing about the Financial Statement for 1908-09, says that although famine and scarcity form the most prominent feature of the Budget it is satisfactory to note that Government has been doing its utmost to afford relief and to save life. The paper then goes on to say that the Hon'ble Mr. Baker remarked that it was the first duty of Government to economise and apply the pruning knife to the expenditure of the various departments of the public service. The Editor wishes that he had put his words into practice and made a beginning with the military expenditure, in regard to which the tax-payers have long been crying for a reduction, and which ought not to be kept up at the present figure in view of the defeat Russia has received in Manchuria and owing to the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian agreement. If racial considerations were disregarded and only the number of soldiers actually required for the defence of the country were retained in service a saving of lakhs, nay, crores, could be effected and Government could initiate reform which it cannot introduce for want of funds. It is, however, a matter for regret that the question is not looked at from the point of view of the people. Even a liberal like Mr. Asquith feels no hesitation in saying that since the English are a white nation, white soldiers must be employed in India. Is it by the employment of such arguments, asks the Editor, that the English hope to convince the world that they rule India for the good of her children? Does not the declaration constitute a slur on the loyalty of 300 millions of natives?

In another place the Editor says that military correspondent of the *Pioneer* reports that the ministry is about to increase the cost of the British Garrison by £ 250,000 per annum. It then expresses the hope that Lord Minto's Government will strongly oppose the proposal.

The Budget.

7. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 1st April 1908:—

"Although not characterised by those frequent and sharp passages-at-arms that enlivened it in the days of Lord Curzon, last Friday's Budget Debate in the Imperial Council was of the usual kind. As is their wont, the non-official Indian Members sent up their annual cry as to the many real grievances of the people going unredressed, while such comparatively superfluous expenditure as those on railways and armaments went up high; and they were met by the usual self-complacent reply from the official authorities that things were never better before and everything was being done that was called for in the best interests of the people. The following are a few instances. * * * * * * *

"(2) The Hon'ble Mr. Chitnavis expressed surprise that the failure of a single monsoon was always followed by disastrous results in India, but that this was not the case with other countries also dependent mainly on agriculture. To this His Excellency the Viceroy replied with characteristic simplicity and promptness that, 'he knew of no country *so peculiarly dependent on climatic conditions* as India is on the monsoon?' How or why this is so, however, His Excellency did not take pains to clearly explain, and what one must, we believe, assume is that the God who makes the seasons in India is a different Being from the God of other countries. But the explanation is found a little below in the Viceroy's own words, in which he expresses

his belief that 'new conditions will arise as India develops, not to take the place of a good monsoon, but to afford employment and livelihood to those who might otherwise have starved for want of food.' Aye, there is the truth. It is not that India is more 'peculiarly dependent' on climatic conditions than other countries, but that she is most 'peculiarly dependent' on *agriculture*, and that is so because of the destruction of her arts and handicrafts by the foreign competition facilitated by British rule. Unless other means of livelihood are created besides agriculture, and the land relieved from the pressure upon it, these famines must be recurring and frequent. It is a notorious fact that famines in India have multiplied with the development of railways and other means of communication which are considered to be 'protective measures," but which have helped foreign trade more than anything else.

"(3) But the most amusing official reply was the one given by the Viceroy to the Maharaja of Darbhanga's suggestion for the reduction of military expenditure, in view particularly of the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian Convention. As a military man Lord Minto was, perhaps, quite in his element to say that no treaty should allow 'the sword to grow rusty in its sheath,' and that no diminution should be made in the efficiency of the Army 'which it would be impossible to restore on the sudden appearance of unforeseen emergency.' But His Excellency appears to have given away his whole case and strengthened the position of his critics when as proof of the 'efficiency' brought about by Lord Kitchener's costly schemes he cited the example of the recent 'punitive expedition' against the Zakka Khels, over the result of which the Afridis are laughing so much, while the poor Hindus of the Frontier Province are bitterly weeping. 'His Excellency Lord Kitchener's military organisation,' said the Viceroy triumphantly, 'enabled us to draw a sharper and better-tempered sword than we have ever drawn before. The machinery of the expeditionary force had been tested in the Commander-in-Chief's workshop before it took the field, and when it did so it was complete in every detail. The result has been an expedition of exceptional success and brevity, and brevity means economy!' 'Amen!'—might the Afridi well exclaim with an audible chuckle. Fifty-three rifles, priced at Rs. 20,000 in the Afridi's cheap money (being mostly got by loot), is the measure of the 'success,' and raids with redoubled frequency and vigour are the result of the 'brevity!' The Hon'ble the Tikka Sahib, a Sikh Prince, who may perhaps, be supposed to have heard how the Sikhs who went on the expedition have been talking about it, has evidently not been much impressed by this success and brevity. He considered the Zakka Khel 'settlement' as quite 'unsatisfactory.' 'A great opportunity of giving them a proper lesson had been lost,' was his opinion.

"Such is the self-satisfied way in which some of the most important criticisms of the non-official Indian Members were disposed of. One may, therefore, imagine how far the constructive programmes presented by some of these Hon'ble gentlemen have the chance of affecting the bureaucratic plan in any way. But they did their duty, and therein alone must lie their consolation."

8. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 1st April 1908:—

**The Budget.**

"The Chief feature of Public Interest in this year's Budget Debate in the Supreme Legislative Council is the announcement by Sir Harvey Adamson of the separation of judicial and executive functions as an experimental measure in certain districts of both New and Old Bengal. The scheme, although its utility and usefulness had been admitted by many of the most competent judges, was allowed to hang fire so long, thanks largely to the bogey of prestige. Love of power is ingrained in the human system and it was only natural that the bureaucracy should look askance upon a scheme, which at a minimum computation could only mean a certain disturbance of their vested interests and parting of certain powers. It is, therefore, gratifying to find that the Gov-

ernment has at last made up its mind in respect of this important and needed measure of reform even on a tentative scale and has conceded what has constituted a main plank of the Congress platform during all these long years. But while congratulating the Government on its happy decision, we cannot help remarking that the Government has not been warranted limiting the scope of the experiments to a few selected districts in Bengal. We are inclined to think that the better course would have been to try the experiment in various Provinces under a variety of conditions, for that alone could ensure proper results and avert the danger of hasty generalisation. * * * * The othe happy characteristic of the Budget, is the allotment of 30 lakhs of rupees for assisting Municipal bodies, and it is further satisfactory to learn that it is proposed to make the grant an annual one. No doubt this grant for sanitary improve ment is a good beginning in the right direction and the money spent is also p roductive in this sense that it is really a premium paid for insurance against plague. This grant for sanitary improvement is all the more welcome, for as the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale pointed out, the treatment of sanitation, as though the Government had no responsibility in regard to it, has been one of the most melancholy features of the present scheme of financial decentralisation under which sanitation has been made over to local bodies. The argument of the Government had been that sanitation was the concern of local bodies and the anal ogy of England was quoted to justify the arrangement. But as Mr. Gokhale pointed out, the analogy of England is not on all fours with this case, for on that analogy railway construction should have been left to private enterprise and not paid out of the tax-payers' money. * * * It is to be hoped that the Government will see its way to make larger grants for the purpose of sanitary improvement as soon as the strain on the exchequer on account of present famine conditions passes away.

* * * * *

"The next and not the least important point—we do not here refer to the reform proposals, as these we have dealt with in a previous issue—was that relating to military expenditure. And here, we must say that the attitude of the Government is calculated to create a profound disappointment. Both the Maharaja of Darbhanga and Mr. Gokhale drew the attention of the Government to the necessity for a reduction in military expenditure, especially in view of the enhanced security of the Indian frontier as a consequence of the Anglo-Russian Convention. The Anglo-Russian Convention has been acclaimed by the present Liberal Government as a great triumph of diplomacy. It may or may not be so, but India's concern in the Convention was that it would give some relief from the crushing burden of her military armament. It has been proved to the hilt that India maintains a much larger army than is required for her defensive purposes. For she could send 20,000 of her soldiers to South Africa and about ten thousand to China at a time when England's military prestige was at a low ebb, without being any way the worse for it. The conclusion, therefore, is inevitable that if she could spare such a large number of her soldiers in critical times of war certainly she could afford to have a reduction in her battalions in these piping times of peace where her outstanding relations with the whole world is one of amity and harmony. But the reply of the Viceroy on this point is as unsatisfactory as that of Mr. Asquith in the House of Commons. The latter said in reply to Mr. Murray Macdonald's motion that the Anglo-Indian military requirements never have been and never can be governed mainly by the possibilities of an invasion on the North-West Frontier. He further said that the present army in India was fixed after the Mutiny in reference to a large number of considerations quite independent of the possibility of invasion and he further repudiated the notion that the Anglo-Russian agreement must necessarily lead in a short space of time to any substantial reduction in the garrison. He, however, announced that the maintenance, the distribution and size of the military force in India has been the subject of communication between the Secretary of State and the Viceroy. So spoke Mr. Asquith nearly a month ago. And the cold and unassuring tone of his speech is even more strongly marked in the reply which the Viceroy gave in his Budget speech. The Viceroy said that he could not admit that any treaty would justify the Government

in allowing its sword to grow rusty in its sheath. His Excellency further observed that the most expensive weapon may be the cheapest in the long run and claimed the recent expedition against the Zakka Khels as an example. But we may point out that public opinion in the country is not equally convinced as to the exceptional success of the expedition and their views in this respect were voiced by the Hon'ble the Tikka Sahib of Nabha when he said that a great opportunity had been lost for giving the Zakkas a proper lesson. The Viceroy further based his argument on the point that reduction of expenditure on such a complicated matter as the Army cannot be undertaken without incurring grave risks and a diminution in efficiency which it would be impossible to restore on the sudden appearance of unforeseen emergency. But it has to be borne in mind that no Government can in dealing with the affairs of an Empire provide for every possible contingency. What the Government can do is to deal with the most likely contingencies and it is the part of statesmanship to take note of, and curtail what may be called extravagance in military expenditure. The Viceroy's arguments, however, do not disclose any anxiety on the part of the authorities to reduce the military expenditure in India. And if, as Mr. Asquith has hinted, the prevailing unrest in the country is taken as a ground against curtailing the extravagance in the Army, such a view of the situation is obviously most unjust to the vast bulk of the tax-paying community in the country. Indeed the attitude of the Government in the matter of the Army charges has caused a profound and grievous disappointment in the country."

British rule and famine in India.

9. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 21st March 1908, remarks that the Burmese lead a happier life than any other people and are, therefore, envied by the English. The indigenous rulers of Burma never felt anxious as to how the inhabitants of the country would preserve their life. The present masters of the land, however, cannot share the indifference of their predecessors. Indeed, wherever they go they live in anxiety as to how the people of the country will preserve their existence. The Editor then goes on to say that the experience gained by India has proved that on being placed under British rule Asiatics become incapable of enjoying life and find it difficult to obtain clothes to wear or enough food to fill their stomachs. Lord George Hamilton is of opinion that no earthly power can banish famines from India, while some Members of Parliament hold the view that Indian famines are a visitation from God and that consequently it is useless to try to combat them. Therefore, since it is the will of God that in Asia famines should follow in the wake of modern civilisation, the poor Burmese cannot hope to escape. The Editor next quotes an extract from an article written by Mr. V. C. Scott O'Connor, Comptroller,—(illegible), in which he says that he sees no likelihood of the Burmese continuing to exist in the world unless they work from morning till night and accept the low wages paid to Indians. He therefore advises them to wear coarse cloth, to abstain from entertaining their friends or giving alms, and to follow the same abject and miserable life led by their Indian neighbours. He further remarks that if in considering the question as to who has brought famine to India the English were to think of themselves, they would not have to attribute the visitation to God. Perhaps this blessing, he adds, resides with the English, and they take it with them wherever they go. He then ironically remarks that no one can question the honesty of their motives, for they have been earnestly devising means to banish famine from the country. It is rumoured that an Englishman has suggested the deputation of a party of scientists to India in order to enquire why so few clouds pass over the country and why those which do, send down such scanty rain, and also

to devise means for bringing clouds to India and making them pour down rain. The determination of the English to drive out famine from India with the aid of such commissions banishes all doubt as to the successful achievement of their object. Natives who are at present in the grip of famine should wait patiently for the time to come when the English will be able to adopt effective measures to achieve their object. Although natives will all have died by then, for one or two centuries will probably first elapse, the remedy will be attained and will doubtless be thoroughly efficacious.

The present condition of India.

10. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 22nd March 1908, says that although immense quantities of grain and cotton are raised in India six crores of natives go to sleep on empty stomachs and possess no clothes to cover their backs. After remarking that India resembles a dead body and deploring the prevalence of immorality, deception and other vices in the country, the Editor goes on to say:—

"What has become of the bravery of India? The brave Mahrattas, courageous Mughals, intrepid Pathans and gallant Sikhs have now become effete. They see with their own eyes that they are being disgraced, but this wretched magic (modern civilisation, which has rendered all shameless and unmindful of their honour) has thrown such a spell over them that they can do nothing. Alas! What can they do? What should they eat and wear, (and) where should they live? Indians also will, like the aborigines of America, become extinct in the future. Indians, do you ever feel sorry for yourselves? Throw off your sleep and cure yourselves of your disease."

Mr. O'Donnell on the causes of present discontent in India.

11. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 4th April 1908:—

"The work entitled *The Causes of Present Discontent in India* by Mr. C. J. O'Donnell, M. P., constitutes the latest contribution to the political literature about this country. The writer is well-known for his ability, knowledge of the country and his administrative experience acquired during 25 years' service in this country,

* * * * *

"Mr. O'Donnell is of opinion that 'the Liberal Government is committed to a policy of coercion in India, and it seems impossible now to repress crime and maintain order by any other means.' He emphasises the situation by stating that 'the misfortune is that since the Liberal Party has come into power every opportunity of adopting conciliatory methods has been rejected. There is, however, still time to strengthen the hands of the moderate and loyal section—the great majority of the Indian people—but this can be done only by acceding to reasonable requests and by proving that loyalty and good-will are recognised and rewarded. Otherwise the British Empire must prepare for a conflict, involving one-fifth part of the human race, which cannot be contemplated without a shudder.' The necessity of such an appeal hardly requires demonstration. Both Lord Minto and Mr. John Morley sanctioned repressive measures, but anything appreciable to conciliate the people still remains to be done. It is idle to conceal that these repressive measures have adversely affected the educated classes and particularly the Hindus. We all know that in all parts of the country, especially in the Punjab, the Hindus still continue to be in the bad books of not a few Anglo-Indian officials. We have no wish to be unjust or unfair to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, and we are prepared to make every possible allowance for the fact that they have not had an entirely free hand. But since then a good deal has happened to show clearly that some of their subordinates had made mountains of mere molehills and that their judgment was greatly in fault. What have, we ask, the

Secretary of State and the Viceroy so far done to convince the educated classes that they are no longer under the official frown? Mr. O'Donnell refers to the notable speech made by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales at Mansion House in London after his return from his Indian tour in which His Royal Highness pleaded for 'a wider element of sympathy' in Indian administration. The kindly sentiments of the Royal visitor were cordially echoed at the time by both Mr. John Morley and Lord Minto. But the people of India are yet anxiously awaiting the practical fruits of that sympathy on the part of their rulers. We must be careful to state that there are notable exceptions among Anglo-Indian officials who are willing to show the people any possible sympathy and consideration. But their number is limited and in this respect they constitute the exception that proves the rule. A large number of Anglo-Indian officials consists of men who have acquired an inconceivable prejudice against the sons of the soil and particularly the Hindus. We are very sorry to have to say this, but the truth must be stated and faced howsoever unpleasant. Mr. O'Donnell says that the British have given to India in many ways the best Government she has ever had or perhaps is ever likely to have. We recognise this. He is correct in stating that 'we have sinned badly by excessive taxation on the peasantry, but India was willing to pay a long price for peace, order and justice. That there is now discontent in India is entirely our own fault.' Mr. O'Donnell partly blames Lord Curzon for what has happened in India. * * *

"Lord Curzon had no doubt driven the people of India to the verge of despair. But they hoped that the Liberal Government would come to their rescue. For a time they went on hoping against hope. The conduct of the Liberal Government caused them great disappointment, and the unjust and unstatesmanlike doctrine of the 'settled fact' gave grounds for that hopeless resentment in certain quarters which, according to Mr. O'Donnell, drives men to the verge of passion and past the verge of passion to that of despair."

Lord Minto and Famine in India.

12. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 27th March 1908, says that the poor Viceroy cannot consent to the expenditure of the money collected from tax-payers for the purpose of affording relief to the famine-stricken. The collections may be squandered in a thousand and one ways, but His Excellency considers it unjust to utilise them for saving life. It is a matter for surprise that while indulging in this hypocrisy Lord Minto should not have thought what impression it would make on the world, which knows full well that if the King of a country so wills it not one of his subjects can suffer the pangs of hunger. His words must have made God laugh, because He can read the secrets of hearts.

How Indians can raise themselves.

13. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 22nd March 1908, refers to the suffragist movement in England and says that although British statesmen do not sympathise with the aspirations of the suffragettes, the latter will assuredly gain their end, if they persist in their agitation. Likewise, the efforts (on behalf of their country) of those young natives, who are being made to grind corn in jail and to work Persian wheels in place of oxen, will never be thrown away. It is true that they do not seem to have obtained any result as yet, but if other young men of India were to act up to high principles and be ever ready to sacrifice their personal interests at the altar of the country, the time should not be far distant when their rights will come to them. If they were ever ready to suffer imprisonment for the sake of their principles and religious faith the people

could obtain their rights within twenty-four hours. An English statesman has reminded native youths that it is no child's play to obtain their rights. The path leading to the goal, he says, is strewn with thorns, and natives should put aside their mutual differences and become united over questions affecting their motherland. The *Aftab* then deplores the disgraceful end of the Surat Congress, praises Mr. Tilak for his strict adherence to his principles and says that the credit for the present political activity in the country is due entirely to Mr. Tilak and his disciples. After referring to Mr. Hume's advice to the members of Congress to set aside envy and personal grudge and to work for the good of the country, the Editor remarks as follows :—

"O my fellow-countrymen, we have to make progress. This, however, can only be done by devotion and assiduity. It will not do to think of advancing and still give way to fear .....Remember that to tread the dark and narrow path of progress is to walk on the edge of the sword..... If we are really desirous to advance, we should ever be ready to be thrown down like stone and *kankar* on the road of national life. We should not flinch before the flash of lightening and the sword. If we have any feeling of patriotism, if youthful aspirations fire our hearts and the flame of patriotism burns within us, if the lamp of truth and sacrifice really illumines our minds and if we are ready to sacrifice personal gain for the sake of the nation, then we should assure ourselves that we will be able to surmount all obstacles to our progress (*lit.* to break the force of all the rivers, oceans, mountains and clouds)."

An appeal to Indians to unite.

14. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 22nd March 1908, exhorts all sections of the population to shake off their sleep and spend their all in imparting a proper education to their children. It then writes as follows :—

"O, Indian Nation, realise your condition. Your children are being disgraced in the Transvaal, America, Africa and England, nay, even in unfortunate India, your own dear home. The pathetic cries of your children ascend to the seventh heaven and rend the hearts of angels. They do not, however, move your hard hearts in the least ..... A foreigner writes mockingly of Indians.....that they consider their salvation to consist of being wiped off the face of the earth. O You, who seek after such salvation, flare up once more like the dying lamp. Growl like a hungry lion even once..... There can be no doubt that you profess different religions, still you are the children of the same mother (India) who gives you fresh milk from her breasts daily.....Drink in the lap of your mother together, fight for your respective rights among yourselves, but become one when you have to oppose foreigners. Then see whether any one can look frowningly at you."

Government and the people.

15. The *Raghbir Patrika* (Jhang), for March 1908, publishes some Panjabi verses by "Almast," who regrets that Government should have distrusted the people since the Sepoy Mutiny, although they have been loyal and obedient subjects all along. He then refers to the rumours about General Cotton having recommended the dismissal of natives from the batteries in which they are still employed (*vide* paragraph 7 of selection No. 11) and says that the adoption of the recommendation will have the effect of disheartening the native soldiery.

Government and the people.

16. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 27th March 1908, says that the imprisonment of Editors and *swadeshists* subsequent to the partition of Bengal and the other measures adopted by Government to strike terror in the

hearts of the people have proved barren of result. So far from having cowed the people, they have had quite the opposite result. The infliction of heavy punishments on persons prosecuted by Government has only been stiffening the backs of the children of the soil. After enquiring whether Government can add to its dignity by trampling on a helpless and dis-armed population, the Editor says that Mr. Morley claims that India is now far more prosperous than in pre-British days. The prevalence of famine and plague in the country and the spirit of excessive litigation fostered by Government, however, tell quite a different tale.

Government and Hindus.

17. The *Rajput Gazette* (Lahore), of the 24th March 1908, remarks that Hindus have come to fall on evil days. Several respectable persons among them were, thanks to Muhammadans, regarded as rebels and grossly oppressed and humiliated by Government last year. They have now been overtaken by another misfortune, *viz.*, Frontier tribesmen are busy looting Hindus in Peshawar and its neighbourhood. After expressing surprise that Hindus alone should be robbed and killed, the paper asks the authorities to consider this aspect of the tribal raids into British territory. It then publishes an account of a deputation which recently waited on the Chief Commissioner, Frontier Province, and the Superintendent of Police, Peshawar, on behalf of the local Hindus, and says that the latter officer is reported to have threatened to turn one of the deputation (Ralla Ram by name) out of the Province. It draws Government's attention to the incident, and regrets that on their applying for protection against tribal raiders the Hindus should have been threatened with expulsion from the Frontier Province. In conclusion, the paper remarks that if the responsible authorities cannot perform their duty of protecting the lives and property of Hindus, the latter should be permitted to protect themselves.

Muhammadans and politics.

18. The *Asad* (Lahore), for January (received on the 30th March) 1908, publishes an article written by one Syed Mohammad Faruk, who gives a brief history of the opposition of the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and his followers, *viz.*, the Aligarh party, to the Indian National Congress. After remarking that the reason assigned by the late Knight of Aligarh for his opposition to the Congress was that Muhammadans would injure themselves by taking part in politics, he says that the followers of Sir Syed have come to realise that their leader was not right in this view. They have felt compelled to ignore his advice and establish the All-India Muslim League with a view to safeguarding their political rights. A consideration, however, of the aims of their League and of the means by which they propose to gain their object shows that they have been unable to soar above petty-mindedness. The writer next finds fault with them for their selfishness in having taken advantage of the recent unrest to curry favour with the powers that be. He also deprecates their conduct in having expressed joy at the deportation of a patriot like Lajpat Rai as also in supporting the partition of Bengal and having approved of the high-handedness of Sir Bamfylde Fuller. He adds that they confound politics with agreeing with the authorities and opposing Hindus and independent-minded Musalmans, which can confer no benefit on the country

and the natives. In conclusion, he says that when they come to realise the error of their ways and inbibe a true spirit of patriotism they will be certain to throw in their lot with the Congress.

Muhammadans and politics.

19. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 23rd March 1908, also writes to the same effect.

## II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

Expedition against the Zakka Khels.

20. The *Aftab-i-Hind* (Jullundur), of the 24th March 1908, remarks that the Anglo-Indian papers are proud of the results of the expedition recently sent against the Zakka Khels. They consider that the success achieved by British Arms in the expedition is unparalleled in the history of such punitive expeditions. The losses inflicted on the Afridis by the British Army, they say, have been so heavy that the former have been wholly cowed and the authority of the British Government has been thoroughly established in the (territories of the) Zakka Khels and Afridis. The Indians, on the other hand, consider the Zakka Khel expedition to have been a complete failure. They say that the expedition has led to no result because while an immense amount of money has been wasted and many brave lives lost Government has obtained only 60 rifles by way of fine and made enemies of those tribes with whom it wanted to be on friendly terms. After ridiculing the inadequacy of the fine realised from the Zakka Khels, the paper expresses surprise that the lenient treatment accorded by the authorities to the tribe and especially to those Afridis who were recently arrested in connection with the recent tribal raid into Peshawar. It then goes on to say that the Afridis must be laughing in their sleeves at the ease with which they deceived the Government into believing that they had been innocent. These Pathans now boldly say that they plunder the subjects of Government simply because Government does not pay them sufficiently. Under these circumstances it is difficult to say why Government should have released the forty Afridis who were recently arrested in connection with the loot in Peshawar. Are the authorities sure that by releasing these persons all further apprehension of raids has ended? Will the authorities compensate those who were recently looted in Peshawar? So far Government has shirked all responsibility in the matter. It has merely strengthened the Police force, stationed at Peshawar by 100 men, and this only means an additional burden to the tax-payer. The Editor then refers to the complicity of the local *badmashes* with the Afridis in the recent loot of Peshawar and remarks that while on the one hand these *badmashes* receive pay from Government for acting as spies and give false information and deceive Government on the other they are in league with Frontier Pathans whom they not only help in looting British territory but also shelter in times of need.

Expedition against the Zakka Khels.

21. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 23rd March 1908, publishes an imaginary dialogue between a Panjabi Muhammadan and a Pathan on the subject of the Zakka Khel Expedition. The following is a summary of the conversation :—

*Punjabi Muhammadan.*—"Ours is an Imperial Government. Frontier Pathans are as nothing in comparison with it."

*Pathan.*—"You are right. It is, however, a strange sort of Imperial Government, which oppresses the poor. It should be gracious to us."

*Punjabi Muhammadan.*—"Our Government is kind to all your jirgas, but they show ingratitude and disturb the peace by committing acts of depredation."

*Pathan.*—"What kindness does your Government show to Pathans? It bribes them to serve its own purpose, foments dissensions among them and wishes to usurp their country. It subsidises a few of them and expects all to feel grateful to it. How can this be? Those who receive money from it may flatter it, but why should others do so? Again, we do not loot, but merely wrest from a person, who possesses considerable wealth and gives us nothing, our share of the wealth."

*Punjabi Muhammadan.*—"You fight and commit murders in a spirit of wantonness. This is very bad."

*Pathan.*—"It is a good and brave thing. You like to die the death of rats from plague, but we die fighting and from sword wounds."

*Punjabi Muhammadan.*—"You should submit to the British Government and leave off looting."

*Pathan.*—"When we did not submit to Muhammadan Kings like Mahmud and Nadir Shah, how can we owe allegiance to a foreign people. As to our carrying on robbery I have already spoken to you on that point. Your Government wants to subvert our national governments and wrest our trade from our hands by constructing a railway through our territory. It wishes us to attend on it like slaves. How can we tolerate this?"

*Punjabi Muhammadan.*—"Frontier Pathans committed ten or eleven raids into British territory and looted a large city like Peshawar in broad daylight. It was then that our Government thought proper to punish them, and despatched a large army of 30,000 soldiers for the purpose. The expeditionary forces are pulling down the forts of Pathans aud punishing the latter for their impertinence and insolence. They are too weak to prove victorious against our Government."

*Pathan* (*in anger*).—"I know that Frontier Pathans have raided British territory 10 or 11 times, but such robberies and dacoities are also committed into their territory by British subjects. No expedition is, however, sent against the delinquents, whereas a grand expedition has been despatched to punish the Frontier Pathans as if your Government had to fight an Emperor. This means that your Government wishes to subjugate us."

*Punjabi Muhammadan.*—"What led you to pit yourselves against our Government?"

*Pathan.*—"You know when wasps and bees are teased and driven to desperation they show fight and use their stings for weapons. Are we any worse than wasps and bees?"

*Punjabi Muhammadan.*—"Our Government is very powerful and wise, while it greatly loves liberty and peace."

*Pathan.*—"I must go now. You always employ the language of flattery towards your Government. I know well that your Government is very powerful and wise. This is evident from the fact that it has sought to turn the pre-

sent weakness of Russia, the dual administration of Persia and the internal difficulties of Afghanistan to its own advantage. Again, it has despatched a large expedition (against us) in order to parade its might (before the world). It also loves peace, but it does not like to see others free, while we are ready to lose our lives for freedom."

*Punjabi Muhammadan.*—"Several noted and influential leaders of the Frontier jirgas have been killed and the British forces have destroyed many forts."

*Pathan.*—"It does not matter. The Pathans are a virile people and their women are in perfect health. They will multiply faster than they are killed. But do you know how many British officers of note and experience have been killed, what the expedition has cost it and how the expeditionary forces have returned in shame after having been beaten?"

Tribal raids into British territory.

22. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 23rd March 1908, writing about the release of the 40 Afridis implicated in the looting of the money-changers of Peshawar on the 6th idem, says that the event must have made the Afridis laugh at the policy followed by the authorities. After remarking that they must also have been led to attribute weakness to Government it opines that there is not the least likelihood of the Afridi jirga returning the booty and that Afridi brigands may be relied upon to commit fresh raids into British territory. The paper then expresses its inability to understand why Government should wink at the misdeeds of Afridis and enquires whether the reason for this is that their victims are usually Hindus, whom Government regards as rebels and deserving of punishment. May God help Hindus, if this is the sort of justice and protection which they should expect from Government.

*Tribal raid into British territory.

23. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 1st April 1908:—

"Our Peshawar correspondent reports another raid, committed this time by a body of the Mohmand tribe, on the village of Mirza Dher in Jangi Thana. Many houses are said to have been burnt, 11 families rendered homeless and penniless, and one Hindu kidnapped. The *Pioneer* also reports a Mohmand raid near Shankergarh, in which two villagers are said to have been killed and two wounded. We are not in a position to say if our correspondent's and the *Pioneer's* accounts refer to the same occurrence; but whether there have been two raids or only one, the noteworthy point is that it is the Mohmands who are now bestirring themselves. The *Pioneer* naturally looks for some explanation as to 'why the Mohmands, who gave no trouble during the Zakka Khel expedition, have suddenly begun misbehaving themselves.' Well, we think a Peshawari Hindu should have no difficulty in answering the question. The secret lies in what His Excellency the Viceroy was pleased to call in his speech on the Budget, 'the sharper and better tempered sword' which has been recently used against the Zakka Khels. The Mohmands have evidently begun to profit by the lesson taught to the Zakkas by that 'expedition of exceptional success and brevity.' Indeed, the tribesmen have begun to see that there is no more paying business in the frontier, or none more likely to secure *inaat* from the British Government, than plundering and harrassing the latter's defenceless subjects. Lord Minto should now be confirmed in his faith in the marvellous success achieved by the late 'punitive' expedition."

The Afridis.

24. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 22nd March 1908, says that the Afridis have all along loved liberty. Their houses have been destroyed, their cities razed to the ground and their children and relations killed in battle, but in spite of all

this they do not abstain from their reckless doings. It is their intense love of liberty that has given them strength and courage to loot a city in British territory in broad daylight and yet remain free. It is said that the seal of God (nature) is affixed on the foreheads of free nations and that there is a peculiar light in their eyes. It was for this reason that they went away after looting the city. They treated the recent expedition as child's play. Out of the thousands of rifles stolen by them from British territory they returned only 60 which had become useless. They looted the city in broad daylight. Their empty hands worked like so many swords while their eyes were full of lustre like those of the goddess of liberty, the result being that the police, though armed, dared not face them. Nor is this all, they threw dust into the eyes of the English by telling them that they would return the stolen property. Who will send back the stolen property and who will insist upon its restoration? But the best of it is that the Afridis have so completely won the hearts of the English that the joy of Colonel Roos-Keppel and General Wilcocks knows no bounds. Indeed, it is said that they are going to Calcutta to see Lord Kitchener and Lord Minto.

## VI.—LEGISLATION.

25. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 31st March 1908 :—

The Whipping Bill.

"We have in a previous issue commented upon some of the shortcomings of the Whipping Bill. We said that the proposed amendments, while they claim to bring the law of whipping into line with the advance of public opinion on the subject in England have failed to do so in several important respects. First, the treatment of juvenile offenders contemplated by the Act is hardly consonant with the spirit of Law, and it is a pity that Sir Harvey Adamson, while recognising the degrading nature of this mode of punishment should not have provided any remedy in the shape of appeals to avert the possible mis-carriage of justice that might accrue from the immediate infliction of the sentence. The only adequate remedy, we said, that the law provides against any possible cases of failure of justice is the right of appeal, and unless the Legislature directs the suspension of immediate execution of the sentence pending appeal in cases under the Whipping Law, there is no other way to challenge any error in the judgment of the trying Courts. As regards the treatment of juvenile offenders, we are glad to find the subject has been discussed by our legal contemporary, the Calcutta *Weekly Notes*. In the course of a very able leader, our contemporary points out that the law of England and particular English judges are very tender in respect to juvenile offenders. Says our contemporary, 'In England juvenile or youthful offenders are not allowed to be mixed up with criminals. They are brought up before the Magistrate in a separate room or in the Court room from which the public and adult offenders are excluded. They are not made to stand in the dock. The Magistrate gives them advice or administers reproof or warning, makes them over to parents or guardians or remands them to voluntary or public institutions or homes for reformation. In fact, every effort is made and care taken to guard against the juvenile's leaving the Magistrates' Courts with the impression that he is a criminal. If it is too much for us to expect at present that the same humane principles should be adopted in India in the treatment of juvenile offenders, it is certainly not too much to ask that strict limitations should be put on the powers of Magistrates in the Whipping Bill to flog them publicly.' It must be admitted that in the foregoing lines, our contemporary is voicing, in a very sensible and modest manner, public opinion on this matter. It is certainly not a wise nor a right policy to brand a youngster with the hall-mark of criminality by publicly flogging him, simply because he has been led to commit through indiscretion or influence of company something which brings him within the clutches of law. We do not mean that a youth who has committed

an offence should be let off without any punishment, nay, punishments under many circumstances may even be wholesome and deterrent. But we think it is the duty of the Legislature to provide some sort of differential treatment to youthful offenders, specially in these days, when there have been many cases where magistrates have not been slow to avail themselves of the Whipping Act to punish youths for an excess of their patriotic zeal. Under such circumstances, it seems essential that the punishment of whipping should be restricted in the case of juveniles to the more odious offences, and public flogging in their case should be made a thing of the past."

26. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 31st March 1908 :—

**The Punjab Legislative Council.**

"Our London contemporary "*India*" devotes to the recent nominations on the Punjab Legislative Council a couple of editorial paragraphs expressing general approval. In the closing sentence, however, our contemporary strikes a painful note which will awaken a responsive chord in Indian breasts throughout the whole country. To every Indian who believes in the progress of his countrymen, it is not only painful but galling that what are essentially popular suffrages elsewhere should, in India, be treated as honours and preferments in the hands of the official bureaucracy, to be conferred at their sweet will and pleasure. Indeed in any other country the spectacle of the powers that be nominating the representatives of popular interests would be promptly voted down as going against the grain of representation, and an undesirable attempt to keep the people in the leading strings of officialdom. It is no doubt true more or less of the whole country that men who in other lands would be at the helm of affairs are shut out of any effective voice in the administration of the country, and our representatives are 'deemed to be highly honoured when they are rewarded with crumbs that fall from the table of the gods,' and yet the plight of the Punjab may be better imagined than described. In the matter of a Legislative Council, a sad and unrelenting destiny has been clogging our footsteps and the Land of the Five Rivers has been steadily kept in the cold shade of neglect. The Province has always stood out to bear more than its rightful share of the duties towards the Empire, and the sons of what has been called the sword-hand of India have readily shed their blood in the name of the British Empire, and fought its battles on the fields of China, Thibet, Afghanistan, Egypt, Sudan and many another country. In Asia, Africa and Europe, the Punjabi soldiers have readily carried the British flag and stood by it to the last. Under the ægis of the British Government, the Land of the Five Rivers has taken to the no less glorious fields of education and enlightenment, and the torch lit by English and American pioneers is being nobly carried to the towns and villages of the Province by its own indigenous agencies. In the path of social and religious reform our Province has gone steadily forward, and is the cynosure of admiring eyes from the sister Provinces. Again the Punjab has taken kindly to industrial and commercial enterprise, and has built up factories and mills, banks and companies in an ever increasing number. Yet take the melancholy record of our political advancement in the matter of boons and gifts. In 1861 the Councils Act established a number of Councils, but the Punjab which had only lately to a man stood by the empire was only remembered to be left out at the time of distribution. In 1892 the other Provinces got 'reformed' Councils, but Lord Landsdowne's government evidently forgot that such a thing as the Land of the Five Rivers existed on the map of India. Four years later, Burma, the latest acquisition to the Indian Empire, got a Council, for which it had agitated, and the Punjab also came in for a share, as it could no longer be left out in the face of Burma. And yet like the importunate beggar who could not be turned empty-handed, we were only thrown a crumb—the old antiquated Council of 1861. Lieutenant-Governor after Lieutenant-Governor gave us hopes of the better class of Council, but time slipped away, our resolutions and requests notwithstanding. The Frontier districts separated, and many amongst us prophesied that now that the brand of our being the frontier province was

removed, we were within sight of the reformed Council and the High Court. Once more the times have changed and the pendulum has swung, and the sister Provinces are making preparations for the reception of still more reformed Council with greater representation and larger powers. Where stand we? Shall we share in the gifts and in the hopes and aspirations of new life, or shall we again be left to the cast-off and worn-away garments of others, or Oh! the harrowing thought, shall we again be left in the cold shade of neglect. Lord Minto has announced that he will soon be submitting his report to the Secretary of State. May we confidently appeal to His Lordship to see that this time at all events justice is done to the claims of the Punjab, and that it is treated on an equal footing with the sister Provinces. We may mention that the public sentiment against the present constitution of the Punjab Council is so strong that at the last Provincial Conference when the resolution asking for a reformed Council was moved, an amendment praying Government for the total abolition of the existing Council in the event of a reformed Council not being granted, was only defeated by a narrow majority after a full dress debate, in which the fate of the original resolution tottered in the balance. We trust the Government will not fail to realise that if the time has come to take a step in advance, nowhere is it more urgently called for than in the Punjab. To plunge the whole Province into the throes of disappointment is an alternative we cannot contemplate with equanimity, and we only hope the responsible statesmen at the helm are not unmindful of the claims of this Province to share in the advance."

## VII.—General Administration.

### (*a*)—*Judicial.*

Judicial and executive functions.

27. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 1st April 1908:—

"The speech in the Budget Debate that must have been read with the greatest interest and fondest expectations is undoubtedly Sir Harvey Adamson's exposition of the new reform which the Government has at last been induced to take up after ignoring public opinion for so long. It is doubtful, however, whether the feeling on perusal will be one of satisfaction or of disappointment. * * * Sir Harvey justifies the initiation of the reform not because it is called for by the circumstances, not to say by the public opinion of the entire country, but because a vigilant legal profession has succeeded in making out a case for it in Bengal. 'It is from Bengal that the cry for separation has come, and if there is any force in the general principles which I have expounded, it would appear that the need for a separation of police and magisterial functions is more pressing in the two Bengals than elsewhere.' As a matter of fact, however, the need is felt keenly in all the Provinces, and nowhere more so than in the Punjab, where the abuses of a joinder of the functions are being brought to light daily in the administration of criminal justice by both the legal profession and the press. Sir Harvey Adamson is evidently anxious to show that the peculiar circumstances of Bengal make the reform more urgent there than in any other Province, and that even there, but for its overgrown and over-active legal profession, the need would not be so much felt. 'One cause may be found in the intellectual character of the Bengali; another in the absence of a revenue system which in other Provinces brings executive officers into closer touch with the people; another in the fact that there is no machinery except the police to perform the duties that are done elsewhere by the better class of revenue officers; another in the fact that there are more lawyers in Bengal than elsewhere; and another, I suspect, in the greater interference by the District Magistrate in Police functions in Bengal than in other Provinces.' We also find him saying:—'You need not tell me that the feeling is confined to a few educated men and lawyers and is not shared by the common people.' I grant that if the people were asked one by one whether they objected to a combination of functions, ninety per cent. of them would be surprised at the question and would reply that they had nothing to complain of. But so soon as any of these people comes into contact with the law, *his opinions are merged in his lawyer's.*' Are we then to understand Sir Harvey Adamson to mean that the grievance would not be a reality to the people but for the lawyers pointing it out to them? Or is it not rather the fact that the grievance exists and is felt all over the

country—in a non-Regulation Province like the Punjab even more than in Bengal—and that what the lawyers do is only to explain its nature and point out its remedies? If the latter view be true—and we are sure no intelligent observer could deny it—what follows is that the scheme should have been introduced—tentatively, if you will, and in selected areas—in all the Provinces, instead of its effects being left to be judged or explained away by the peculiar character of the Bengali lawyer. For the lawyer will always be there, and the origin of all complaints will always be sought to be laid at his door by the officials, instead of being traced to its real origin. Sir Harvey Adamson cites the names of Indian gentlemen like the Maharaja of Durbhanga and Mr. Gokhale in support of his view that the reform should be made tentative, and that the commencement should be made in Bengal, including Eastern Bengal. Mr. Gokhale, however, in a letter to the Press makes his position clear in this regard. He says :—'I, of course, want as complete a separation of these functions as possible, *and that over the whole country and at once.* But the Government having made up its mind to proceed tentatively, and first try the experiment over a limited area only, I urged that the area should be Bengal including Eastern Bengal.' However, Indians are expected to be thankful for small mercies ; but we must not forget that the struggle for the reform instead of having borne fruit, has just begun, and that all the efforts of our public men will be needed to prevent a failure of the tentative scheme being made an excuse for abolishing it altogether instead of extending it to the other Provinces. For one may be sure that the representatives of the old school of 'executive prestige' will look upon the reform with no kindly eye, and it is after all on their reports that the fate of the scheme will depend.'

### (*b*)—*Police.*

Tinnevelly riots.

28. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 27th March 1908, writing on the subject of the Tinnevelly riots says that the local authorities provoked the people by their oppressive and high-handed doings. When the latter complained of their treatment they were denounced as rebels and seditionists, and now they have been saddled with the cost of a punitive police force. After remarking that some restrictions have also been placed on the residents of Tuticorin and Tinnevelly in the matter of holding meetings and delivering lectures, the paper welcomes the adoption of these repressive measures. The more, it says, the people are oppressed, the faster will the idea of nationality spread in the country. The Editor then contrasts the light punishments inflicted on some of the rioters with the sentence of two years imprisonment passed on Kishen Singh, an accused in the Lahore riot case.

The police and public meetings.

29. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 3rd April 1908 :—

"Complaints have, for some time past, been by no means infrequent that some of our public meetings and gatherings have been attracting a little unusual or extra attention from the guardians of the public peace, whether with or without uniform. In fact in one of the public meetings held some months back one of the speakers made pointed reference to the presence of the Police which threatened to become a regular feature of our meetings. The Chairman of the meeting preferred to take a different view of the matter, and so did a high official. Of course the proverb runs—He whose account is clear, what reason has he to fear the accountant—and certainly with an above-board and straightforward line of work we hardly need care about certain elements in the audience. That is perfectly true, and yet it would be idle to conceal that such an intrusion is by no means regarded as entirely welcome or an unmixed blessing by the most scrupulously loyal, or the most constitutional of public workers.

The reasons may or may not be complimentary to certain individuals in public service, but the fact remains, and is gratefully remembered all over India, that when in the course of a case against Thakur Ganesh Prashad Singh, Kotwal of Lucknow, the accused stated that he had been shadowing public men like Pandit Bishan Narain, Babu Ganga Parshad Varma and others, and had thus incurred the ill-will of the leading public men of Lucknow, Sir Antony Macdonnell promptly wired to the Government Advocate to let it be known in Court that if this was done, it was not done with the knowledge of his Government which had every confidence in the loyalty and faithfulness of the gentlemen named. We have no desire to press the point, as a change for the better is bound to come sooner or later, and who knows but that it may be in the coming. Whatever may or may not be advanced as pleas for justifying police attendance at public meetings in the sense of political gatherings, aye even at garden parties, there can be no rhyme or reason in policemen attending inoffensive and innocuous gatherings of a non-political character."

### (*h*)—*Miscellaneous.*

Rumoured prosecutions of the *Civil and Military Gazette*, &c., for libel.

30. *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 23rd March 1908, refers to the rumour of Lala Lajpat Rai's intention to sue the *Civil and Military Gazette* (Lahore), *Englishman* (Calcutta), and the *Daily Express* and the *Daily Mail* (of London) for libel and says that all these newspapers are in the habit of writing against natives indiscriminately and must be brought to their senses.

Subscription in aid of the Pindi Das's family.

31. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 28th March 1908, acknowledges the following subscriptions in aid of the family of Pindi Das:—

| | | Rs. | A. | P. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Amount already acknowledged | ... | 150 | 2 | 0 |
| Lala Raja Ram ... ... | ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Received through Sardar Darbara Singh, Contractor, Chak No. 314, Sind | ... | 48 | 4 | 0 |
| Total | ... | 203 | 6 | 0 |

F. ISEMONGER,

*Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*
*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

LAHORE:
*The 4th April* 1908.

Punjab Government Press, Lahore—9-4-08—1625—95—H. L. S.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 15. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

Received up to 11th April 1908.

---

## CONTENTS.


I.—Politics.

Page.

(a)—*Foreign*—

1. The Sultan and the Powers (*Punjabee*) ... ... 201
2. The Anglo-Russian Convention (*Akhbar-i-'Am*) ... 203

(b)—*Home*—

3. Government and the people (*Amrit*) ... ... 203
4. Government and the people (*Amrit*) ... ... 204
5. Natives and higher appointments under Government (*Hindustan*) ... ... ... ... ib.
6. Government's repressive policy (*Parkash*) ... ... 205
7. Government's repressive policy (*Jhang Sial*) ... 206
8. Seditious Indians in America (*Punjabee*) ... ... 207
9. The Budget (*Hindustan*) ... ... ... 208
10. The Budget (*Army News*) ... ... ... 209
11. Military expenditure (*Tribune*) ... ... ib.
12. Proposed Advisory Councils (*Sialkot Paper*) ... 210

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

*Nil.*

III.—Native States.

*Nil.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

*Nil.*

V.—Native Societies and religious matters.

13. The Political aspects of Christianity (*Hindustan*) ... 211
14. The Political aspects of Christianity (*Hindustan*) ... 212
15. The Political aspects of Christianity (*Hindustan*) ... ib.

VI.—Legislation.

16. The Whipping Bill (*Haq Pasand*) ... ... 214

VII.—General Administration.

(a)—*Judicial*—

*Nil.*

(b)—*Police*—

*Nil.*

(c)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs*—

*Nil.*

(d)—*Education*—

*Nil.*

(e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land*—

17. The present condition of Zamindars (*Zamindar*) ... 214

(f)—*Railways and Communications*—

*Nil.*

(g)—*Postal matters*—

*Nil.*

(h)—*Miscellaneous*—

*Nil.*

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 15. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 11th April 1908.**

---

### I.—POLITICS.

*(a)—Foreign.*

The Sultan and the Powers.

1. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 11th April 1908:—

"For some time past Reuter has been cabling various items of news relating to the affairs of Macedonia. The upshot of all these has been to inform an astonished world that the 'Sick Man' is after all not so sick as was at one time assumed, and that the much-talked of 'Concert of Europe' is not as terrible in its coercive potency as was supposed scarcely a decade ago. The so-called misgovernment of the Sultan in Macedonia is reported to have been going from bad to worse, and the confusion has been worse confounded by the inroads of Greeks and Bulgarian bands into the afflicted territory. Prolonged meetings of Foreign Ambassadors have been held at Constantinople, and joint-notes issued to the 'Unspeakable One' rejecting certain proposals and emphasising certain others. But the result of all this bluster is said to have been—Nil! * * * * * * *

"The 'Concert,' then, has met with a severe defeat at the hand of the Sultan. What were the causes that produced so strange and unexpected a result is the question that we propose to tackle here. That an Asiatic Power should have managed to elude the benevolent net laid by 'disinterested' Christian nations is a circumstance over which we can afford to rejoice; specially when we have good reason to believe that whatever may have been the ostensible grounds put forward, the welfare of the people of Macedonia was really the last thing which the Powers have had in their minds. But the events which led up to so surprising a consummation are truly worthy of the study of all awakened Asiatic peoples.

"The 'Concert of Europe' in all its dealings with the Sultan, sails under what is supposed to be the Flag of Christendom, as against the oppressive and unrighteous Flag of Islam. In simpler words, Europe claims to have the right of interfering with the affairs of Turkey, with the sole object of saving the Christian subjects of the Sultan from oppression. But recent events which have led up to a well-deserved victory for

the Turk have revealed the real motive which has been actuating the Powers in their supposed benevolent solicitude. We begin with Germany. It 's well known that for some time past the Kaiser has been casting longing eyes towards the Asiatic possessions of the Sultan. England has captured almost everything worth having in Asia (of course, excluding the patrimony of the Yellow Races). But there is much unexploited wealth and many potential slaves in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. The Teuton is therefore inclined to suspend his benevolent instincts, to curry favour with the Sultan, and to wheedle out railway and mining concessions from him. Let Macedonia fish for herself, therefore ; His Majesty the Kaiser is determined to aim at the 'integrity' of the Sultan's Dominions ; he is unable to wax enthusiastic over unworkable and dangerous proposals of internal reform, and deprecates any measures which may incite Turkey and the Mussalman population to resist to the uttermost. But what about Austria and Russia, those two hereditary guardians of the oppressed subjects of the Sultan ? It is well-known that at one stage the Concert's decision was entrusted to these two, in the reasonable expectation, that being near neighbours of Macedonia, they would feel impelled to press for a better government for it. But their inevitable selfishness came in, and they deliberately allowed Macedonia to continue stewing in its own and the Turk's juice. Both of them look forward to the time when the dissolution of the Turkish Empire will enable them to take possession of its dismembered fragments. To help in the establishment of good government in any part of Turkey is, in the eyes of Austria and Russia, tantamount to prolonging the continuance of Turkish power in Europe. * * * * * * * *

"But what about England ? Why is she afraid to coerce the 'Sick Man ?' This brings us to the most interesting development which has taken place in Anglo-Turkish relations in recent times. Scarcely 20 years ago, Britain was the most formidable foe of Turkey. It is true that she was always ready to fight Russia in order to save the Ottoman from being wiped out, but the righteous indignation of men of the stamp of Gladstone against the iniquitous existence of the Turk was thoroughly proverbial. England's noble heart burnt, not at the chance of Russia capturing Turkey, but at the sufferings of the persecuted Christian subjects of 'Abdul the Damned.' All manner of insulting epithets were heaped on the head of the Sultan, who after all was doing from time to time what Russia in her own territory, England in South Africa, and Germany in her Negro prosessions, have quite recently perpetrated. But to-day England dare not curse or insult the Khalifa of Islam, even though he may proceed to convert by force every single Armenian in his Empire. What has made the difference ? The following is the answer supplied by very influential persons who, under the auspices of the Balkan Committee, recently met together to discuss the Macedonian question. 'There were risks,' said a speaker 'before us in regard to the Mahomedan world. The dangers were real, but we must remember that these Pan-Islamite Perils lay largely in Egypt, Arabia, and Morocco. Moreover, this immense influence of Pan-Islamism had grown to its present dimensions through long years in which we had done nothing, in which we had conceded things again and again, and allowed the Sultan to trifle with the will of Europe. It was by his success in diplomatically bluffing the Great Christian Powers that the Sultan largely appealed to the Pan-Islamite World." In plainer words, an awakening has recently swept over the Mahomedan would. The Sultan cannot be bullied and insulted as in olden days. Besides, it is well-known that he is not unique in oppressing his subjects. Every ruler has the right to oppress, provided he is strong enough to do so, and wily enough to hoodwink his moral critics by putting forth plausible excuses. Times have changed. Fallen nations are discovering their hidden and buried strength. Pan-Islamism is a force to conjure with. Let Macedonia, and for the matter of that all the Christian subjects of the Sultan who have acquired the evil habit of looking for protection to Christian Powers, eat humble pie and submit to their lawful sovereign, who after all will treat them better than European rulers treat their 'coloured' subjects. The Sultan himself is a 'coloured' person, and in spite of his Islam, must possess some fellow-feeling for his Asiatic and other subjects."

2. The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 3rd April 1908, publishes a communication in which the writer says that the public are of opinion that the Amir's silence over the Anglo-Russian Convention is not without meaning. It is equally certain that he must have written to the Government of India to enquire why he was not consulted before the conclusion of the agreement. Indeed, His Majesty may rightly ask the following questions :—

The Anglo-Russian Convention.

(1) Had he no right to oppose the conclusion of the convention?

(2) Was it not necessary to consult him early on an important question which seriously affected his present and future position?

(3) Did it become an Imperial Power to take such secret proceedings concerning a ruler under its influence?

(4) Was it proper in Ministers working at a distance of thousands of miles from Afghanistan and possessing no local experience to allow Russia to secure a footing in an admittedly independent country, and that also without consulting its ruler, merely in order to establish friendly relations with that country?

The foregoing questions, adds the correspondent, must carry weight with the Government of India, but it is powerless to do anything since it, too, was not consulted regarding the conclusion of the convention. It has had to bow to the inevitable, and the ruler of Kabul also must follow its example, since it would be both dangerous and inadvisable for him to offend the Ministry. It is of course open to His Majesty to submit his objections to the Ministers of the Crown through the Government of India and to ask for a reconsideration of the matter. To such a course the Ministry will gladly consent.

This will ensure the preservation of the existing friendly relations between England and Afghanistan, as also the realisation of the wishes of the Amir.

(*b*)—*Home.*

3. The *Amrit* (Hissar), for January (received on the 28th March) 1908, after describing the constitution of the Government of India, says that natives have no voice in the management of their affairs. The British Parliament, *i.e.*, the British public, frames laws for India and enforces the same in the country, the people having nothing whatever to do with legislation. The few native members on the Legislative Councils can accomplish nothing and the official majority always carries the day. After remarking that a large army is required to maintain this form of government in the country, the journal says that India is ruled by a foreign people against the will of her children. This, it adds, is the most despotic form of rule; natives can never please the entire ruling race and are always at the mercy of the British, *i.e*, every one of them is subject to 30 millions of Britons, which is the hardest yoke to bear. It then goes on to say that the present rule in India is not without its benefits. The country is inhabited by two antagonistic communities, Hindus and Muhammadans, neither of whom can bear to see the other rule and who do not know how to form a joint government. They used to kill each other but Government has put a stop to their fights and they now live in peace.

Government and the people.

4. The *Asait* (Hissar), for January (received on the 28th March) 1908, after remarking that a parliamentary or republican form of government would be the best for India, says that as a discussion of the means by which the change can be brought about is likely to be considered seditious it abstains from writing anything on the subject. It, however, enquires whether natives can derive from British rule all or most of the advantages which would accrue to them from these forms of government. It is of opinion that this would assuredly be possible if they were granted a parliament of their own. This parliament should have unrestricted powers of legislation and should be wholly independent of the British Parliament in respect of the internal administration of the country. In other words, India should be placed on a footing of equality with Canada and Australia, which would not only render the country prosperous, but would also benefit the rulers and improve the relations between them and the ruled. The journal then goes on to say that under the existing arrangements the people are being crushed under heavy taxes; free trade has been drawing away not only the wealth of the country but even the necessaries of life. Indigenous industries have been killed and imports from abroad, *e.g.*, beet sugar, are proving ruinous to the country. Grain is exported indiscriminately; litigation has been increasing, useful animals like the cow are being killed and the cost of the administration is too high. The present Legislative Councils can do nothing to remedy the evils even if they so desire: the British public and parliament can never allow them a free hand in the matter. The desired result can be brought about only if the people are granted *Swaraj*, which cannot, however, be had for the asking. The Editor does not mean to say that natives will have to fight or should fight for *Swaraj*; all that he wishes to convey is that their rulers will grant them the concession only when they (natives) come to feel that they cannot continue to exist without it. He also contends that Indians are fit for *Swaraj* and that if they are made self-governing, British rule in India cannot cease to exist.

Government and the people.

5. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 10th April 1908, remarks that in a recent debate in the House of Commons Mr. Hart Davies expressed deep regret that all public posts in India carrying a salary of £ 5 or upwards should be the monopoly of Europeans and Eurasians and should not be open to natives in spite of the latter being thoroughly competent to fill them. Mr. Davies is perhaps unaware that by one stroke of his pen, Lord Curzon deprived natives not only of higher appointments but also of those which were considered their birth-right. After remarking that this treatment of the people is characterised as "unexampled liberality," the paper says that Russia and France do not hesitate to confer higher posts on their conquered subjects, but that the British Government, which claims to be the most civilised and generous Government in the world, follows a different principle. The savages in Algeria and Central Africa are considered able people, but natives, who are as well educated as their rulers and more intelligent also, continue to be regarded as incapable! And yet the British Government boast that it has converted natives into human-beings from donkeys! The Editor next states that while 11 per cent. of the higher appointments were held by Hindus in the time of Akbar only 2 per cent. of them go to natives under British rule. After remarking that Sir H. Risley

Natives and higher appointments under Government.

is of opinion that Indians are unfit for employment in departments in which scientific skill is required, he contends that there is no public appointment which they cannot fill with credit. What scientific skill is needed in the postal, opium and salt departments, in which all the higher posts are held by Europeans and Eurasians? He adds that a few appointments which carry salaries ranging from Rs. 100 to Rs. 800, such as those of Deputy Magistrates, Sub-Judges, and Munsifs, are undoubtedly held by natives, but this is so merely because poor whites cannot pass the examinations prescribed for these posts and because they cannot exist on this rate of pay owing to their extravagance and so resort to taking bribes.

Government's repressive policy.

6. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 7th April 1908, remarks that natives do not wish to rebel against Government, although their political ideas have undergone a complete change. They have begun to feel that they have the same rights as Englishmen and that they are being deprived of them. The methods employed during the past twenty years to obtain their rights have been unsuccessful, and they have, therefore, been compelled to adopt other means. A strong party of politicians has risen in the country who have openly asked the people to place no reliance on Government but to learn to stand on their own legs. It is true that they do not desire the immediate withdrawal of the English from India, still self-government is their ultimate aim. It depends on Government whether they will gain or lose in strength in the future. They owe their rise to the indifference of Government to the demands of the National Congress and to the contemptuous treatment of public opinion in Bengal in regard to the partition of that country. The party began to gather strength with the adoption of a policy of repression by the authorities in almost all parts of the country. After remarking that the repressive measures adopted in the Punjab and East Bengal in May and June last year had the effect of spreading extremism in the country, the *Parkash* says that the prevailing unrest will continue as long as Government does not abandon its policy of coercion. It is a matter of regret, adds the paper, that some narrow-minded and short-sighted (Anglo-Indian) officers, who regard themselves as so many Czars in India, should represent this unrest as sedition. It is the mistakes committed by these worthies which have brought British rule into discredit in this country. The light of truth has shown that the Rawalpindi riots were due to one single false step on the part of the District Magistrate, while the recent disturbances at Tinnevelly may be traced to a similar source. The relations between the rulers and the ruled have become so strained that the slightest mistake (on the part of the authorities) threatens to break them asunder. As an instance, the Editor states that the recent interview between the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore and Sardar Ajit Singh forms the chief topic of conversation everywhere and has again strained the relations between the authorities and the people. The dictates of wisdom, therefore, demand that the former should so conduct themselves that Government and its subjects may be brought nearer together and may understand each other aright. The situation requires, as was remarked by Mr. Gokhale in his recent Budget speech, not the policeman's baton nor the soldier's bayonet, but the statesman's foresight and courage. This opinion is shared in by Mr. Nevinson, who suggests that in order to do away with the prevailing unrest

Government should modify the partition of Bengal, place both Bengals under a Governor assisted by a council, extend this concession to all other provinces, appoint a native to the Executive Council of every Governor, fill all seats on the Imperial Legislative Council by election, make education universal in the country, redeem the pledges of the late Queen-Empress, regarding the appointment of natives to higher posts, and so reform the police that they should not have to resort to bribery and to tutoring witnesses in order to make a living. Above all, in the opinion of Mr. Nevinson, Anglo-Indian officers should cease to hold themselves aloof from natives and to treat the latter in an unbecoming manner. The remedy suggested by Mr. Nevinson would prove infallible and if Government accept his advice the consequences will assuredly prove all that can be desired. On the contrary, if the responsible authorities elect to follow the lead of the selfish and autocratic class of officials and conduct themselves in a narrow-minded way, undesirable results will be certain to ensue. History shows that no power has yet been able to govern a people against their wishes and the British Government can never prove an exception to that rule. If, therefore, the authorities desire the permanence of British rule in India, they must conquer the hearts of the people and replace brute force by love.

Government's repressive policy.

7. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang) of the 4th April 1908, says that Government is still suffering from "sedition on the brain." The events in East Bengal and at Lahore and Rawalpindi had led the public to hope that it would not make itself ridiculous a second time. Every sensible person knows that unrest can be put down with the aid of love and sympathy instead of repression. Government, however, seems incapable of realising this truth, and has been endeavouring to put down sedition by crushing the people, who have, nevertheless, been openly striking back. After remarking that the Rawalpindi riots were due to mistakes on the part of the local authorities, the paper refers to the recent disturbances at Tuticorin and Tinnevelly, and says that it will be of no consequence if the riots lead to the imprisonment of those implicated. Those who set fire to the police station, the municipal office and the Munsif's court cannot fear imprisonment. It is a matter for surprise that neither Government nor its highly-placed officers should reflect on this aspect of the question. Scores, nay, hundreds of persons have been sent to jail since the adoption of a repressive policy by Government, but this has only had the effect of increasing the unrest in the country. It is rumoured that Government is thinking of prescribing a severer punishment than imprisonment with a view to teaching (seditionists) a lesson. It should on no account fail to do so. Imprisonment (of political offenders) has led the people to regard jail as a place of pilgrimage, and if the former are henceforth ordered to be hanged the punishment will be looked upon as martyrdom and crowds of natives will hasten to court it. The *Jhang Sial* then goes on to say that Indians number thirty crores and cannot be crushed or killed off by Government. Why does the latter, then, follow a policy of repression? Does it wish to cease to rule in India? If it wishes to retain possession of the country it should put up with, and ponder over, harsh words from the people. Its present doings are prejudicing natives against it, and when the latter come to lose the little regard they have for it now, the English will repent of not having listened to their well-wishers.

Seditious Indians in America.

8. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 8th April 1908 :—

"There is something of a curious coincidence in the discovery of an illicit consignment of arms and ammunition, landed in India for the benefit of the trans-frontier tribes, just when people have been talking of the sensational news published by the 'American Paper' of a gigantic 'Indian conspiracy' to overthrow British rule. It would seem as if in the eternal justice of Nature, falsehood going beyond lengths finds its own corrective side by side in the unexpected and unsought-for appearance of the truth. The article of the 'American Paper,' reprinted in our last issue, is an instance of the fertility of imagination of the Yellow Press, and the extent to which the ball has been set rolling by scare-mongers for calumniating the Hindu as the arch-conspirator against British rule. The story is told, with all the elaborateness of circumstantial details, that there is a gigantic Hindu conspiracy in progress, with head-quarters in America, which has been working for an armed revolution in India; that 100,000 Mauser rifles and enormous quantities of ammunition have been shipped to this country, disguised as sewing machines and condensed milk respectively; that an association with a fund has been started for the purpose of manufacturing and buying bombs; and that all these things are being stored up, and plans are being laid, for an uprising "which may come in six months or not for years. * * *

"For us in Lahore it may be considered as both fortunate and unfortunate that the Indian head-quarters of the revolution are fixed in this city. It is a proof of the fame acquired by the capital of the Punjab in the revolutionary line from the affairs of 1907. This valuable information supplied by the American paper may lead to speedy detection of the plot, in which case the result would be a thing for congratulation; or it may lead to another series of misfortunes like those heralded in April and May of last year in the search after imaginary dangers. But if the Punjab authorities may be slow to bestir themselves, Scotland-Yard detectives have already been deputed to New York and are said to be dogging the steps of Indians in the United States.

* * * * *

"But there is another reason why we in Lahore should feel specially interested in the story of this strange conspiracy and despatch of arms. It is our nearness to the North-Western Frontier where the hill tribesmen are playing pranks with the law and order of the British Raj, and where across the border there has been going on for a long time past a considerable trade in contraband arms which British police ingenuity has not yet been able to duly locate and trace. How swift the action taken in respect of an imaginary conspiracy in New York with mythical centres in India; how slow the processes by which actual acts of lawlessness and violence on the part of the trans-frontier tribes, and gigantic operations in importing arms carried on by them, are dealt with! 'According to information received by the *Statesman*, 'many attempts have been made from time to time to discover the point at which the contraband is landed and the route followed in getting it into the hands of its ultimate consignees.' Whether or not any clue has been found is not generally known, but during the past few days a startling development has occurred. To quote the *Statesman*:—

'Information has reached Calcutta that at a point beyond Quetta is stored a large quantity of firearms and ammunition. It is asserted that the stock includes 2,000 rifles of modern type.

'The report further states that steps are about to be taken to obtain delivery, and for this purpose a body of 800 tribesmen are already on the move.

'The Officer Commanding a British outpost in the vicinity has been instructed to do all that he can to check the movement of the tribesmen and the removal of the contraband, but it is believed that the task is more than he can carry out with the small force at his disposal. To assist him, therefore, a body of British Infantry, probably consisting of 600 men, will be sent forward without delay.

'In Military circles it is not anticipated that the tribesmen will succeed in landing their *consignment*, or that the affair will result in anything bigger than a smuggling hunt.'

Notwithstanding that 'in military circles' the matter is pretended to be made light of, the *Statesman* rightly heads the news as 'Another North-West Frontier Trouble.' The Afridis may be found to be unwilling to part with '2,000 rifles of modern type,' besides other arms and ammunition, as readily as they surrendered 53 old matchlocks 'valued at Rs. 20,000' for getting British troops out of their territory in the Zakka Khel campaign. But the most amusing and significant feature of this incident is the light it throws on the export of arms from Europe and America by so-called Indian conspirators. It now appears that arms are being supplied by British and American manufacturers—for a good price, of course—not to the Indian Government's inveterate enemy, that seditious and dishonourable rogue the 'educated Babu,' but to the Sirkar's firm friend and honourable ally the trans-frontier Afridi! Perhaps some wicked person might suggest that this traffic in arms should now be declared as legitimate by the Sirkar, inasmuch as the Afridi's rifles are employed, after all, in looting and killing that hateful enemy of the Government, the Hindu 'Babu.'

The Budget.

9. In criticising the Budget, *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 3rd April 1908, says the days of prosperity Budgets are over, as was destined. This could have been predicted even when Lord Curzon used to show a larger surplus every year by juggling with figures. After enquiring what has become of former surpluses, the paper asks why the failure of one single harvest has brought things to their present pass, and whether this does not show that the country is in a very bad way. It next states that surpluses have been dwindling from year to year, and that the receipts from land revenue reached a larger figure in the time of Lord Curzon than in that of any of his predecessors. This means that the last drop of blood has been sucked out of the body of the peasantry, or, in other words, the money which should have remained in their pockets has been drained into the coffers of Government. The *ex*-Viceroy derived a very large income also from the sale of opium, the cost of which poison attained a higher figure during his viceroyalty than at any other time. His government succeeded in showing the world that the public exchequer was full, but the bubble has burst at last. The paper then goes on to say that although the Finance Member has done his utmost to minimise the severity of the prevailing famine still his remarks on the subject are calculated to discourage even the stoutest heart. After quoting his remarks about the area and population affected by the calamity, it says that the Viceroy's statement that the prices of grain are the same throughout the country means that famine prevails in every province, even in those in which its presence has not been officially recognised. The visitation has seriously crippled the resources of Government, as is evident from the fact that Government has had to spend large sums of money in advancing loans to agriculturists. It has also suspended the realisation of land revenue to the extent of Rs. 22,200,000, a very large part of which will probably never be collected. The Editor next expresses the opinion that if Government had not been in the habit of acting like a grasping Jew in the matter of land revenue, zamindars would have been a prosperous community. As it is, Government alone profits by the improvements effected by them. If it were to take pity on zamindars and leave them their money for use in times of scarcity, it would not have to combat famines nor would natives die from hunger by lakhs. In conclusion the paper remarks that the failure of crops in one single season does not entail suffering on the people, in any other country except in India where such failure means famine in spite of the fact that more grain is produced in this country than its

inhabitants need. The reason is that the money of the nation is not in its own hands, and consequently na tives die like flies every day and no one pays any heed to their fate.

The Budget.

10. The *Army News* (Ludhiana), of the 28th March 1908, writing about the Financial Statement for 1908-09, says that under a personal government the public revenues are spent according to the sweet will of one single individual or a small number of his favourites It is acknowledged that those who have the spending of other's money think of their own gain before everything else. The result is that under personal governments it is the kings and their ministers who possess the most money and who live in the greatest comfort. On the other hand in a country where the representatives of the people have the control of the national purse the public revenues are spent for the good of the general public, with the result that the inhabitants daily advance in prosperity. Under constitutional governments the money collected in taxes is spent on the dissemination of education, the improvement of industries and sanitation and in maintaining the efficiency of the army. Consequently every item of expenditure is hotly discussed and every one evinces keen interest in the Budget. In India, however, from 20 to 22 crores of persons are not even acquainted with the word Budget, while the majority of educated natives are under the impression that the public have no concern with the income realised and the expenditure incurred by Government Only highly educated Indians know that no Government can be really good, which does not spend the public revenues for the sole benefit of its subjects. The paper then goes on to say that natives have no voice in the framing of the budget and that their representatives on the Viceregal Council are powerless to procure any alteration in the official estimates. The educated community have been complaining of this for the last twenty-two years and have been asking on behalf of tax-payers for the right of a voice in the imposition of taxes and the expenditure of the public revenues. The prosperity of the country depends upon the grant to the people of this right, which is another name for *Swaraj* and self-govern ment and the British Government may be relied upon to make the grant sooner or later.

Military expenditure.

11. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 5th April 1908 :—

"To the average Indian tax-payer the Army Department constitutes a huge octopus which swallows the bulk of the hard-earned money of the poor and impoverished ryot. There is no doubt that the military forces have to be maintained at a certain standard, to ward off the danger of foreign invasion or external aggression, but between the tax-payer who pays the piper and the military experts who call the tune, there is a world of difference as to the precise boundary-line where necessity overlaps into extravagance. The military man is anxious to keep the sword bright and well-tempered while he supposes that the man of peace who objects to the heavy figures of the military budget is anxious to see the sword get rusty in its socket, or turned into p'oughshare. If that be the notion in certain quarters, it is scarcely just to the Indian political reformer, who would contract the military budget in order to expand the allotments on internal reforms, the growth of education, the spread of sanitation and hygiene, the reduction of the pressure on land and agricultural improvements. In the case of external invasion, the political reformer is a believer in supplementing the

forces of State by the voluntary irregulars of a peace-loving and law-abiding community impelled to stand up in defence of their hearths and homes. The sight of irregulars might no doubt excite a laugh against the 'idealist patriots' in the minds of the high-priests of efficiency who might affect to treat with supreme disdain the audacious proposals of the quill-driving fraternity, but it might easily be proved that the spectacle is by no means an entirely novel one in the annals of this country, or in that of England. But surely it might be permissible to point out to the statesmen who wield the destinies of the Empire that it is hardly fair to claim that the abnormal strength at which the British force in India is maintained has had nothing to do with the Russian bogey. One may dismiss the phantasies of Mr. Rees as the off-spring of an over-wrought imagination, which received a new lease of life from the scare-mongering of last year, and treat with the scorn it deserves his question to the Secretary of State, which was intended to bring out the fact that the strength of the troops at present employed is less than that sanctioned immediately after the sepoy mutiny of 1857. Mr. Rees evidently still labours under the hallucination of a second mutiny! But one would have expected a more sympathetic treatment of the subject from the responsible statesmen at the helm. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale and the Maharaja of Darbhunga drew the attention of Government to this fact. The former said on the last occasion he broached the matter on the strength of Russian reverses in the Far East, he was told that although the Russian power was broken, it was by no means certain how soon the proud and sensitive Power would recover its lost position, but now a Convention had been affected with Russia herself. Still he might be confronted with the suggestion that the prevailing unrest and the changing tendencies of the popular mind stood in the way. For one thing such a view would be manifestly unjust to the vast bulk of the community, and secondly, while a reduction of the military expenditure would cut at the root of the dissatisfaction, as far as it went, the maintenance of the military expenditure at the present high standard was certainly calculated to help forward the very tendencies the Government wanted to check. When all is said, it cannot be ignored that two broad facts stand out clear and undisputed. As the result of the Russian scare out of the Panjdeh incident in 1885, Lord Dufferin added no less than 11,000 British Officers and men, and 19,000 Indian sepoys to the Indian army, and the Boer War proved to the hilt that this was the precise number that could be easily dispensed with, for their absence in South Africa for about a year at a critical juncture in England's military prestige could mean nothing else. And this is what Mr. Caine repeatedly claimed, and Mr. Gokhale has since been emphasising, but as the latter well put it, it is the same story all over the world, and it is next to impossible to get the inflated military budgets reduced, Mr. Stead's peace propaganda and Hague Conferences, we may add, notwithstanding".

Proposed Advisory Councils.

12. The *Sialkot Paper* (Sialkot), of the 28th March 1908, thanks Mr. Morley for his proposal to appoint Advisory Councils, which will help Government to know the feelings and grievances of the people. It, however, feels compelled to say that the appointment of native chiefs to the Councils will serve no useful purpose. Indian Princes have no means of acquainting themselves with the feelings even of their own subjects and it is, therefore, impossible for them to know those of natives who live outside their territories. It is idle to expect that they will neglect the affairs of their own States in order to ascertain the truth about the inhabitants of British India. The Editor then goes on to say that only persons in constant touch with the people can rightly guage the feelings of the latter and that Advisory Councils will prove useful only if their members consist of the elected representatives of the public in British India. It, therefore, suggests that the proposal regarding the

appointment of native chiefs to the councils should be dropped and that the number of zamindars and merchants to be appointed to them should be increased accordingly.

## V.—Native Societies and Religious matters.

The Political aspects of Christianity.

13. In the issue of *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 27th March 1908, the Editor says that Colonel Parson's question to Sardar Ajit Singh whether he was Christ has prompted him to try to find out whether the founder of Christianity came into this world to teach spirituality or to ensure the political salvation of the Jews of his day. The Editor also proposes to institute a comparison between the condition of the Jews at the time of Christ and that of Indians at the present moment. Further, he will point out the difference between the mission of Christ and that of Sardar Ajit Singh and other native leaders, and will also compare the treatment accorded to Christ by the Jews with that which is meted out to the leaders of native Society by some Ango-Indian officers. *Hindustan* then quotes several verses from the Bible to show that Christ was hailed as King of the Jews by the Wise-Men of the East and that he was regarded by Herod not as a religious, but as a political reformer. If he had really been a religious leader the authorities had no cause to fear him: he would only have been a source of fear to the spiritual leaders of the Jews. He was held up as a religious reformer after he had suffered martyrdom on the field of politics. After promising to prove later that his teachings were wholly political and that his crucifixion was the outcome of "an entirely political prosecution" the Editor asserts that political reformers of the present day have to undergo the same difficulties as were experienced by their predecessors of 2000 years ago. There were moderates like Joshua before Christ just as Surrendra Nath and Gokhale preceded B. C. Pal, Arbindo Ghosh, Lajpat Rai, and Ajit Singh. He then goes on to say that history repeats itself at certain intervals. In the time of Christ also those who were favoured by the rulers or used to look down upon the poor were in the habit of standing by the Government from selfish motives. As an instance in point, he states that while John the Baptist whom he represents as a political preacher, went about lecturing, some Pharisees and Sadducees joined his following with the object of betraying him to the authorities. He, however, knew them at once and addressed them as children of serpents, reminding them also that a tree which did not bear good fruit was felled and thrown into the fire, meaning thereby that those who are traitors to their country and help tyrants in practising oppression meet with a bad end. Christ was a disciple of John and had to face all the trials which political leaders have to undergo. After remarking that the devil of whom he was tempted was perhaps a member of the secret police force, the Editor says that soon after John was arrested on a charge of preaching sedition. If he had really been a religious preacher, there would have been no necessity for the authorities to fear him and put him under arrest. Indeed, contemporary history speaks of the existence of no religious corruption among the Jews at that time. On the contrary, it tells of their subjection to hardships and oppression by their Government. The Editor concludes by promising to revert to the subject in the next issue of the paper.

14. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 3rd April 1908, in continuation of its previous remarks, says that in the time of Christ Syria was under foreign rule and its inhabitants were most heavily taxed. Everything used by them was taxed, just as is the case in these days, while their rulers treated them in a most degrading and contemptuous manner. The Bible speaks of the authorities of that time as tax-gatherers, because the foreign rulers of a country think only of making money. The paper then goes on to say that the only complaint of Christ was that his fellow countymen were weak, cowardly and shameless enough to pay exorbitant taxes even on the necessaries of life. The only parallel to their helplessness is to be found in the present condition of Indians, for none of the articles used by them is exempt from taxation. As Christ was a true patriot he could not bear to see his countrymen humiliated and subjected to sufferings. It was for this reason that he used to curse those who collected or paid taxes and once expressed indignation at his fellow countrymen because they did not seek justice (from their rulers) in spite of paying taxes. But although he was 72 when he thought of serving his country he knew very well that it was only young men who could accomplish anything. This is evident from his remark about new wine and old bottles, which means that old men cannot be fired with a new spirit. He wished even children in arms to imbibe the new spirit, as is evident from his words about letting children go to him, the Kingdom of heaven being theirs. The paper has no doubt that by the "Kingdom of heaven" Christ meant the natural form of Government, *i. e.*, self-government, and that it was for this reason that he once declared that he had come to wield the sword. It then goes on to say that in his time the people of Syria were disunited, observed *chhut*, and other caste restrictions and one sect looked down upon another. This enabled the foreign government to keep them divided and to practise the grossest oppression upon them. Christ was, therefore, also anxious to introduce social reforms among them with a view to uniting them and began to break through caste restrictions by degrees. In conclusion, the paper says that the founder of Christianity was a political and not a religious leader. The statements made in the article are sought to be supported by quoting different verses from the Bible.

The Political aspects of Christianity.

15. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 10th April 1908, in continuation of its previous remarks, publishes an article headed "The prosecution of Christ under section 124 A." The son and all the officers of Herod, it says, knew full well that they had been sucking the life-blood, and trampling on the rights of the Syrian subjects of Rome. They, therefore, used to fear any one who tried to expose their unjust and oppressive doings, or who endeavoured to infuse a spirit of nationality into the Syrians, because every sinner is a coward, however great his wealth or however large his army may be. Consequently they were anxious to entrap Christ and to get up a case against him, because they did not dare to rouse public feeling by arresting a popular leader without preferring any charge against him. They employed some persons—prototypes of the secret police of these days—to trump up some charge against him, and these worthies harassed him in

The Political aspects of Christianity.

different ways, talking to him on diverse subjects, and "seeking to catch something out of his mouth" to enable them to submit a report and get up a case against him. After quoting two verses—Luke XI, verses 53 and 54, in support of this assertion, the paper says that Christ was not unaware of the clever attempts which were being made by the authorities to involve him in a sedition case (*vide* Luke IX, verse 44). There can, however, be no doubt that he was gifted with foresight and a penetrating judgment. He knew that he was poor and weak; that he had to contend against a powerful and oppressive ruler; and that if the people came to suspect that he was threatened with failure and danger they would hasten to forsake him, and many would turn traitors from motives of avarice or in order to prove themselves to be loya subjects. It was, therefore, his constant effort not to let his disciples know that he apprehended any danger to himself. The latter, meanwhile, began to fight among themselves for leadership, but Christ tried to pacify them by setting a child by him and saying to them, "Whosover shall receive this child in my name, receiveth me." He talked allegorically, as this was his favourite way of speaking, since liberty of speech was unknown under the tyrannical ruler of Syria. He meant to impress on his disciples that they should accept (as their leader) whomsoever he might appoint even though it were a babe. *Hindustan* then goes on to say that in spite of the precautions taken by Christ, the people learnt of the danger with which he was threatened, and in order to escape being prosecuted for abetment of sedition they avoided his company and would not let him stay in their houses. His disciples also began to forsake him, and realising that while he had to accomplish a great deal, the time at his disposal was very short, he sent out as many men as he could find to preach politics in all parts of the country. Again, although he was threatened with great hardships he knew perfectly well that the rule of the tyrant could not endure for ever, *vide* Luke XII, verses 55 and 56. He also favoured the Panchayat system and boycott of the established courts, in support of which assertion the paper quotes a verse from the Bible. In fact all the teachings of Christ were of a political character, although they have a touch of morality here and there; which is the right course for a political leader to follow. The paper continues to say that the people evidently afforded protection to Christ for they were displeased with their Government on account of the acts of oppression committed by it, and the authorities, therefore, feared to arrest or kill him in a hurry. But there has never been a lack of persons ready to betray their nations from motives of avarice. Judas Iscariot, one of the disciples of Christ, betrayed his master into the hands of authorities for Rs. 20. *Hindustan* next refers to Luke XXII, verse 25, and says that Christ tried to put his disciples to shame by telling them that while they could not bear to be ruled by their fellow countrymen they felt no shame in being beaten with shoes by foreigners. It is also of opinion that Luke XXII, verses 26 and 27, mean that, so far from the subjects of a king being his servants, the latter is their servant. Again, it appears that, if necessary, Christ was ready to use even force against his Government in the attainment of his object (*vide* Luke XXII, verse 36). In conclusion, the paper says that his words, "Father, if thou wilt, remove this cup from my lips," prove that Christ was a political leader, for if he had really been a religious leader and the Son of God he would not have feared to go to his father.

## VI.—LEGISLATION.

The Whipping Bill.

16. The *Haq Pasand* (Amritsar), of the 1st April 1908, writing about the Whipping Act Amendment Bill, suggests that an appeal should be allowed against sentences of whipping and that such sentences should not be carried out before the appeal is heard.

## VII.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

### (*e*)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land.*

The present condition of zamindars.

17. The *Zamindar* (Karmabad), of the 1st April 1908, publishes a communication from the pen of Lala Radha Kishen, who, in continuation of his previous remarks (*vide* paragraph 31 of selections No. 13) says that since the introduction of European civilisation and the importation of British goods into India Indians, both men and women, have given up using country-made coarse cloth with the result that the use of checks, chintz, &c., has become universal. The peasant women, who were in the habit of using coarse cloth, have also begun to use fineries with the result that their husbands are driven into debt. These debts increase owing to the exorbitant rate of interest charged and cause the utter ruin of the agriculturists, who are ignorant, imprudent and thriftless. The writer then goes on to say that formerly the zamindars of his village were happy and prosperous. His uncle had dealings with some Muhammadan zamindars, but those dealings were on a small scale. He, therefore, had occasion to see the condition of the zamindars with his own eyes and he can assert without fear of contradiction that the latter had all the necessaries of life in abundance. The times have now changed and the same zamindars have been reduced to such an abject condition of poverty that some of them have to earn their livelihood by manual labour and others by begging. Being himself a Mahajan, he knows that in some cases the mahajans, have realised Rs. 100 from zamindars on account of a loan of only Rs. 10. Once he enquired from a zamindar what he had done with his *rabi* crops. The latter replied that he gave a portion of the produce on account of interest, &c., and the balance was barely sufficient for the maintenance of his family for four months, while for the remaining eight months he would have to maintain himself by borrowing. On being asked why agriculturists did not take loans in cash, he said that the mahajans refused to advance loans in cash. The writer once advanced Rs. 15 to a zamindar for grain, but the latter spent the money on other articles also and contracted further loans from other mahajans. The mahajans go on advancing money to agriculturists so long as the price of the latter's lands exceeds the amount of the loan. They do not feel any scruples in forcing the zamindars to sell their daughters in order to repay money. In this way the zamindars are ruined. The writer concludes by remarking that mahajans realise compound interest from zamindars and thus encompass their ruin.

F. ISEMONGER,

*Assistant to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police,*
*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

LAHORE:
*The 11th April* 1908.

Punjab Government Press, Lahore—18-4-08—1776—95—H. L. S.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 16. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

Received up to 18th April 1908.

---

## CONTENTS.


I.—Politics.

Page.

(a)—*Foreign*—

1. The Anglo-Russian Convention (*Jhang Sial*) ... 215

(b)—*Home*—

2. Government and the recent unrest (*Aftab*) ... ... 215
3. Government and Hindus (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 218
4. Political goal of natives (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... *ib.*
5. Advice to natives to shake off their sleep (*Aftab*) ... 220

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

*Nil.*

III.—Native States.

*Nil.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

*Nil.*

V.—Native Societies and religious matters.

*Nil.*

VI.—Legislation.

*Nil.*

Page.

VII.—General Administration.

(a)—*Judicial*—

6. The prosecution of Sayad Hyder Raza under the Press Act (*Aftab*) ... ... ... 220

(b)—*Police*—

*Nil.*

(c)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs*—

*Nil.*

(d)—*Education*—

*Nil.*

(e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land*—

*Nil.*

(f)—*Railways and Communications*—

*Nil.*

(g)—*Postal matters*—

*Nil.*

(h)—*Miscellaneous*—

7. Colonel Parsons and Ajit Singh (*Akbbar-i-'Am*) ... 221

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 16. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 18th April 1908.**

---

### I.—POLITICS.

#### (*a*)—*Foreign.*

Anglo-Russian Convention.

1. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 11th April 1908, says that it is rumoured that the Amir has not given his assent to the Anglo-Russian Convention, but has returned a verbal message to the effect that if England and Russia wished to come to an agreement they should first have made a reference to him; but as the Convention has been concluded without his being consulted it is useless to ask his approval. His Majesty's curt reply, it adds, must have stung the English, but they are wholly powerless in the matter.

#### (*b*)—*Home.*

Government and the recent unrest.

2. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 5th (received on the 15th) April 1908, says that no Indian wishes to rise against Government or even to be reminded of the rising of 1857. Many Englishmen, however, are busy erecting Mutiny memorials, and for this reason constantly fear a popular rising in India! The paper then goes on to say that the recent disturbances at Rawalpindi were really a rebellion. They were commenced deliberately and brought to a close under compulsion. Why was land revenue enhanced in the canal colonies? Why were the starving harassed? When they asked for bread the authorities began to apprehend a rebellion. Ask of resolute Hans Raj and lion-hearted Amolak Ram whether there was or was not a rising (at Rawalpindi). To these poor and innocent men there was a rising on the day on which they were confined in the lock-up, as also on the one on which they came out with the seeds of chronic disease in their systems. Again, to Hans Raj the day was one of rebellion on which his brave (brother) Gurdas Ram, left this world. The former is still ill and the latter has gone over to the majority, while several innocent persons have been sent to jail to grind corn for seven years each. Moreover, the houses of the general public were looted and there was loss of both life and property. Can a rising be a more serious affair than this?

The Bari Doab Canal rates were enhanced. The zamindars concerned asked for justice, but the authorities, who suffer from Mutiny on the brain, issued arbitrary orders directing the deportation of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh and the arrest of other seditionists. All the Englishmen (at Lahore) were ordered to pack up their things and the guns in the fort were cleansed (and placed in position). The police were armed with splendid bamboo sticks, two yards in length. The rebels were confined in the lock-up, sent to jail or deported to Burma. Small boys garlanded lion-hearted Athavale and Jaswant Rai when the latter set out on their pilgrimage (to jail). They also raised shouts of *Bande Mataram*, but were surrounded by the police, who styled their conduct as seditious. The pretext was used in order to arrest and send away any one against whom the police had a grudge. They also beat Babus in the bazaar with bamboo sticks, though they carried nothing but handkerchiefs in their hands. Further, they broke the hand of an aged Muhammadan, who was returning weeping after burying his young son, who had died from plague. They turned topsy-turvy *Swadeshi* sweetmeat shops, exacted the work of beasts from poor Gowardhan Das for six months, sent up outspoken Kartar Singh, Lal Chand and Swaran Singh for trial, subjected old Sufi Amba Parshad to needless hardships in the lock-up, and have had innocent Kishan Singh sent to jail. Poor Ram Chand was not even given water in the lock-up in hot weather, while Bahali Ram was so severely beaten at the Anarkali Police Station that he lost consciousness and was under treatment at the Hospital for several days. Dina Nath is rotting in jail and youthful Pindi Das will have to pass five years in the same place.

The shops of the Calcutta *halwais* were looted (by the local police). Poor Rajani was beaten so severely by a *pahrawalla* that he died from the effects of the beating. The generous Government now wishes to please his widow, aged mother and two children by paying them Rs. 100 (by way of compensation). The editor of the *Yugantar* was flogged in jail. Lion-hearted Pal was caged.

If Indians had been to blame for the disturbances would they have committed the mistake again even after a space of a hundred years? No, never. Similar disturbances have, however, recently taken place at Tuticorin, Why? The people are harassed and oppressed, and when driven to desperation they take the law into their own hands. The first mistake was to prohibit the holding of public meetings at Tuticorin. Next the authorities called upon Mr. Chidambram Pillay to furnish security to be of good behaviour, and although he expressed his willingness to do so he was remanded to the lock-up, not being released on bail even by the Sessions Judge. Nor is this all. The mere mention of Bepin Babu was sufficient to make a certain Englishman use his hunting crop against a native. The general public put up with such indignities in silence, but there was a limit even to their patience. The Deputy Commissioner himself shot two young natives, and the tragic incident brought hundreds of people to the help of his victims. A commotion was the result. It is a pity that innocent and unarmed youths should have been attacked in this cowardly and heartless manner. It rends one's heart to think of them writhing in pain on the ground.

Their fate was, however, of no consequence to the European Officers and the latter went away to their bungalows escorted by the armed

police. Was it human to wound that man also who went to bring away the injured youths? The paper then goes on to say that every civilised Government ought to preserve peace in its dominions, but that it should achieve the result by peaceful means and not with the help of armed police or by imprisoning its subjects, shooting innocent children, making indiscriminate arrests and intimidating respectable people.

It further remarks that no one can help sympathising with the unfortunate Hindu residents of Peshawar. They were looted in broad daylight and robbed of their cash. The police forgot their batons and rifles in the presence of the free Afridis: they think only of sedition. Besides, they are not foolish enough to oppose Afridis and have their bellies ripped open. They are experts only in using bamboo sticks against small boys, shooting unarmed and youthful natives, and turning shops topsy-turvy. When the Hindus of Peshawar complained to their Deputy Commissioner, they were threatened with deportation. The poor men complain that they have been robbed of Rs. 28,000, but Government estimates their loss at only Rs. 4,000. Nor is this all. The Deputy Commissioner is averse even to granting the aggrieved Hindus an interview. He will not listen to their complaints. The rulers who conduct themselves in this manner are not likely to redress the grievances of the ruled. Sardar Kashi Nand's words (to the Hindus) "Government cannot hang Afridis for your sake" are enough to strike one dumb. Government can bear to see its subjects looted, but it cannot hang Afridi (freebooters)! But has it the power to do so? This is no easy matter. So far from having been hanged, the Afridis who were arrested in the act of committing dacoity in broad daylight were set free merely on the words of the Jirga, "They are boys. The fools committed a mistake. They will never do so again." After stating that the Pashtu word *alakan* (used by the Jirga for the offenders) means boys of 12 or 13, the *Aftab* ironically remarks that it is a matter for thankfulness that Peshawar was not raided by grown-up men, for otherwise it would have gone very hard with the poor Hindus, the cowardly police and the military forces. The question at issue, it adds, is "why does not Government make over that part of the country to the Afridis if it cannot hang them," *i.e.*, cannot prevent them from looting and is unable to defend the neighbourhood? Police, soldiers and volunteers are being drafted to Tuticorin from all sides and an additional collector and one more assistant collector have been posted to the place. But only one hundred policemen, who have concealed themselves in the premises of the Municipal High School, are considered sufficient to ensure the safety of Peshawar.

News of unrest has of late been received from all parts of the country and thanks to the inexperience and shortsightedness of the police and the authorities, riots, which could have been avoided, have occurred in different places, followed by indiscriminate arrests and the imprisonment of innocent persons. The question, however, is whether the policy followed by Government can turn back the wave of awakening which is passing over the country. No, never. It is a matter for surprise that the authorities should have learnt no lesson from the unrest which prevailed in India last year. If the country had been under a national government the authorities would have looked upon the hardships of the people of Tuticorin and Peshawar as their own. There can

be no doubt that some boys at Rawalpindi, Lahore, Calcutta, Tinnevelly were carried away by their "national enthusiasm" to raise shouts of *Bande Mataram*. It was, however, inexperience which led the local authorities to magnify the incident into a rebellion. The people undoubtedly raised disturbances, but it was the authorities, and the police who represented these disturbances as a rebellion.

The editor next tells natives that their condition is such that they deserve to be most grossly oppressed. If they had conducted themselves like the Afridis or Japanese they also would have commanded respect. They should learn to stand on their own legs: a people can raise the edifice of their nationality with their own help alone.

Government and Hindus.

3 The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 11th April 1908, says that Government fears Muhammadans since they are a hot-tempered and warlike people. Hindus, on the contrary, who are long suffering, are constantly oppressed under British rule. The treatment accorded to their co-religionists in East Bengal is still fresh in their minds. The oppression which is now being practised on Hindus in the Frontier Province by Government and Muhammadans is also no secret. The Afridis have looted Peshawar and villages in its neighbourhood more than once, and the infection has spread to the local Muhammadans also. The paper next reprints an account of the looting by Musalmans of the village Dher on the 28th March supplied by the *Punjabee's* Peshawar correspondent, who also tells the Hindus of the Frontier Province that when Government cannot protect their lives and property they should go and settle elsewhere. It then goes on to say that it will not be surprising if Hindus become alienated from Government under existing conditions. Indeed, the subjects of a government, which cannot protect them, cannot remain loyal. The editor can refer to several instances in which Hindus have been needlessly ill-treated. His co-religionists are still loyal to the crown, but they will not remain so after their eyes have been opened. Is it likely that the Hindus of East Bengal are as loyal now as they were before their subjection to gross oppression? If Government cannot afford protection to Hindus it should allow them to protect themselves. They are not dead yet: it was from them that the English obtained the sceptre of India. Even now, if they are allowed (to strike a blow for themselves), they will regain the sceptre or die in the attempt. They cannot put up with the insults which, thanks to Government, are being heaped upon them daily. Muhammadans do not realise that Government follows a policy of "divide and rule" and have, therefore, been thoughtlessly oppressing Hindus. The English are pleased at this growing estrangement between the two communities. May God reward them according to the motives which actuate them?

Political goal of natives.

4. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 11th April 1908, publishes the following under the heading "We and our Political Goal":—

"Europe, America, Japan and other independent countries are also inhabited by humanbeings like us. These people possess two hands, two eyes, one mouth, one nose, &c., and so do we. We are fond of the same things which they like. Our political goal is the same as these countries have in view. It is a wrong and an unfounded assertion that we wish to live under the protection of the English for all

eternity and do not wish to drive them out of our country, because no people have yet existed in the world whose political aim has been to live under foreign rule, and to regard it as the final stage of their progress. Colonial self-government and all other forms of government, which are spoken of (as the political goal of India), will be talked of only so long as the people are unable to obtain or are ignorant of the means of obtaining national (*lit.* independent) government. In the world of politics the political goal of every nation is to secure complete freedom and not to live under the protection of other people. The English are fully aware that this too is the final political goal of India. For this reason they do not regard the awakening visible in India as a good omen for themselves. They know that if India wakes up and begins to tread the path of progress her ultimate goal will be to obtain complete independence for herself. They, therefore, oppose every movement started by us which leads us into the path of progress and endeavour by every means to prevent us from treading the path which will take us to our destination. The courses of study prescribed by them for schools are such as to instil the instincts of slavery into us. They do not allow our boys to take part in politics fearing lest, on growing up, they should, instead of becoming clerks and helping them to keep India in a state of slavery, make up their minds to emancipate her. Their object in depriving Indians of their arms is to deprive them of their strength and to drive out all thoughts from their minds of rebellion. The plea that if Indians were allowed to keep arms they would fight among themselves is absurd and foolish, since hatred between Hindus and Muhammadans is deeper now than it was when they were armed. The object (of the English) in disarming natives is to weaken the latter and not to preserve peace. Their reason for destroying the arts and industries of India and making her dependent on them is that she may become poor and may not exert herself to make progress in any direction. Some Indians think that a few Englishmen help to further *Swadeshi* and similar movements. They should know that this is merely diplomacy. There are many Englishmen in the British Parliament who express sympathy with Indians on all occasions. Have you ever reflected why they do so? Their sole object is that Indians may not become alienated from the English and give way to despair, but that they may (always) think that the English are an independent-minded people, and that though several Englishmen are hostile to them they are also supported by many, who will get them their rights one day.

"This is a stroke of diplomacy and the policy can be understood only by those who are conversant with modern politics. Persons gifted with foresight have discovered that the English feel mortified at the awakening and progress of India. These monopolists of civilisation can on no account tolerate the idea that India should obtain complete freedom. The reason for their attitude is that they owe their dignity to India alone. If this country were to pass out of their hands they would become of no importance. Since this is so, how can they view with favour the movements designed to assist our advance? The question now arises 'what should be our political goal under the present circumstances'? We are not powerful enough to throw off the British yoke while the English are not liberal enough to help us to obtain complete freedom. What should we do? Should we choose a colonial form of self-government for the last stage of our progress, because even the English do not feel irritated at our having this goal in view? If we do so we shall be practising deception on the English. A subject people, who resort to hypocrisy, can never make progress. Duplicity is out of place in a war between liberty and slavery, because liberty is a boon from God to which every human being can lay claim. If we say that we desire complete freedom we commit no offence thereby. The voice of God is constantly infusing our hearts with a longing for liberty, and it is audible to us as to the English. If, therefore, the latter inflict any punishment on us for our demand for liberty they and not we commit an offence. They are powerful and can treat us in this world in whatever way they like, but the time will come when our hands will get hold of their collars. The times never remain the same. He who occupies a throne to day will be a slave to-morrow. To live this transient life in a state of slavery is not

better than not living at all. Samuel Adams says, 'there is no creature in the world, be it ever so weak and contemptible, which cannot safeguard its liberty, provided it knows how to fight for it.' It is to be regretted that we have forgotten how to fight. If we knew how to do so we should have gained our liberty. Come, let us learn to fight even now and show the English the mettle of which we are made. The fight in which we will have to engage with the English will be one of brains and not of arms. Develop your arts and industries, establish *pa·chay·ts* (and) sever all connection with the English. Leave them alone to rule the country (*lit.* let them rule). Let us see how and for how long they will rule without our help. If you wield the weapon of boycott with a strong hand you will be certain to win. Furious speeches and strong writings can avail (you) nothing till practical work is taken in hand. The English have acquired the priceless gem of liberty with great difficulty. How can Indians do so more easily than they did."

Advice to natives to shake off their sleep.

5. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 5th (received on the 15th) April 1908, publishes a communication from "Ghairat, Ghaznavi," who asks natives to shake off their sleep. He adds that the recent achievement of Japan should make the people of this country realise their present degraded condition. There are no rulers and ruled in the Mikado's dominions, nor do one class of the Japanese call themselves whitemen and the rest blackmen. India is being ruined. The mere mention of "liberty" by a native leads to his instant prosecution for sedition. To ask for justice in India is to court imprisonment, and a demand for bread is punished with whipping. Patriotic natives should not, however, give way to despair. If they continue their efforts Indians also will become a nation of note one day.

## VII.—General Administration.

### (*a*)—*Judicial.*

The prosecution of Saiyid Haidar Raza under the Press Act.

6. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 5th (received on the 15th) April 1908, writing about the prosecution of its editor and proprietor under the Press Act, remarks that the least slip on the part of natives is punished with imprisonment. It observes that in the present case Government has avenged itself on its editor by fining him. The case against him was trivial and childish in the extreme, but the rulers always have things their own way, specially when they are actuated by motives of spite. Besides, unfortunate natives, who are a subject and slavish race, can do nothing against Government but must always bow before it. The paper then goes on to say that when Sayad Haidar Raza was told by the magistrate that he had been sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 200 the world grew dark in his eyes at the thought that while a famine prevails in the country Government should suck the life-blood of the people. Government, it adds, has at last avenged itself on the Sayad, who has dedicated his all to the service of the country, stood his ground during the unrest (*lit.* Mutiny) of 1907, and has continued to improve his paper *Aftab* in spite of threats (from the authorities). If then goes on to say that while (the editor of) *Hind* (Bombay) was fined only Rs. 5 for publishing one issue of the paper before filing necessary declaration, Haidar Raza has been fined Rs. 200 for his omission to publish the name of his printer in the *Aftab*, dated the 5th July last. After remarking that the Sayad's only plea was that this issue of his paper was published in his absence at Surat, the *Aftab* characterises the sentence as grossly oppressive and says that it will not be appealed against.

In another place the paper takes *Hindustan* to task for having given out that Sayad Haidar Raza had tendered an apology in the case. The Sayad, it adds, would have preferred death to tendering an apology. Whatever his other shortcomings may be, he is not deficient in courage and will not look back after putting his hand to the plough. He will stick to what he once resolves to do even at the risk of life. The people have not as yet realised what sort of man the Sayad is. The true blood of the martyrs of Kerbala courses in the veins of the lion-hearted man, and his whole being throbs with the spirit of martyrdom. The paper then goes on to say that there was no occasion for Haidar Raza to tender an apology. Although there could have been nothing degrading in his having done so in the trivial case instituted against him, still he considered it an insult to himself to apologise even in such a case. The news published by *Hindustan* has not only lowered him in the estimation of the public, but has also injured his paper.

(*h*)—*Miscellaneous.*

Colonel Parsons and Ajit Singh.

7. *The Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 11th April 1908, publishes a communication in which the writer says that a few days ago Colonel Parsons sent for Ajit Singh and addressed some useful words of advice to him. Instead, however, of acting up to them the latter wounded the feelings of the Colonel in a most wanton manner. After remarking that some small minds are busy rendering the situation in the country critical, the correspondent regrets that patriots of the stamp of Ajit Singh, whose patriotism consists only in claiming different titles for themselves, should try to weave nets for the feet of others. He next contends that Ajit Singh is a tuft-hunter and not a patriot, and remarks that the people should not follow men of straw like him. The writer is also of opinion that it was men of the type of Ajit Singh who wrecked the National Congress at Surat. He then finds fault with the present tone of the local *Hitkari*, and goes on to say that foolish agitators can work no injury to Government: they merely supply men who are willing to work (in jails) in return for food. His Patriotic Highness Sardar Ajit Singh and his followers, he adds, should go to the Native States in the Punjab and try to reform their administration before criticising the Government of India. A few years' residence in those parts of this province will give them an opportunity of instituting a comparison between the British Government and those of Feudatory States. In conclusion the correspondent remarks that India stands in need, not of foolish chatterers, but of patriots like the Hon'ble Lala Harkishen Lal, who should open factories in every city and enable the starving to obtain employment and food. If Ajit Singh and his followers were to open *Swadeshi* shops in some cities and preach *Swadeshism*, they would be doing a really praiseworthy and patriotic work.

F. ISEMONGER,

*Assistant to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police,*
*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

LAHORE:
*The 18th April 1908.*

Punjab Government Press, Lahore—23-4-08—1824—95—H. L. S.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 17. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

Received up to 25th April 1908.

---

## CONTENTS.


I.—Politics.

Page.

(a)—*Foreign*—

1. The Anglo-Russian Agreement (*Watan*) ... ... 223

(b)—*Home*—

2. India in the past and present day (*Hitkari*) ... 224
3. Unrest in India (*Hindustan*) ... ... ... *ib.*
4. Government and Bengali agitators (*Panjab Samachar*) ... ... ... 225
5. The Tinnevelly riots (*Civil and Military News*) ... *ib.*
6. Hindus in the North-West Frontier Province (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... ... ... 226
7. The Budget (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... ... *ib.*
8. Warning to the Editor of the *Swarajya* (*Jhang Sial*) *ib*
9. Warning to the Editor of the *Swarajya* (*Hindustan*) 227
10. Warning to the Editor of the *Swarajya* (*Hitkari*) ... *ib.*
11. Warning to the Editor of the *Swarajya* (*Haq Pasand*) *ib*
12. All Fool's Day (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... ... *ib.*
13. Lala Lajpat Rai (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... *ib.*
14. The Decentralisation Commission (*Tribune*) ... 228
15. The Tinnevelly sedition case (*Panjabee*) ... ... *ib.*
16. The Convention Committee and the Police (*Tribune*) 229

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

17. Tribal raids into British territory (*Hindustan*) ... 230
18. The Mohmand rising (*Observer*) ... ... 231
19. The Mohmand rising (*Tribune*) ... ... *ib.*
20. The Mohmand rising (*Panjabee*) ... ... *ib.*
21. The Mohmand rising (*Panjabee*) ... ... 232

Page.

III.—Native States.

22. Native States in Rajputana (*Sadik-ul-Akhbar*) ... 233

IV.—Kine-Killing.

*Nil.*

V.—Native Societies and religious matters.

*Nil.*

VI.—Legislation.

*Nil.*

VII.—General Administration.

(a)—*Judicial*—

23. Case against Tinnevelly lawyers (*Tribune*) ... 233

(b)—*Police*—

*Nil.*

(c)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs*—

*Nil.*

(d)—*Education*—

*Nil.*

(e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land*—

24. A complaint (*Zamindar*) ... ... ... 234

(f)—*Railways and Communications*—

*Nil.*

(g)—*Postal matters*—

*Nil.*

(h)—*Miscellaneous*—

25. Medical aid to Zamindars (*Zamindar*) ... ... 234
26. Aid to the family of Pindi Das (*Jhang Sial*) ... 235

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 17.]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 25th April 1908.**

---

### I.—POLITICS.

#### (a)—*Foreign.*

**The Anglo Russian Agreement.**

1. The *Watan* (Lahore), of the 17th April 1908, publishes a communication from one Muhammad Azim, an Afghan, in reply to an article published in the *Akhbar-i-'Am* of the 11th March, in which he takes that Editor to task for attributing the failure of the Amir to give his consent to the Anglo-Russian Convention to lack of wisdom and foresight and says that the papers were received by the Amir when he was touring in Mirza Sharif. Since it was impolitic and dangerous to send a reply in hot haste and without consulting his counsellors the Amir had no alternative but to postpone the despatch of a reply until his return to the Capital. After saying that the agreement is the beginning of the intervention of European powers in the affairs of Afghanistan, the writer remarks that the Treaty of Berlin has shown full well that agreements between European powers and Muhammadan kingdoms are prolific of mischief and inconvenience to the latter. The former by means of such treaties are always trying to interfere in the affairs of Musalman kingdoms which is injurious to the interests of such countries. It is not likely that England will care to measure swords with Afghanistan at the instance of a newly-found friend, *i.e.*, Russia. But if it ever does so it should remember that Afghanistan will be hard to defeat. Twenty millions of Afghans will fight to their last breath in order to preserve their national freedom and the English so far from deriving any benefit by invading Afghanistan will suffer an ignominious defeat. He then controverts the truth of the statement that Afghanistan owes her present position to England and asks if this is true why it is that native feudatory states, which are on much more friendly terms with England, have not acquired a position similar to that enjoyed by Afghanistan. The fact is that Afghanistan owes her present position to herself and to the Amir alone. It must, however, be acknowledged that large and substantial benefits have accrued to both countries by their living on friendly terms. The Editor of the *Akhbar-i-'Am* simply lacks

sense when he says that in the days of the Sikh ascendancy the Afghans were likened to jackals. Can he show from history when the Sikhs ruled Afghanistan? On the other hand every one knows that India has been robbed and plundered by many an Afghan ruler in days gone by; witness the invasions of Ahmed Shah Abdali, and Sher Shah Lodhi, &c. The writer next advises Hindus to abstain from hankering after an impossibility like *Swaraj* and not to try to minimise the good that British rule has done for them.

### (*b*)—*Home.*

Indian in the past and present day.

2. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 13th April 1908, says that Indians are no longer entitled to call India their own motherland. There was a time, however, when they could do so, but those days have gone. When India belonged to Indians chains of slavery were not rivetted round the necks of the people; plague and famines were unknown, and officials discharged their duties in the most conscientious manner and dared not do anything that was opposed to the will of the people. The reign of Ram Chundar will ever remain memorable for the many blessings enjoyed by the people. The Raja issued strict injunctions that no servant of his should resort to flattery or try to hide the truth from him. It was he who, on the complaint of a washerman, had his own dear spouse sent into exile. Had it been the present reign the unhappy washerman would have either been sent to jail or made to dance in the air. But those were the days of justice when even the poorest could get their grievances redressed. If the sort of discontent that was caused by the partition of Bengal had prevailed in that reign, the royal throne itself, not to speak of men of the position of Mr. Morley, would have been shaken. After referring to a few other rulers who used to go out in disguise in order to obtain first-hand information regarding their subjects, the Editor says that in these days, if a man proclaims the truth he is either thrown into prison or deported. Indeed, the present rulers of India seem to consider it their duty to oppress the people. After ascribing the degradation of India to the prevalence of dissension among the people, the Editor says that the degeneration of Indians is due to the fact that they have ceased to consider India as their motherland. If they begin to consider it as their own country and take an interest in its welfare it will again become their motherland in the true sense of the word. The people have hi therto done nothing to put a stop to the drain of its wealth and have become poor in consequence. The Editor concludes by calling upon Indians to bestir themselves and conciliate their motherland, which is angry with them. They should determine to serve it with all their might and main so that India may become a true mother to them.

Unrest in India.

3. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 17th April 1908, writing about the unrest in India remarks that if an Indian endeavours to bring the grievances of the people to the notice of the authorities, the latter turn a deaf ear to his representations and so far from giving him credit for being a patriot they consider him a rebel and sedition-monger, who aims at spreading discontent in the country and causing alarm to the authorities by making false and

unfounded statements. In short, he is regarded as an enemy and no stone is left unturned to ensnare him. Below is given the opinion of an Englishman who, it may be remembered, is not a well-wisher of India because Englishmen who give utterance to sentiments expressing sympathy with Indians do so from motives of self-interest. If, for instance, a gardener waters his fruit trees carefully, he does so in his own interests and not for any tender regard for the (well-being of the) trees. There are, however, some gardeners who, having numerous trees, do not water them, thinking that if the trees become dry and do not bear fruit they can be used as fuel or timber. But a gardener, who has only one tree on which he depends for the maintenance of his family, cannot allow it to become dry through negligence, because in that case his family would die of starvation. This is exactly the case with the British in India. The greatness of England depends on India, which alone feeds her sons. If England were to lose India, the inhabitants of that country would be sure to die of starvation. This fact is well-known to the English. Those Englishmen, therefore, who can realise the consequences likely to ensue from the spread of discontent in India, are the true friends of their own country, because if the Indians are justly treated and regarded as human beings they will remain loyal and will help the English in maintaining their supremacy. Anglo-Indians, however, do not realise this because they live in a state of luxury which is not dreamt of even by the sovereigns of Europe. It is, therefore, quite natural that they should consider themselves as "gods," especially when they see that even big *raises* approach them in abject humility, cringe before them, salute them by bowing very low and speak in flattering terms to them. When the authorities at Home ask Anglo-Indians to remove the discontent prevailing in India, the latter instead of pouring oil on troubled waters intensify the discontent by trying to overawe the people into silence. The paper then publishes extracts from the writings of Mr. O'Donnel regarding discontent in India.

Government and Bengali agitators.

4. The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 14th April 1908, says that a rumour is current in Calcutta to the effect that Government intends to deport 300 politicians of Calcutta to South Africa including the proprietors and editors of native papers, and that a list of such persons has already been prepared. If this is true there is no denying the fact that the high-handed doings of Government have reached their climax and that the unrest caused by the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh will be intensified. Does Government imagine that such doings will make Indians loyal? The Editor advises the authorities not to think of such harsh measures in as much as they will not enable Government to achieve the object it desires.

The Tinnevelly Riot.

5. The *Civil and Military News* (Ludhiana), of the 13th April 1908, writing about the speech delivered by Chidambaram Pillay, says that it was most strongly-worded and calculated to lead to a breach of the public peace. It was similiar to that made by Ajit Singh at Rawalpindi. It is apparent that when people indulge in seditious utterances against Government, the latter cannot help punishing them. The educated Hindu community should emulate the example of their Bengali brethren and remain firm in their loyalty to the

Government. They should bring the grievances of the people to notice in temperate and moderate language. After publishing an abstract of the speech in question, the Editor observes that such utterances are liable to prejudice the people, and, especially the more ignorant among them, against Government. The educated community should, therefore, abstain from making such foolish and seditious speeches. Cannot speeches pertaining to *swaraj*, *swadeshi*, etc., be delivered in a moderate tone? The Editor concludes by advising agitators to refrain from using language which will lead to disturbances.

Hindus in the N.-W. Frontier Province.

6. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 18th April 1908, remarks that as Government is unable to protect the lives and property of Hindu residents of the Frontier Province it should be asked to hand over the administration of that province to them. This suggestion if adopted would be doubly advantageous. In the first place the North-West Frontier Province will become a buffer state, and in the next the much-oppressed Hindus will cease to pour abuse on Government's devoted head. After saying that in Sardar Hari Singh Hindus had a general whose very name was a terror to the Pathans, he says that if Government accedes to this prayer of the Hindus it will see that so far from committing raids into British territory the Afridis will be hiding their own heads in order to save their lives.

The budget.

7. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 11th April 1908, remarks that as usual the budget was discussed in the Viceregal Council on the 27th March. The public are unaware that it is annually decided in the Viceregal Council how the money realised by means of bleeding India is to be spent. The manner in which the debate takes place bears a close resemblance to a theatrical performance in which every member plays his part, but in the end the wishes of the Viceroy are carried out. There was nothing extraordinary in the present year's budget because the matters discussed were the same as are discussed every year, *viz*, the extension of railways, the increase in the Military expenditure, &c. These budget debates are quite useless because it is a well known fact that the public revenues in India are heartlessly squandered in projects that are not likely to prove beneficial to India. This state of affairs will continue so long as Indians are not allowed a proper share in the administration of their country. After remarking that business in the Council is transacted in the same way as in the municipalities and that it is useless to refer at length to a budget in which Indians have no hand, the Editor says that in the present year the actors in the Council and especially Mr. Gokhale, Nawab Sayad Muhammad and the Maharaja of Durbhanga made a brave show and the Viceroy wound up the debate with a laughable farce.

Warning to the Editor of the *Swarajya*.

8. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 11th April 1908, publishes the following from the *Swarajya* of the 29th February on 'Famine and its last remedy':—

"The troubles of Indians cannot be removed by following a policy of mendicancy. There is only one way to achieve this object, namely, that Hindus and Muhammadans should both unite in order to revive their old trade which has been so cruelly and selfishly destroyed by tyrants and aggressors. We should water and revive the withered plant

of our arts and industries with the nectar of *swadeshism*, and if necessary, with our blood also. In order to protect this sprouting plant from the tyranny and oppression of foreigners we should fence it round with the thistles of boycott. Until the sapling of our hopes is nourished and enriched with fruits and spreads all over the world as in former days, we should try to protect it from the encroachments of enemies and tyrants even at the expense of our lives, etc."

After stating that it has received a letter saying that the Editor of *Swarajya* has been warned for publishing this article the Editor of the *Jhang Sial* remarks that he has perused it and finds nothing objectionable in it. If Government has misunderstood the purport of the article that is a different matter.

Warning to the Editor of the *Swarajya*.

9. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 17th April 1907, also reprints the foregoing passage, which, it says, is the most important part of the article in question. It adds that apparently Government has been misled in regard to the offending article, which has nothing seditious in it. The article only exhorts (the people) to stick to swadeshism and boycott, which is not unlawful.

Warning to the Editor of the *Swarajya*.

10. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 20th April 1908, also reproduces the passage and says that it can discover nothing seditious in the article. It is at a loss to understand why Government should injure itself (*lit.* sow thorns in its own path) by illegally threatening patriots and subjecting them to hardships. Can they, it asks, be silenced in this way. No, never.

Warning to the Editor of the *Swarajya*.

11. The *Haq Pasand* (Amritsar), of the 21st April 1908, also reprints the passage.

All Fools' Day.

12. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 11th April 1908, says that newspapers are busy in publishing hoaxes, but it is at a loss to understand why they should think of such jokes since afflicted hearts can have no inclination for such things. The inhabitants of a country, which is labouring under political slavery, the children of which are dying of famine and plague, need not think of hoaxes and *canards*. Indeed, a slavish nation, which has got no (political) rights and is held in scant esteem (*lit.* is kicked at every door), cannot be considered a living nation and must be dead to all sense of shame if it can think of "All Fools' Day." After stating that some persons advised the Editor to publish similar jests, he remarks that so far from being inclined to perpetrate jokes he feels disposed to cry and weep for his country day and night.

Lala Lajpat Rai.

13. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 11th April 1908, publishes an open letter to Lala Lajpat Rai from Dr. Dina Nath of Lyallpur, who says that he is grieved to learn that the Lala intends to go to England, not because the parting is hard to bear, but because he is making a mistake. It is an open secret that his release was not due to any effort on the part of members of Parliament or those of the Council (India Council), but to the unrest (*lit.* fire) prevailing in the country which threatened to consume those who had deported the Lala. His going to England

would imply that he is leaving those who have brought him back from Mandalay and is going among people who cannot be called his well-wishers. It is true the Lala is going to England for the purpose of serving India, but the people of England cannot be expected to do anything for natives unless the latter are able to induce them to do so by force. Indians would obtain their rights were it not for the fact the principle "Might is Right" prevails all over the world, and as natives have no power Indian members of Council like Mr. Gokhale and others can accomplish nothing. In conclusion the Editor remarks that Swami Daya Nand had no need to go to England in order to accomplish his mission and requests Lala Lajpat Rai to endeavour to establish schools in every town instead of proceeding to England.

14. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 24th April 1908:—

**The Decentralisation Commission.**

"The Royal Commission on Decentralisation may or may not have succeeded in laying the finger on the real plague-spots of the existing administration as a physician may or may not be able to diagnose the ailment that disturbs the human system. But if the patient takes the doctor into his confidence and tells him with the eloquence born of despair the history of his disease and the causes that have contributed to it, and still the physician fails to read his fate or to prescribe the true remedy, it may be his misfortune, but the blame cannot certainly lie at the suffering man's door. Similarly is it the case with the Commission. Men there are by no means few, and their number is increasing day by day, whose mind dispirited by constant failures and successive disappointment has moved into a groove of utter hopelessness, and however we may regret it, the fact remains that nothing but a substantial measure of reform and a material concession to popular demands can be expected to bring back their enthusiasm, or to press it in the cause of constitutional reform and our advance towards constitutional progress. Indeed sceptics there are who pin no faith in the results of the Decentralisation Commission and think that if high expectations are not formed, there will be no occasion for keen disappointment when the time comes for balancing the gains and losses. We might observe, however, that we decline to take so pessimistic a view of the labours of the Royal Commission, though it is none the less true that our experience of Commissions and Committees for some time does not justify our regarding them as quite unmixed blessings. We believe, however, that this time it is the advancing tide that may bring on its crest some substantial measure of reform that may enlist the sympathies and support of the whole Indian people. Whether this happens or not, of one thing we feel sure that the witnesses that appeared before them have not failed to give the Royal Commissioners a bit of their mind, and the brief though fleeting glimpses of the situation that flashed on their mental vision must have caused great searchings of the heart, and may have carried the truth home in its stern nakedness."

15. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 25th April 1908:—

**The Tinnevelly sedition case.**

"The proceedings in the Tinnevelly sedition case very curiously illustrate how the excitement of the feelings of disloyalty, disaffection and contempt, etc., which in the Penal Code constitutes the offence of 'sedition,' may be easily proved from the most innocent utterances by distorting their meaning and misrepresenting their effect. Any utterance that may mean disapproval of the proceedings of the Government or the ways of certain Europeans in India may be interpreted as calculated to excite ill-feeling, hatred, and contempt in the eyes of people who construe it as an insult to the *Sahib log* if an Indian forgets to *salaam* them in the streets or is so indifferent as to carry an open

umbrella in their presence. We have known that the entire propaganda of the Congress from the beginning has been called 'sedition', because it has proceeded on a criticism of the Government's policy, and it is foolish as well as dishonest to say that the appearance of the Extremists in its rank has made that body seditious in official eyes. In short, whatever the European does not like in the educated Indian is seditious. The evidence in the Tinnevelly case brings out this fact in great relief, and shows how urgent is the necessaity for amending the Penal Code as suggested by Mr. O'Grady."

16. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 26th April 1908:—

**The Convention Committee and the police.**

"Complaints of police officiousness in meddling with certain meetings of an apparently unobjectionable character are by no means novel, but the details of police bungling at Allahabad during the Easter holidays reported by our contemporary of the *Indian People* beat hollow anything of the kind previously reported. The first incident reported is in connection with the assembling of a number of members of the Convention for an informal discussion at the residence or Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, where the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale was staying. 'While the discussion was going on, says our contemporary, 'a couple of policemen in plain clothes coolly walked up to the portico of the house and demanded to be furnished with the names of the persons assembled there. Asked for their authority they said they were obeying orders. They were politely told the gentlemen in the house were neither conspirators nor criminals, but the owner of the house declined to give their names to the police. The policemen then left greatly chagrined.' But this was not all. Our contemporary says:—'At the Mayo Hall itself when the proceedings were about to begin the Sub-Inspector of Police of the Colonelganj Thana presented himself and demanded admission to take notes of the speeches. He was informed that the meeting was a private one and was not open to outsiders or the police. Thereopon the police officer enquired whether he should go back, and was told grimly that while his entrance into the hall could be prevented those in charge of the arrangements had no power to prevent him from going back to the place from where he had come. Later on two men strongly suspected to be policemen in plain clothes were discovered lurking in the body of the hall and were promply ejected.'

"Surely there could be no greater or more glaring instance of crass-headedness and perverse meddlesomeness than the one reported above. As our contemporary observes, 'the members of the Convention Committee are all well-known men. The Chairman and one of the Secretaries are additional members of the Governor-General's Council. One is a Knight, and there are five or six members of Provincial Legislative Councils. The purpose for which they had gathered at Allahabad was expressly declared at Surat, namely, to formulate a constitution for the Congress. There were to be no speeches, but only informal discussion about the framing of rules, &c. There was absolutely no occasion for the interference of the police and yet they blunderingly poked their noses into the affair. If it was necessary to find out the names of the persons who had arrived it should have been done by the secret police quietly. If it was necessary that the proceedings should be reported by the police the officer should have come armed with an authority from the District Magistrate.' Such incidents not only reflect little credit on the sense of discrimination of the police as to movements above suspicion or of a different character but also cause a painful impression on the outside public, who can hardly be blamed it they read in it a desire to look askance at all political movements for the progress of the country and the sooner the responsible authorities realise this, the better it will be."

## II—Arghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

Tribal raids into British territory.

17. The following is from the English Supplement to *Hindustan* (published at Lahore and edited by Sarala Devi Chaudhrani) of April 17th 1908:—

"(1) That king who *endures* a dacoit, a robber or an extortionist quickly goes to perdition, and incurs public hatred and contempt.

"(2) Neither on account of friendship, nor for the sake of great lucre, shall the king let go free the perpetrators of violent acts who spread terror among his subjects.

"(3) The *Dwijas* may take arms when their duty is obstructed by force and when in some evil time a disaster has befallen their fellow beings.

"Such then is the law that Manu has laid down for the *Dwijas* (not Kshatriyas alone) when in some evil time a disaster befalls Dwija brothers.

"Such then is the rule of conduct laid down by that great law-giver of man, for the king who is anxious for the stability of his kingdom! Rightly has the *Rishi* in words bold and unambiguous foretold the fate of the Ruler who breaks this eternal law of human affairs.

"Will any one of those to whom Mr. Morley (desirous of becoming a Lord yet anxious to retain his power over India as its Secretary in the Cabinet)—and the Government listen, tell them that all the real and supposed sedition-mongers of the world could not bring the British Government in India into greater hatred and contempt, no revolutionary preaching of '*our enemies*' could endanger the stability of the British Raj more, that not all the Tilaks, and Khapardes and Pauls that India at present possesses—and they are not small in number—could lower the prestige of the Government more than has been done by their ignominiously withdrawing their armies; by their practically refusing all protection to the Hindus of Peshawar and its neighbourhood.

"Will not the King-Emperor of India, in whose good intentions the teeming millions of Indians have the most abiding faith, call upon Lord Minto and Lord Kitchener to explain their utter disregard of the heart-breaking shrieks and cries and groans of a large number of His Majesty's most law abiding, innocent and peace-loving subjects, who have been looted and robbed, murdered and dishonoured, in their own homes and huts? Is it really difficult to deal with these frontier hounds? Is it really worthy of the Lion of Great Britain to see the lions of the Punjab thus disgraced by these mean and cowardly beasts of the frontier forests? We pause for a reply.

"The Government must know than there are hundreds and thousands of Panjabis who laugh at the cowardly and un-British conduct of the Government. Let the Government appoint the Young Prince of Patiala, the Maharaja of Kapurthala, or the Maharaja of Gwalior, or the Commander-in-Chief of Jammu and Kashmir, Raja Amar Singh, (we are sorry we cannot mention here the name of the Nawab of Bahawalpur whose untimely death has ruined that unfortunate State) to go and settle the frontier scandal for ever. Let that pious and powerful prince of tried and admitted loyalty, the Maharaja Partap Singh of Idar, be ordered to do the needful. Give any of these princes, or for the matter of that, give any one of the many princes under our Emperor's sway, orders to settle this recurring scandal, and let the poor law-abiding Hindus of the Frontier have their peace.

"The Government is not perhaps aware that a Hindu who lives among and under these tribes is at present happier by far than a Hindu who lives on the Frontier, but under the protection of the British flag.

"But we will perhaps rightly be charged for slandering the good and great name of the Panjabi in general: Sikh, Rajput, Dogra and Mohyal. We must at once apologise and say that we do not mean it. We have the greatest faith in the manhood of the Panjabi; we trust their chivalry; we respect their valour and admire their martial spirit. We would therefore request the Government to let some tried Panjabi Sardar from amongst the Indian armies be given a free hand in the matter, and we are sure we shall not have this standing disgrace on any established Government."

The Mohmand rising.

18. The following is from the *Observer* (Lahore), of the 25th April 1908 :—

"The situation on our North-Western Frontier is again very grave, and reinforcements are being hurried to the scene of disturbances. It is as yet premature to prophesy whether the Mohmand resistance will speedily collapse or whether it will form the nucleus of widespread conflagration on the frontier. The news of the present rising comes as a surprise and no one had the least suspicion that after the lesson which had been just taught to the Zakka Khels any other frontier tribe would still have the backbone left to provoke reprisals. But it appears that the influx of about two thousand men from Afghanistan has added to the excitement of tribal feeling and put heart into those who would have otherwise profited by the lesson taught by General Wilcocks' Expedition. It is, however, always the unexpected that happens on the frontier, and the Mohmand rising is a fresh indication of the discontent that is ever simmering in the ranks of the warlike people who inhabit our North-Western Frontiers."

The Mohmand rising.

19. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of 23rd April 1908 :—

"The war-cloud has hardly been lifted from the Afridi frontier when another war-cloud appears on the horizon of the frontier this time on the Mohmand border. On the eve of the punitive expedition to the Afridi land, we expressed the opinion that the matter was really one for police, and that the best way to guard against these raids is to institute a system of more vigilant watch and ward instead of driving the wild Afridis into their mountain fastnesses. The expedition, however, went and had some successful fights with the Afridis, in which it was said that the latter had been taught a wholesome lesson. But the taste of the pudding lies in the eating of it and the raids on the Afridi frontier have not ceased. Indeed, public opinion in this province will be more inclined to regret with Hon'ble the Tikka Sahib of Nabha that the Afridis have not been taught a more salutary lesson, for the need of police vigilance on the frontier is as imperative as ever and it was given out some time ago that the Government is now busy in making arrangements for properly policing the frontier. That is of course all right, but we are not sure whether the sum of twelve lakhs, which is stated to have been the approximate cost of the punitive expedition could not have been more usefully spent in the up-keep of a vigilant police guard along the line of disturbance. The same question naturally comes to us with regard to the present expedition against the Mohmands, *vis*, whether a more economical, though not less effective method of dealing with the raids of the Mohmands would not lie in the better policing of the area of disturbance. But it is no use speculating. The die is cast, the troops have gone out and we have only to watch the development of events."

The Mohmand rising.

20. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 22nd April 1908 :—

"So our Peshawar correspondent's anticipations appear to be going to prove true, that there is possibility of an early collision of British troops with the Mohmand tribe on the Peshawar border. The latest news in connection with the Zakka Khel expedition was that the chapter of self-congratulations has not yet closed, and that a distribution of honours was in contemplation for those who had distinguished themselves specially in bringing about the 'settlement.' It were better that this function be postponed until the Mohmands have given a chance to our officers and men to earn further distinction, and by another 'settlement' to pave the way for other tribes to similarly bestir themselves? In his Budget speech Lord Minto said that the sword should not be allowed to get rusty in its sheath, and the key to Lord Kitchener's army reorganisation scheme is to keep preparing in times of peace for the stress of real war. The tribes furnish an excellent opportunity for carrying on this amateur practice,

and the more the tribesmen misbehave themselves, and the less the 'settlements' settle anything, the merrier for Tommy Atkins and Jack Sepoy. There will be distribution of medals and honours all the same whether it be a sham fight or real war. Be that as it may, there is little doubt now that the Mohmands, probably emboldened by the pleasant experiences of the Zakka Khels, are in the mood of tempting the British tiger, if not bearding him in his own den. * * * * During the winter the Mohmands are said to have been only less aggressive than the Zakka Khels, and after the return of the expedition (significantly enough) dacoities on Shabkadar and neighbouring villages became so frequent on the Mohmand border that at length it was decided to garrison the principal villages with a detachment of regular troops. It is presumable that Lord Kitchener's recent visit to Peshawar and the neighbouring country was in connection with the contemplated expedition, and let us hope that, if undertaken, it will prove to be a really 'punitive' one. Our honest opinion, however, is that proper measures taken within our own borders, by improving the police and strengthening the military, would afford better and more permanent protection to the people concerned than these spasmodic expeditions which are associated more with sound and fury than with actual results worth being proud of. Of course, the best measure of protection would be to allow the people to arm themselves and organise their own means of self-defence."

The Mohmand rising.

21. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 25th April 1908 :—

"So, fighting has commenced on the Mohmand border, and affairs have assumed a very serious aspect. 'The rapid development of this hostile demonstration' on the part of the Mohmand is 'a surprise' to the *Pioneer*, which cherishes the fond belief that calculations of self-interest rule the actions of fanatical tribes as much as those of civilised peoples. * * * * 'It is not yet clear,' wires the Peshawar correspondent of the *Pioneer*, 'what the reason is of this calling together of the clans, and whether it should be regarded as a result of the Bazar Valley expedition or has its own peculiar significance.' Probably it is the former, probably the latter, but more probably it is both combined. There cannot be any question that the abortive result of the Bazar Valley expedition against the Zakka Khels has had the effect of lowering the prestige of British arms in the eyes of the tribesmen and at the same time whetting their cupidity. It demonstrated what a riskless and even paying work it was to make raids on the defenceless people of British territory, for in addition to the spoils of *loot*, British 'settlement' only meant further contributions the to tribesmen. But fanaticism has also its part in the demonstration. The Mullahs, always burning with the holy fire for leading *jehads* against the Kaffir, find an opportunity in situations in which the predatory instincts of the tribesmen come to the aid of their religious frenzy. The situation has certainly been complicated by the movement of tribesmen from the Afghan side of the border, who have joined the rising to the number of about 2,000. It is believed that the Mohmands by themselves would probably have dispersed, but for this reinforcing contingent, which may have the effect of giving the appearance of the support of the Amir to the demonstration. The *Pioneer* hopes this breaking loose of Afghans is due to the want of control of the Afghan officials, and it reminds the Amir that it is his 'plain duty to act as his father did in 1897, and by a strongly worded proclamation to recall his subjects peremptorily from Mohmand country.' His Majesty is also exhorted to take effective measures at the same time 'to prevent any similar contingents from joining the malcontents on a future occasion.' The attitude taken up by the British so far is one of acting strictly on the defensive, and the authorities are evidently particularly anxious not to arouse the Amir's suspicion by appearing to march towards Afghanistan. The *Pioneer* hopes the Kabul Durbar should respond to this friendly attitude 'before widespread mischief ensues.'"

## III.—Native States.

Native States in Rajputana.

22. A correspondent writing to the *Sadiq ul-Akhbar* (Rewari) of the 10th April 1908, says that the Native States in Rajputana fare worse than any other part of India. Patriotic natives complain of the oppression practised on their fellow countrymen in the Transvaal, but they care nothing for the fate of the inhabitants of the Native States. The same is the case with the indigenous press: it complains of the perpetration of this or that act of official oppression in British India, but does not concern itself about the feudatory states. The writer then goes on to say that education is at a discount in these states, with the exception only of Jaipur, and the result is that revenue and police officials mercilessly fleece, and heap the grossest abuse on the agriculturists. The largest educational institution in the state is that at Ajmere, but the people who are in the know hold the opinion that the education imparted at it is of the worst sort. The habits of those who are educated at it become so ruined that a sense of decency prevents the correspondent from dilating on the subject On assuming the reins of government its *alumni* relegate all their powers to their Diwans and to the state councils and remain ignorant of what goes on in their territories. It may be mentioned here that if a Diwan or a member of the council is an outsider he thinks only of feathering his own nest and providing for his relations. In case he is a state *jagirdar* he addresses himself to the task of paying his debts, showing favours to his creditors and murdering justice in a most perverse manner. The writer next alleges that when the Resident at Abu (? the Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana) goes out on tour, Maharajas, state officials and members of state councils have to dance attendance on him, the poor have to carry burdens getting up at 3 in the morning and having neither food to eat nor clothes to protect them against cold—*tehsil* peons rain down blows from their sticks, feasts are held, *dali* upon *dali* is presented, and any one making a complaint is involved in trouble. In conclusion, he makes the following suggestion in order to better the lot of the subjects of the Native States in Rajputana :—

(1) That sessions judges should decide cases with the help of juries and assessors.

(2) That schools should be opened in villages, education being made compulsory for the agricultural classes.

## VII.—General Administration.

### (*a*)—*Judicial.*

Case against Tinnevelly lawyers.

23. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of April 25th, 1908 :—

"If there was one feature which more than others struck the on-looker in the Tinnevelly disturbances and subsequent official actions it was the striking similarity which they bore to the scenes we witnessed last year at Rawalpindi. In both cases, the magnitude of the riot was only possible on account of the inefficient policing of the town, and there was an apparent resemblance in the occasion of the two riots. But what was more striking, there was even a more marked similarity in the official measures taken after the riots in both cases. The Pindi riots were followed by scenes, which we prefer not to rake up here. Suffice it to say that it was after months of heart-rending agony and cruel suspense that the long polar night

of the miseries of Pindi lawyers brightened up into the happy dawn. Tinnevelly was threatened with similar scenes, but thanks to the good sense and judgment of the presiding Magistrate, the lowering clouds have been lifted, the dark and threatening atmosphere has cleared up. From the telegram printed in another column, it will be seen that the security cases against the six Tinnevelly pleaders have had a happy termination, the Magistrate having discharged all of them on the ground that people like them were not likely to commit any breach of the peace. Of course, Messrs. Chidambaram Pillai and others are still under their trial and it is not for us to say anything on *sub judice* cases. But we may say that the release of the six Tinnevelly lawyers as well as by tempering justice with mercy in mild sentences on the accused in the Vellupuram riot cases, the trying Magistrates have done a good deal to rehabilitate the Madras Government into public estimation and have vindicated the cause of justice. The report of the release of the Tinnevelly lawyers will be no doubt received with great satisfaction throughout the length and breadth of the land."

### (*e*)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land.*

A complaint.

24. The *Zamindar* (Karmabad), of the 8th April 1908, complains of the practice by which the supply of water to the settlers in the canal colonies is stopped when crops are about to ripen. It is, however, of opinion that the canal authorities are wholly powerless in the matter, since the supply of water in the canals is far below the requirements of the colonists. It was impressed on them by Lord Curzon's Government that they should display liberality in the matter of the construction of canals. His Lordship was under the impression that although crops would continue to be raised with rain water Government would collect water-rates whereever there was a canal, even though only in name. He did not, however, know that the gates of heaven would become closed and that, instead of realising *abiana*, Government would have to grant remissions on account of the failure of crops. It has been truly said that the prosperity of the subjects depends on the motives which actuate the ruler. The paper then goes on to say that it has received complaints from some zamindars in the *Bar ilaka* to the effect that after the inspection of ruined crops by zilladars the supply of canal water to the colonists was stopped, and that this has led to the destruction of those crops that remained. The Editor seeks to substantiate this statement by publishing the complaints received by him on the subject from Chak No. 232 in the Samundri Tehsil and Chaks Nos. 3 and 111 on the Gugera Branch.

### (*h*)—*Miscellaneous.*

Medical aid for zamindars.

25. The *Zamindar* (Karmabad), of the 8th April 1908, says that agriculturists have to pay 4 annas for every rupee of land revenue in aid of schools, hospitals, roads, &c. It is, however, merchants and traders, who make use of the roads, while the schools chiefly exist for the benefit of non-agriculturists. Hospitals would be of great benefit to zamindars, but Government only locates these institutions in large cities and towns, and consequently it is the urban population again that profits. Agriculturists give an immense sum of money annually in aid of hospitals, but for them alone no medical aid is available; thus, since they have to undergo many privations, they fall victims to diseases of every sort. Thousands of zamindars and cultivators die every year in the villages of the Punjab for want of medical aid. Formerly

Government used to appoint native physicians for villages, but the practice has long been discontinued. The prevalence of epidemic diseases among the peasantry has been so greatly on the increase of late and the death-rate has risen so high among that section of the population that Government should give the matter particular attention. If it can do nothing else it should at least discontinue recovering the above cess from agriculturists, making up the deficiency from those who profit most by the roads, schools and hospitals.

Aid to the family of Pindi Das.

26. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 11th April 1908, acknowledges the receipt of a further sum of Rs. 47-4 collected by Lala Churanji Lal, from mauza Khanna, district Ludhiana, in the current week thus bringing the total amount to Rs. 250-10. Lala Ishar Das, father of Pindi Das, has been acquitted and has taken the family of Pindi Das, under his protection ; moreover, Sufi Amba Pershad, who is well acquainted with the condition of the family of Pindi Das has assured the paper that much help is being rendered privately to Pindi Das's family. The question, therefore, arises as to what should be done with the money collected for the aid of Pindi Das's family and whether the fund started for the purpose be continued or closed. After inviting an expression of opinion from the public, the Editor remarks that he will be guided by the opinion of the majority in coming to a decision regarding the disposal of the money collected.

F. ISEMONGER,

*Assistant to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police,*

*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

LAHORE :

*The 25th April* 1908.

Punjab Government Press, Lahore—4-5-08—1936—35—J. B. & H. L. S.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 18. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

Received up to 2nd May 1908.

---

## CONTENTS.


I.—Politics.

Page.

(a)—*Foreign*—

1. Powers and Turkey (*Vakil*) ... ... ... 237

(b)—*Home*—

2. The rulers and the ruled (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 237
3. The rulers and the ruled (*Raghbir Patrika*) ... 239
4. The rulers and the ruled (*Raghbir Patrika*) ... *ib.*
5. The people and Government (*Akhbar-i-'Am*) ... 240
6. A political Drama (*Haq Pasand*) ... ... *ib.*
7. Last year's unrest among the native Army (*Hindustan*) ... ... ... ... 242
8. A rumoured rising in India (*Hindustan*) ... ... 243
9. Muhammadans and politics (*Hindustan*) ... ... *ib.*
10. India under muslim and British rule (*Sadik-ul-Akhbar*) ... ... ... ... 244
11. Poverty of India (*Nazim-ul-Hind*) ... ... *ib.*
12. Decentralisation Commission (*Tribune*) ... ... 245
13. Ill-treatment of natives by Anglo-Indians (*Haq Pasand*) ... ... ... ... 247
14. Ill-treatment of natives by Anglo-Indians (*Hindustan*) 248
15. Aid to political offenders (*Hindustan*) ... ... *ib.*
16. Aid to political offenders (*Haq Pasand*) ... ... *ib.*
17. Aid to political offenders (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... *ib.*
18. Dr. Dina Nath, of Lyallpur (*Hindustan*) ... 242
19. Dr. Dina Nath, of Lyallpur (*Jhang Sial*) ... *ib.*

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

20. Tribal raids into British territory (*Panjab Samachar*) 250
21. Tribal raids into British territory (*Hindustan*) ... 251
22. The Mohmand rising (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... *ib.*
23. The Mohmand rising (*Tribune*) ... ... *ib.*
24. The Mohmand rising (*Panjabee*) ... ... 252
25. The Mohmand rising (*Panjabee*) ... ... 253
26. The Mohmand rising (*Observer*) ... ... ... *ib.*

III.—Native States.

27. Government and Native States (*Curzon Gazette*) ... 254

IV.—Kine-Killing.

28. Kine-killing in India (*Panjab Samachar*) ... 255

V.—Native Societies and religious matters.

VI.—Legislation.

*Nil.*

VII.—General Administration.

(a)—*Judicial*—

*Nil.*

(b)—*Police*—

*Nil.*

(c)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs*—

*Nil.*

(d)—*Education*—

29. Free primary education (*Hindustan*) ... ... 255
30. Khalsa College (*Hindustan*) ... ... ... *ib.*
31. Half truth in text-books (*Hindustan*) ... ... 256

(e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land*—

*Nil.*

(f)—*Railways and Communications*—

*Nil.*

(g)—*Postal matters*—

*Nil.*

(h)—*Miscellaneous*—

32. Mr. Stephen, lately an Extra Assistant Commissioner in the Punjab (*Hindustan*) ... ... 256
33. Mr. Stephen, lately an Extra Assistant Commissioner in the Punjab (*Panjab Samachar*) ... ... 257

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 18. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 2nd May 1908.**

---

### I.—POLITICS.

#### (*a*)—*Foreign.*

Powers and Turkey.

1. The *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 25th April 1908, remarks that the political horizon in the Near East appears overcast once more. It is difficult to say to what conse quences the unstatesmanlike policy followed by the powers towards Turkey will lead. Every one of them is so given to land-grabbing that they overlook moral, religious, and political considerations, nay, even the very principles of humanity, in the attainment of their object. After referring to the recent disp utes of France and Italy with the Porte, as also to the Anglo-Russian doings in regard to Macedonia, the paper says that apparently Turkey is a piece of joint property in which every European power enjoys sovereign rights, which have the elasticity of rubber and can be stretched to any length. However, signs are not wanting to show that the patience of Turkey is near exhaustion and that the day is bound to come when she will have to unsheath the sword. And the victory will rest with those who are free from the impurity of greed and are compelled to go into the battle-field merely in self-defence—a moral principle which was fully established by the Russo-Japanese war.

#### (*b*)—*Home.*

The rulers and the ruled.

2. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 25th April 1908, remarks that it is superfluous to state now what the people of India desire, because the English, as well as other nations of the world, are fully aware that complete freedom is the final goal of man's life. Natives have come to realise that, like the English, Americans and Japanese, they have every right to complete liberty; and they will be worse than beasts if they do not, after having realised this, try to make themselves free. The desire for liberty is natural in every human being and it is therefore no crime in the people of this country to cherish such a desire. The real criminals are those who are depriving Indians of their liberty and prevent the latter from struggling to obtain freedom. Their reason for trying to stifle the aspirations of the people consist in their desire to enjoy themselves in India for some time longer, otherwise they are not unaware that natives demand nothing less than freedom and

that they have every right to make the demand. The charges of sedition preferred against the children of the soil are wholly unfounded : there is no rebel here, nor can a person become a rebel in his own country. The very things for doing which a native is dubbed a rebel raise a person to the position of a patriot in other countries and secure him the veneration of his fellow-countrymen. It is, however, a matter for congratulation that patriots have begun to be honoured in India also. Government may not appreciate their services, but the people revere them and consider it a laudable thing to go and see them. The reason for this is that Government apprehends injury from the very persons who are benefactors of the people. The only defect of foreign rule is that the interests of the rulers and the ruled clash beneath it. The same defect characterises the British Government in India and the rapid increase in the number of sedition cases and the widening of the gulf between the authorities and the people are ascribable to this very evil.

The people have come to realise that Government itself is at the bottom of their troubles—poverty and starvation—and that so long as they do not get rid of it they cannot live in comfort. They have, therefore, now demanded *Swaraj*. The English admit that it is the birth-right of natives to obtain their freedom, still they have been annoyed by this demand and have been resorting to illegal methods to stem the tide, with the result that every native is full of complaints against them. Again, the complaints are gaining in volume from day to day, and the time is fast approaching when they will make things extremely unpleasant for the English. Indians are weak at the present moment and cannot make reprisals for the attacks which Government has been making on them in order to stifle their longings for liberty. It, however, argues an ignorance of history to say that they can be crushed, or made to give up their desire (for freedom). All the wars, which have so far taken place between slavery and freedom, have been won by the latter's votaries, however weak and small in number they may have been. The reason why they have invariably succeeded is that they fight for justice and their legitimate rights, while their opponents consist of oppressors, and usurpers of the rights of others. Indians demand freedom and are right in making the demand. Government, however, since it knows this and still stands in their way is in the wrong. It is, therefore, no mistake to say that although Government may place any number of obstacles in their way, may get up crores of sedition cases and may deport or hang thousands of natives, victory will assuredly rest with the people. The fight between the English, *i.e.*, Government and natives, has already commenced, albeit in a subdued manner, but if Government does not mend its ways the fight will be certain to gain in bitterness, The Indians are not mischief-makers, nor do they wish that the quarrel between them and Government should be submitted to the arbitrament of the sword. They have learnt much from the English and consider it ungrateful to take up arms against the latter. They cannot at the same time cease to demand their rights and to long for liberty. It, therefore, behoves the English to abandon the thoughts of keeping Indians in a state of perpetual slavery with the sword and to take the latter by the hand and make them taste of liberty. They enjoy and value freedom ; and if they were to help poor natives in

obtaining liberty they would not only place the latter under a heavy debt of gratitude but would also earn merit for themselves both in this world and in the world to come. There cannot be the slightest doubt that the people of India will succeed in gaining freedom one day, be it one year or a hundred years hence. The only result, therefore, of the English placing obstacles in their way will be to increase the distrust and estrangement between the rulers and the ruled, which will lead to a sanguinary war in the end. It is extremely foolish on the part of the authorities to oppose what is inevitable and thereby create bad blood between themselves and the people. Under these circumstances it appears advisable that natives should fit themselves to regain their freedom, while the English should lend them a helping hand and teach them the way to do so. This would enable the English to retain possession of India for a long time to come, as also to win the gratitude of the people. The paper concludes as follows :—

"God grant that this may be our future and that we may, through the kindness of the English, obtain freedom by peaceful means. Then we will shout loudly 'Praise be to the English! Long live the English! The English are great philanthropists. They are angels in the form of human beings.' *Amen*!"

The rulers and the ruled.

3. The *Raghbir Patrika* (Jhang) for April 1908, publishes a Punjabi poem composed by the Editor which opens as follows :—

"O you, with white faces and black hearts (*lit.* tongues),

"O you, who are called rulers, reflect a little.

"How long will we put up with oppression from you?

"O you, who flourish hunting-crops (in our faces) only respect begets respect.

"There have been several kings who caused themselves to be spoken of as God.

"They have passed away, nor will you, O men of pride, live for ever.

"You should not pride yourselves on your brief power,

"You will sustain a fall, O you, who oppress the afflicted.

"You can keep the sceptre, we do not need it,

"We (only) ask for justice, O you, who are called just."

The poet then goes on to say that natives are also human beings and that their rulers should not treat them like beasts, for the disgrace heaped on them by the latter cuts them to the quick. After remarking that they do not wish to fight Government, he concludes as follows :—

"If you do not give us (our) rights, you will not be able to enjoy yourselves.

"O you, who drink whisky-and-soda and beer night and day."

The rulers and the ruled.

4. The *Raghbir Patrika* (Jhang), for April 1908, publishes some Punjabi verses from the pen of one "Kailash Jangli," who complains that although natives have been weeping and submitting petitions to their hard-hearted rulers for years past, the latter have not as yet taken pity on them nor listened to them. The authorities regard loyal Indians as unfit for *Swaraj*, although the savage and rebellious Boers have already been granted self-government. They do not appreciate the loyalty of Indians. The people have been petitioning (Government for their rights) for half a century past, but to no purpose. They have also been reduced to a state of poverty. They should help themselves : their present inactivity has reduced them to a miserable condition.

5. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* (Lahore), of the 25th April 1908, publishes a communication in which the writer says that although *swadeshism* and boycott are on the lips of every one and are being discussed everywhere, true patriots continue to be very rare in the country. It is easy to name a number of so-called patriots, but they do not love the country in the true sense of the term and their irresponsible doings have been doing more harm than good to their countrymen. It is equally true, however, that some of the officers of the Government have been conducting themselves in a very short-sighted manner, although this should not detract from the worth of their just and courteous brethren. After remarking that the present miserable condition of the country is due chiefly to the self-constituted leaders, who can only indulge in empty talk, the correspondent finds fault with those who allow themselves to be led by the nose by their favourites and commit acts calculated to injure both Government and the people. He then advises his countrymen to never fail to bring the doings of such officers to the notice of Government, adding that this will put an end to the evil and make the officers of Government take an interest in the prosperity and well-being of the people. The writer also asks natives to cease to follow ignorant men, and urges the real leaders of the people to have nothing to do with officers who love flattery. He concludes by asking the people to always bear in mind that the British is the greatest and the most just Government in the world.

The people and Government.

6. A reader of the *Hak Pasand* (Amritsar), contributes to its issue, of the 21st April 1908, the first instalment of "A Political Drama: a British Officer's *Darbar*, or the miserable condition of Mother Bharat". The following is a summary of the article :—

A Political Drama.

"ACT I.

SCENE 1.—*The Darbar.*

(*Enter British Officer.—The Darbaris bow respectfully.*)

*British Officer.*—My Indian subjects,—Hindus used to weep during the Muslim supremacy and Muhammadans had a bad time of it under Hindu rule. Our rule is, however, superior to both the Muslim, and the Hindu rule. Both Hindus and Musalmans live in quiet and peace under it. There are railways and the telegraph everywhere. Thieves and dacoits have been prevented from molesting the people. Native boys are taught in every town and village and are taught to live a higher life. The people are prosperous in every respect. The lion and the goat drink at the same *ghat*, and even-handed justice is administered in the country.

*Official Member.*—O, ornament of the Kingly throne, who is there to match with you? British prestige reigns throughout the country and the people enjoy themselves in every way. Plague and famine are quiescent, and if they appear anywhere nothing is left undone to combat them. There are rejoicings everywhere and the country enjoys complete liberty. The British have proved to be the saving of India and have been doing their duty in a most thorough manner. Only a small sum of money is recovered from the people to cover the expenditure, but they are afforded great comfort in return. We mean to make a capable people of natives, but so far they have not learnt to discriminate between good and evil. Nevertheless, it has been made patent that we are actuated by honest motives. We elevate natives to the posts of Extra Assistant Commissioner and District Judge. Railway and the telegraph minister to

the comfort of the people, and post offices exist everywhere. University education is imparted in all provinces and ignorance dare not show its face in the country. I only wish that Indians would feel grateful to us and would also realise the might of the British.

*Non-Official Member.*—My Lord, the remarks made by you and the comments of my Hon'ble friend the Official Member thereon are perfectly justifiable. It is, however, a riddle to me why he should ask Indians to feel grateful to the British. They already do so and are ever ready to lay down their lives in the service of the Crown. They are loyal and thoroughly deserving of being trusted. They fought for their Government in the Dark Continent and in Tirah. Why should, then, my Hon'ble friend the Official Member complain of want of gratitude in them? Does he do so, because they now demand their rights and despise perpetual slavery?

*Mace-bearer* (*chobdar*).—Your Majesty, an old woman has presented herself and craves an audience.

*British Officer.*—She may be brought into the *Darbar* before us.

*Mace-bearer.*—Very good.

(*Enter Mother Bharat, in rags and dishevelled hair*).

"*British Officer.*—What misfortune brings thee here, old woman? Tell us they story.

*Mother Bharat.*—

Do not hear the story of my friendlessness:

Do not listen to the story of the afflicted.

*British Officer.*—Thy name?

*Mother Bharat.*—Unknown: afflicted.

*British Officer.*—(Thine) abode?

*Mother Bharat.*—Oppressed India.

*British Officer.*—Make full replies. Our mind is in a maze.

*Mother Bharat.*—Heaven has caused me a world of sorrow: my grief extorts tears even from my enemies.

*British Officer.*—Leave off such talk and relate the story.

*Mother Bharat.*—I am caught so fast in the net of adversity that I find it extremely difficult even to breathe. I have been so hacked with the dagger of oppression that I cannot even open my eyes. Heaven has brought me to the dust. Thousands are bent on injuring me, and there are a thousand and one wounds in my heart. My cities have been rendered desolate and my crown has left my head. My heroes and warriors are gone and my lofty forts have been razed to the ground. My children go about begging, but there is no one to give them a crust of bread and they are turned back wherever they go.

*British Officer.*—I have heard thy fictitious story, and that also from thine own lips. Say now what dost thou ask of us?

*Mother Bharat.*—I beg of you for mercy and justice.

*British Officer.*—We act up fully to the dictates of mercy and justice. We are known for justice throughout the world. The British are always on the side of mercy and would show mercy even to their enemies.

*Mother Bharat.*—All a lie, a black lie. Your pretensions to justice and mercy are unfounded. What has become of the royal proclamation (*lit.* agreement) of 1857? Why do the English regard it with feelings of disgust? If this is (your) justice, there is no need to talk of it. Besides, if the British are always ready to treat even their enemies with mercy, why do they distrust their Indian subjects? Do not the latter pay

taxes and do they not fight (for the Government)? It is unfair that the British should openly profit by this (*lit.* a) country and feather their nests with its wealth, but should have the shamelessness to send away (the people) empty-handed when they demand their rights.

*British Officer.*—Thou impudent and deceitful hag! How dost thou conduct thyself! Thou dost not fear the authorities or thy sovereign. To think of thee coming to teach me statecraft and secure the rights of thy children! Begone hence! What nonsense art thou talking? Thou art wasting my time. Is there any *chobdar* here?

*Mace-bearer.*—Yes, Sir.

*British Officer.*—Turn this old woman out? Push her away.

*Mace-bearer.*—Very good.

*(Exit Mother Bharat. The Darbar breaks up.)*

SCENE 2.—*The Bazar.*

(Lamentatio n of Mother Eharat).

[Here follow a few verses sung by Mother Bharat to bemoan her hard lot ]

*Exit Mother Bharat. Enter some boys playing.)*

SONG.

Our India is the grave of (our) longings:
Oh! the flower-gatherer has looted our rose garden:
Our manufactures used to sell in London and Norway:
Paris used to buy our goods at high prices:
Our skill used to excite the wonder of Germany:
Holland used to look at us in bewilderment.
O vicissitudes of fortune, under the cover of guiding us,
The highwaymen have looted our *caravan*.
O Falak,* things have turned topsy-turvy,
Since foreigners now speak of India, as theirs."

*(To be continued.)*

Last year's unrest among the native Army.

7. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 17th April 1908, remarks that in his speech on the 1st November last on the occasion of the passing of the Seditious Meetings Act, the Viceroy remarked that attempts had been made to tamper with the loyalty of the Indian Army, and His Excellency requested Lord Kitchener to convey to the Indian Army his thanks for the contempt with which they had received the disgraceful overtures made to them. Yet neither the Viceroy nor Lord Kitchener nor even Mr. Morley has as yet accused any one by name of having attempted to seduce native soldiers from their loyalty. Nor has any one so far been caught in the attempt; and if anyone had really tried to tamper with the loyalty of Jack Sepoy he would assuredly have been arrested and punished by the authorities. The paper then goes on to say that during the unrest which prevailed in the country last year the military authorities, contrary to their usual practice, preached loyalty to Indian troops, took away their arms from them and posted British soldiers where formerly Sepoys used to be on duty. This excited the curiosity of native soldiers, and they began to seek for the reasons of the distrust with which they were regarded by the authorities. Their search led them to discover many things, the knowledge of which was likely to curtail the power of the authorities and to cause pecuniary loss

* Lal Chand Falak, Editor of the *Hitkari*.

to Government and which Government has therefore constantly endeavoured to conceal from the eyes of the public. To divulge the nature of these matters is termed sedition. If you tell a man that he has not been paid the full value of his goods you will assuredly offend the buyer. The seller, however, will be certain to listen to you carefully and the buyer will regard this as "sedition." The discoveries made by native soldiers were likely to entail a burden on the exchequer, but Government could not use this plea to silence or punish any one. It could, however, gain that end by giving out that efforts had been made to seduce Jack Sepoy from his loyalty. This it did, and resorted to every sort of oppression and illegality in order to attain its object, which it succeeded in gaining. As a matter of fact, however, no one attempted to tamper with the loyalty of His Majesty's Indian troops, nor was it to the advantage of anyone to do so. Nevertheless, there can be no gainsaying the fact that discontent did exist among these troops. Native soldiers come from the Bar and Manjha country, and it was these very tracts which were affected by the laws which were the root cause of the unrest of last year. The Sepoys' relations at home are cultivators and when they were subjected to hardships they raised an outcry, which could not but find an echo in the native Army. Again, retired military officers who hold land in the Bar *ilaka* were also discontented since they were greatly harassed by the canal department and the colonization officer. The feelings of discontent which prevailed in the native Army last year were therefore the work neither of the leaders of the people nor of "our enemies" to whom Mr. Morley referred. They were the creation of the real friends of the authorities, *viz.*, the zamindars, whose sons are in the army and are always ready to lay down their lives in the service of Government. To make matters worse, the authorities paid no heed to petitions from them nor to the outcry raised by them, nay, they even oppressed those who took the part of agriculturists. In conclusion, the paper says that as soon as the noxious and inflammatory laws in question had been modified and repealed all unrest among the Sepoys came to an end.

A rumoured rising in India.

8. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 17th April 1908, remarks that it is rumoured in Japan that a civil war, in which native Chiefs also will take part, is about to break out in India, and that this is the reason why the strength of the British Army is being added to. It is further rumoured that 70,000, rifles have been stolen from the fort at Madras. The Editor is unable to say who invents such a *canard*.

Muhammadans and politics.

9. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 17th April 1908, remarks that Muhammadans keep themselves aloof from political agitation for the following reason, and not because they have no grievances or do not feel just the same as others do. In the first days of British rule in India the authorities felt the necessity of weakening Muhammadans, and with this object in view they took Hindus by the hand. The result was that Musalmans went down by degrees and the followers of Hinduism came up to the surface, Muhammadans became backward in education, their resources slipped through their hands and they were rendered unfit to take part in any (great) work, it having become difficult for them even to preserve their own existence. When a people lose their vitality

they descend to flattery in order to supply their wants: they become selfish and care nothing for education. This is exactly the case with the present-day followers of Islam: they lay behind Hindus in both education and wealth. The latter ought to have helped the former to rise, while Muhammadans should have gladly sought that help. So far, however, from having done so, Muhammadans solicited help from the self-same people (the English) who had broken their strength. The last named now wish to weaken Hindus and are, therefore, helping up the Prophet's followers. But the question is whether this help is being given with honest motives. After quoting an extract from the *Musalman* (Calcutta), which answers the question in the negative and declares that Government wishes only to push down Muhammadans, the paper says that it cannot contradict its contemporary. It adds that when the Christian powers are anxious to bring Muhammadan Kingdoms to grief it finds it difficult to believe that Government wishes to add to the strength of its Muslim subjects in India. The present solicitude of Government for the welfare of Muhammadans will last for only a short time, and there can be no doubt that when education becomes general among the latter they also will be able to realise their degradation. Meanwhile they should be taken by the hand by Hindus and made to stand on their own legs.

India under Muslim and British rule.

10. The *Sadik-ul-Akhbar* (Rewari), of the 24th April 1908, publishes a communication in which the writer says that some 300 years back, when the star of Muhammadans was in the ascendant, perfect peace prevailed in India and the industrial condition of the country was all that could be desired. Again, grain was sold at such cheap rates that four maunds of it could be had for one rupee. The wealth of the country was not drained away, while Indian-made articles commanded a large market abroad, including England. Not a few of the Moslem Kings of India were ideal rulers and used to support themselves on their own earnings, spending their revenues for the benefit solely of their subjects. Much of the adverse criticism passed on them centres round their luxurious habits, but luxury and power always go hand in hand. Europeans of the present day also love ease and luxury, while their pride knows no bounds and makes them treat Asiatics with utter contempt. The writer then goes on to say that during the Muslim period the gulf between Hindus and Muhammadans was not as wide as the one which divides the rulers and the ruled now. A Hindu embracing Islam was at once placed on a footing of equality with the then rulers of the country. A native Christian, however, does not receive similar treatment from his European co-religionists and is not even allowed to enter the church meant for white men. After remarking that natives should try to imitate only the virtues of the English, the writer says that Persian and Arabic are at a discount in these days and that if Musalmans do not wish to starve they should acquire modern education.

Poverty of India.

11. The *Nazim-ul-Hind* (Lahore), of the 25th April 1908, publishes a communication from Tahl Ram Ganga Ram who says that every native ought undoubtedly to feel grateful to Government for the various blessings conferred by it on the country. As, however, has been remarked by an expert, India has to pay 92 or 93 crores of rupees every year for these blessings. After remark-

ing that it is an exaggeration to assert that the anarchy which prevailed in India immediately before the advent of the English had always been prevalent in the land or that in pre-British days the country was at the mercy of invaders from the North, who carried back as much booty as they could, the writer says that the largest booty was secured by Nadir Shah and did not exceed 36 crores in value. Under the present regime, however, 92 or 93 crores of rupees are drained away from the country annually and, in spite of the blessings conferred on her by British rule, India is in the grip of poverty. The correspondent then goes on to say that this poverty is due to the following causes :—

1. An annual loss of crores of rupees is entailed on the country by foreign trade.

2. Home charges.

3. A very large part of the profits realised by British merchants in India is sent out of the country.

4. A large sum of money has to be paid on account of interest on the loans obtained by Government in England to construct railways, canals, &c.

5. Considerable sums of money are remitted to England annually on account of the salaries and pensions of Government's European officers. The savings of these officers also go out of the country.

6. Most of the articles required for use in the railway, military and other departments are indented for from England.

7. Indigeneous arts and industries have completely disappeared, and both trade and industry are in the hands of foreigners.

8. The country is very heavily taxed, and Government spends a very large part of its revenues on works which can benefit the country in no way.

9. Crores of rupees are wasted on constructing roads, railways, forts, &c., for military purposes.

10. The military expenditure is excessively large.

11. Frequent wars on the frontier entail an unbearable burden on the country.

12. The salaries paid to the members of Indian Civil Service are too high.

**Decentralisation Commission.**

12. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 29th April 1908 :—

"For the last quarter of a century the leaders and representatives of public opinion in this country have been crying hoarse after reforms, and in the face of discouragements and disappointments have been pointing out the danger of setting the face against the wishes and aspirations of a growing community. No heed was paid to their warnings, as no response was given to their petitions and prayers, until the time came when their prognostications came to be verified, their fears to be realized. Then all of a sudden bureaucracy opened its eyes, and felt that there was some screw loose in the machinery of administration.

And the Royal Commission on Decentralization is the outward result of the internal searchings of the heart. The Commission has come and gone, and the next few months will decide whether the result will be a move in the right or the wrong direction.

"It will not do, however, to make any forecast as to how events will take their turn. The Anglo-Indian bureaucracy and their supporters through thick and thin have not failed to profit by the occasion. It has been sought to be made out that the Deputy Commissioner suffers from a lack of power and initiative, that his hands are fettered from having to consult his superiors, and that he should be made a sort of Local Government for his district. Municipal Committees and District Boards would wither and die away without his protecting shadow, and that at any rate if they do not go to rack and ruin deprived of his advice and guidance, they would not, because they could not, work as well as now. And yet, as we have seen, the truth has not failed to come out that it is the presence at the Board of the executive head of the district that goes a long way to check all independent judgment and to paralyze all direct initiative and action. The Deputy Commissioner represents the might and majesty of the *Sirkar*, and none dare question his wisdom and sagacity, cross his wishes, or oppose his will. Such is the testimony of men whom the most rabid Anglo-Indian journalist would not have the hardihood to regard as 'disappointed place-hunters' or 'professional politicians,' men among the forefront of the landed aristocracy and the most successful of business men. But that is not all. The Deputy Commissioner must be a Local Government in power if not in name. It is seriously advanced that he should be the head of all the Departments that have a local habitation or a name in the district. The Public Works, the Education, the Medical, the Sanitary, the Forest, the Vaccination, and any and every conceivable Department in the district should be subject to his *ægis* and should have access to Government through him. He must have the final voice in everything, and have irons in every fire. Is this decentralization, we ask, or a concentration of all power and prestige in the Head of the district, which will give him a free hand to do as he likes, independent of the little control that is now exercised on his actions by the Local Government? We can only say this that those who propose such a thing know not what they do. In spite of the fact that witnesses have not been wanting among the Anglo Indian community who have chosen to speak in the name of the dumb peasantry and pleaded for more Europeans in the moffussil, we have no hesitation in saying that no greater blunder could be conceived, in the truest interests of the administration as well as the people, than to go on piling up the already too extensive powers of the District Officer, and to remove the Local Government's power of prompt interference with his doings. And we are convinced that if the removal of this salutary check will increase his possibilities of committing blunders, it will expose him to much greater criticism as the all-in-all of the administration.

"Another attempt in the same direction is, failing the Deputy Commissioner, to invest the Commissioner, who as remarked by the Hon'ble Lala Harkishen Lal, serves practically as the post office, with enhanced powers to serve as a Divisional Local Government. One thing that the outside public find it hard to understand is why there should be a sort of chafing at the checks imposed by a Local Government. Why should District and Divisional Officers wish the Local Government to abdicate its powers in favour of himself, as there seems to be a little too much anxiety to get rid of the Government of India control in matters of provincial administration. Will, again, every officer be expected to follow in the footsteps of Lord Curzon and to imitate the splendour and glory of the great Moghul? The idea in the minds of witnesses who would introduce these extraordinary innovations would seem to be to invest the District Officer with a halo of light more brilliant and dazzling than he happens to possess now.

"Turning to the other side, we find that the representatives of Indian opinion, and in particular, the representatives of the intellect, the public spirit and the patriotism of the country take an entirely different view of the situation. They would, to start with, have the separation of the judicial and executive functions, and thus ensure the entire independence of the judiciary from the executive. The Deputy Commissioner who is the head of the Police should, it stands to reason, have absolutely nothing to do with the administration of justice which should not be subordinate to him but should stand

entirely independent. Then comes the question of his control of the Municipal Committees and District Boards. Indian public opinion emphatically demands that if these Municipal institutions are not to remain more or less a farce, the Chairman should cease to be an official, whose word is law to most men, especially to his subordinates and those who look to his hands for honours and preferments. The utmost that can be advanced against it is that our Committees might make occasional mistakes in the initial stage. But it can hardly be ignored that the money is their own and surely they can be presumed to be better acquainted with the wishes of their countrymen and constituents than the Deputy Commissioner who can never be so accessible to the rate-payer in general as a non-official whose reputation depends on the opinion and good will of his fellow-men of the locality. The Deputy Commissioner might be allowed a veto to be used in certain special and exceptional cases so long as it is not permitted to degenerate into an interference with every petty detail that does not meet with his own pleasure. In fact the complaint is universal that Lord Ripon's plant fell on unsympathetic hands though certainly not on barren soil, and has survived the inclemency of the seasons and rigours of the weather alike. It would have fared still better and come out as a more glorious tree with more extensive branches and more luscious fruit if it had been fortunate enough to secure a continuance of that kindly nursing which it received at the hands of its original sponsors.

* * * * * * * *

"The truth is that although some sort of change is within sight, the Government stands wavering at the parting of the ways. Will it advance boldly and courageously giving the sons of the soil some tangible and substantial share in the administration of their own affairs, or will it all end in an increase of the powers of the District Officer giving his views still greater weight, and still further weakening the force of the popular voice. It depends, in the first instance, on the Commission's report, which let us hope may reflect the existing situation in this country and bring forward genuine remedies, but this we might observe that the people will view with concern and dismay any increase of the District Officer's power, for to them it is not very material whether it is the Government of India or the Local Government who frame the budget in the first instance, or whether it is the Commissioner or the Deputy Commissioner who signs and countersigns a particular document, but to them it is a matter of the most vital importance whether they shall or shall not have if not a predominating voice, certainly an effective voice in the administration of their own affairs, and this can only be if they are permitted to do it without let or hindrance from the Executive Officer."

Ill-treatment of natives by Anglo-Indians.

13. The *Haq Pasand* (Amritsar), of the 21st April 1908, says that if India were to pass out of the possession of England the English would become of no consequence in the world. But although they are not unaware of this they go on conducting themselves after the manner of Pharoah. They regard natives with extreme contempt, and beat, abuse and grossly insult the latter. The simple-minded people of this country care nothing for all this and continue to bend themselves before Englishmen. This cannot, however, last for ever. If the English do not cease to thus disgrace Indians in their own country their victims will one day feel compelled to return blow for blow. After reproducing the story in which some native soldiers are said to have severely beaten the European Settlement Officer of the Gidhour State, the Editor says that the native press used to advise Anglo-Indian officers to give up their habit of abusing and beating the children of the soil, adding that the practice was certain to land them in trouble one day. As, however, these short-sighted officers did not listen to this advice newspapers ceased to write on the subject. The result has been that wherever an Anglo-Indian officer insults a native he receives a thrashing from the latter on the spot. In support of this assertion

the paper refers to the recent assault on the Inspector-General of the Bengal Police at Howrah railway station, and says that although the assailants have been arrested and will, in all probability, be sent to jail, they have the satisfaction of having beaten the *Sahib* to their heart's content.

Ill-treatment of natives by Anglo-Indians.

14. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 17th April 1908, remarks that a surprising change has come over the Anglo-Indians of late. They are always ready to fly at natives; should any Indian fail to salaam them he is beaten forthwith while they abuse the children of the soil on all occasions. Here and there a native pays them back in their own coin, but for the general public things have become extremely unpleasant. The paper then refers to the complaint which was recently filed by a native gentleman against the Inspector-General of Police, the Central Provinces, for abuse and assault and says that complainant must be a fool, for otherwise he would not have gone into court. He should have returned tit for tat, which might have made the *Sahib* shake hands with him and become his friend. It is anything but wise and gentlemanly in him to have gone into court after having submitted himself to a beating. In conclusion, the paper regrets that no notice should be taken of the conduct of those officers who have been making Government unpopular through their ill-temper.

Aid to political offenders.

15. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 17th April 1908, reports that several correspondents have written to suggest that the fund started by the *Jhang Sial* in aid of the family of Pindi Das should be converted into a national fund, which should help not only Pind Das but also other martyrs on their return from jail. If the *Jhang Sial* approves of the suggestion *Hindustan* also will do its best to help forward the project. The paper next suggests that the money which was collected in aid of the *Panjabee* but which was not utilised should be taken charge of by a committee consisting of some responsible public men. The national fund referred to should also be under the control of a committee composed of at least five persons. One of the funds should be utilised for defending persons involved in (political) cases, the other being reserved for helping such persons on their return from jail. The Editor concludes by suggesting that the money collected by the *Jhang Sial* should be paid not to the father, but to the wife of Pindi Das.

Aid to political offenders.

16. The *Haq Pasand* (Amritsar), of the 1st May 1908, approves of the above suggestions.

Aid to political offenders.

17. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 25th April 1908, says that the following suggestions have been made to it in regard to the fund started by it in aid of the family of Pindi Das :—

(1) That, as suggested by *Hindustan*, the collections made should be kept in hand till the release of Pindi Das.

(2) That the fund should be made permanent, the money left after helping Pindi Das being kept over for those who may suffer martyrdom (in the country's cause) hereafter.

(3) That the fund should be converted into one for helping those who are sent to jail for the offence of loving their country.

Dr. Dina Nath, of Lyallpur.

18. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 24th April 1908, says that Dr. Dina Nath, of Lyallpur, was warned on the 20th idem for his remarks about the *Punjabee* case, contained in a leaflet issued by him some time back. After reproducing the remarks, the paper enquires whether the authorities now wish to intimidate political workers and suppress agitation in this way. It is assuredly significant that Ajit Singh, Shanti Narayan, and Dr. Dina Nath, should have been warned in the last few days.

Dr. Dina Nath, of Lyallpur.

19. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 18th and 25th April 1908, publishes an article written by Dina Nath, Assistant Surgeon, of Lyallpur, which begins with part of a notice recently issued by him. The writer then says that he was born at Rawalpindi and that after passing out of the Medical College, Lahore, he joined Government service on the 20th November 1904. It is believed, he says, that Government wishes the people well and that those who do good work under it fare well. The more experience, however, he gained of Government service the greater was his disallusionment in the matter. He then goes on to say that the Chief Plague Officer, Punjab, visited Gurgaon on the 18th January 1906, and went into a room in company with the Civil Surgeon, both of them seating themselves in chairs. The writer was called in and was asked by the former what he would do in a plague-stricken village. The same question was put to Assistant Surgeon Mukand Lal, and while they were both kept standing the Chief Plague Officer and the Civil Surgeon sat in chairs, which shows with what respect the English treat natives. Those, however, who do not respect others cannot command respect for ever. (Government servants) wield authority, *i.e.*, practise oppression, and take a pride in being called Thanedars, Tahsildas, Zilladars, Doctors, &c., &c. But does *izzat* consist in this? It is to be regretted that natives do not understand the true meaning of the word *izzat*, and are fond of slavery. They should take the trouble to find out the true meaning of the word *izzat*, and if unable to do so, should communicate with the writer.

He then accuses the Chief Plague Officer of having done no useful work during his visit to Gurgaon. All that the latter did was to send for workers in the muffasil in order that they should salaam to him, to hamper them in their work, to injure the public and to earn travelling allowance for himself. He undoubtedly tried to test these workers, but what necessity was there for this, seeing that they had already been doing (plague) work? He should have visited some plague-infected town or village, seen plague patients and made enquiries from the people. But why should he have done so? It is only natives who die (from plague), which is no concern of the English. Even a District Plague Officer does not do so. It is natives who work, while the lot of others consists in enjoying themselves. Dina Nath further remarks that England has profitted even by the outbreak of plague in India, seeing that she has sold to this coutry rat poison worth lakhs of rupees. He adds that

he condemned the killing of rats in his diary for the 2cth January 1906, and that the reply received was to the effect that such an Assistant Surgeon should not be retained in service. Only such a reply, he says, is vouchsafed to those who listen to their conscience: it is difficult, nay, impossible to serve Government and at the same time to obey the dictates of one's conscience. After praising his work in Gurgaon, and in particular at Rewari, he states that in April 1906 he received telegraphic orders transferring him to Lyallpur, and says that those who do not flatter (their superior) officers are treated in this very manner. He, however, cared nothing for the telegram and told the Civil Surgeon before a reliable person that he was not enamoured of his post. He was on plague duty at Lyallpur for six months, during which period his work was not inspected by any one. In October 1906, he received urgent orders to go to Hissar and on arrival there was posted to Bhiwani. On the 22nd of the same month he was informed that his services had been dispensed with and he joyfully communicated the news to all. On the advice of the District Plague Officer and after seeing the Civil Surgeon on the subject, however, he submitted a representation to the Inspector-General, Civil Hospitals, although he was not mean enough to couch the document in the language suggested by the Civil Surgeon. He was informed in reply that he could not be retained in service any longer, and wrote back to say that he did not want employment under Government. He, however, asked the Inspector-General to let him know the reason for his dismissal, and after considerable correspondence was put off with the evasive reply that according to the rules his services could be dispensed with after a month's notice. After remarking that no good reason for his dismissal was forthcoming, he goes on to say that the injustice perpetrated by Government in connection with his travelling allowance bill for his journey from Bhiwani to Hafizabad makes one despair of obtaining justice from the British nation. The writer served a notice on the Secretary of State through the Collector of Lyallpur demanding payment of the bill, but after considering the matter for about four months he gave up the idea of suing Government for only Rs. 6. He argued that he would console himself with the thought that he had given away the amount in charity. Alms are, however, given willingly; and it is only *thugs*, highwaymen and robbers who conduct themselves in the manner (in which Government did in connection with the payment of the above bill). The people should reflect whether India is not being robbed. Besides, can one obtain justice by going into a Court in India? No, never. On the contrary, one is looted, subjected to diverse hardships and humiliation, one wastes one's time and instead of obtaining justice, has to suffer shame in the end.

## II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

Tribal raids into British territory.

20. The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 18th April 1908, writing about tribal raids into British territory ironically remarks that Afridis being guests of Government should be treated hospitably by the people. For the same reason it is no offence in them to loot a few Hindu shops or the property of some other persons. The paper then enquires how long Government will leave the Hindu residents of the Frontier Province in their present helpless condition, adding that if it can do nothing to protect their lives and property it should tell them so plainly, so that they may make their own arrangements.

21. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 17th April 1908, remarks that tribesmen continue to commit raids into Peshawar and neighbourhood. The money changers of Peshawar have submitted a memorial to the Viceroy on the subject, but what is likely to come of it? The raiders will go on looting British subjects and the memorials will remain under consideration all the while. The authorities could, if they so wished, set matters right in a minute, seeing that their resources are by no means small. After deprecating the indifference of Government to the ill-treatment of Hindus by the Afridis and the Muhammadans of East Bengal, the paper says that an impression has gone abroad that the authorities wish to neutralise the good effect which the Amir's visit had had on the relation between Hindus and Muhammadans, as also to impress on the Hindus that they are unfit to govern themselves and that if British protection were withdrawn from them they would be plundered by the followers of Islam. In other words, this is how Government is endeavouring to nullify the effects which are being made to bring Hindus and Muhammadans together. *Hindustan* adds that Muhammadans have also begun to realise that they are being parted from Hindus with the object of making it impossible for the latter to sympathise with them on any occasion. In conclusion, it says that the Afridis have come to gain in power, that they have been receiving arms from Kabul, Persia, &c, that it has become difficult to keep them in hand, and that poor Government, which recalled a punitive expedition on the Zakka Khels handing to it sixty rifles as a guarantee for good behaviour, is powerless to achieve anything against them.

Tribal raids into British territory.

22. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 29th April 1908, says that whenever the frontier tribes show a little unusual activity the Anglo-Indian Press hastens to accuse the Amir of helping them and supplying them with arms and ammunition. Accordingly some members of it have given out that a number of soldiers belonging to the regular Afghan army have joined the Mohmands against the British Government. After remarking that the *London Times* also has of late been writing in the same strain, the Editor regrets that Anglo-Indians and English newspapers should not believe the Amir's professions of friendship for England and should prefer unfounded charges against the Afghan Government, although it is an admitted fact that the present ruler of Kabul highly values the friendship of the English and is fully aware of their power. Besides, why should Habibulla Khan help the tribesmen, of whose want of resources no one is better aware than himself. The paper then expresses satisfaction at the declaration by the India Office that the frontier tribes now arrayed against the British Government are not under the control of the ruler of Afghanistan. It adds that the news has also been received that His Majesty the Amir has been lying ill for some time past. In conclusion, it says that the mean attacks made on him by the paper referred to cannot but offend the Amir.

The Mohmand rising.

23. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 29th April 1908:—

The Mohmand rising.

"The small patch of cloud no bigger than a man's hand which appeared on the horizon on the Mohmand border seems to have been assuming huge dimensions

and at present we are face to face with a frontier war of a bigger description than any we had within the last twenty-five years except on the occasion of the Tirah campaign in 1897. And what is worse, it seems that the apprehensions we expressed on the eve of the Zakka Khel Expedition are going to be realised and the whole line of jerry buildings on the British frontier show symptoms of getting ablaze. The telegrams which have appeared in our columns, suggest that Mullahs have been steadily at work rousing up the fanaticism of the frontier tribes, and that the excitement is fast spreading, the Mohmands having been joined by large bands from the other tribes. And the worst of it is, that the tribal forces have now got an organised camel transport, and cash, ammunition and food-supplies are being carried forward to the scene of fight under the direction of the Mullahs, who seem to have the popular feeling all on their side It is also being plainly hinted apparently not altogether without reason that the Afghan officials—it is said that the Amir cannot at present attend to State business on account of his ill-health—are secretly sympathising with, if not helping this tribal rising. On the whole, the matter bears a gruesome and ominous look about it, specially when we remember that the enemy's organisation is such that the mixed tribal force may hold together for some time and is evidently able to recoup what it may lose in some repulses. There can be very little doubt, as even the *Englishman's* correspondent is now constrained to say, that the hasty manner in which the Zakka Khel Expedition was conducted has been responsible for the present situation. And the same testimony is given by a correspondent, referred to by the *Empire*, who says that the tribesmen were completely possessed with the idea that the British forces had been driven out of their country in the last punitive expedition against Zakka Khels. After all, as we observed some time ago, the Hon'ble the Tikka Sahib of Nabha truly voiced public opinion in this part of the Province, when he regretted that the Zakkas were not taught a more wholesome lesson. We still insist on the opinion we expressed before the commencement of hostilities that an effective and vigilant watch and ward and better policing of British frontier line would have obviated the necessity of all these costly and big expeditions, but once the forces had been mobilised for the front, they should not have stopped short of teaching the tribesmen a salutary lesson. But now the situation is still more complicated than before, especially in view of the extraordinary delay in obtaining the Amir's assent to the Anglo-Russian treaty, for we may remember as Mr. Morley informed Major Anstruther Gray the other day, that the Amir has not signified his intention one way or the other. Anyhow the position is one of unusual gravity and what is worse, there is little likelihood, in view of Mr. Morley's recent declarations in reply to Sir Henry Cotton, of India being absolved from any portion of the cost of this war, which threatens to run into a fearful amount."

24. The following is from the *Punjabee* (Lahore), of the 29th April 1908 :—

The Mohmand rising.

"Out of evil cometh good, and the formidable dimensions which the Mohmand rising has all of a sudden assumed may, by putting our Government on their mettle, ultimately lead to a more satisfactory settlement of these frontier troubles than the accustomed milk-and water policy could do. Recent events have demonstrated that the frontier tribesmen require a sufficiently heroic treatment, and that a strong dose of some drastic remedy should be administered to them. If the fanaticism and determination of the Mohmands should elicit similar determination and energy from the British Government, instead of the vacillating methods of looking to this quarter and that (instead of to the strong arm) 'for settlement,' we may by and by come to the end of these 'demonstrations' by impressing the tribesmen with a sense of the reserve of British power. As it is, the military power of the British has become a laughing stock with the Pathans, and the tremendous import of arms and ammunition which they have been carrying on clearly point to a prospective day when they look for a more or less general engagement with the powers in India. The fact that it is British manufacturers who are supplying the war materials, and that in their passage across the frontiers they

have been so long eluding the vigilance of the British authorities, cannot have very much impressed the Pathans with a high sense of British patriotism or of their administrative watchfulness and vigour. And the feleing of British vacillation and loss of prestige is not confined to Indians and Asiatics alone, but is also shared by many Englishmen."

The Mohmand rising.

25. The following is from the *Punjabee* of the 2nd May 1908 :—

"The greatest cause of anxiety in connection with the present Mohmand rising is the uncertainty about t e Amir's intentions and even his whereabouts. He was reported to be ill at Jellalabad some time ago, but since then no news has been received either as to his health or his movements. This has naturally led to speculations, which have been very much encouraged by the fact that no secret is made of the reinforcements and supplies which the Mohmands are deriving from Afghan territory. 'If the serious indisposition from which he is said to be suffering is genuine,' writes the *Statesman*, 'it has occurred at a most inopportune time. On the other hand, if it be diplomatic, he will be well advised to decide on a speedy recovery.' The *Statesman* does not suppose that these Afghan reinforcements and supplies have been sent with the concurrence or connivance of the Amir. 'His Majesty doubtless realises far too keenly the responsibilities of his position to extend the least encouragement to any unrest among his people which would impair his friendly relations with the Indian Government.' What is just possible is that either on account of ill health or for some other reason he has been unable to check the co-operation of a section of his subjects with a tribe that is showing open hostility to the British Power. On the other hand, the uneasiness which some of the Anglo-Indian papers, notably the *Pioneer*, are displaying with regard to the probable attitude of His Highness, is traceable to a not altogether clear conscience. They know that there are causes that may well justify the Amir to look upon the Mohmand trouble, if not with positive complacence, at least not with any degree of indignant disapproval. For instance, there is reason to apprehend that His Majesty is not altogether pleased with the manner in which he was ignored during the negotiations over the Anglo-Russian Convention—a Treaty which he is now expected to sign, but his assent to which he has managed to put off heretofore and perhaps indefinitely. But the manner of drawing up the Convention is, perhaps, not the only reason which may have made the Amir indifferent to the troubles of the Indian Government with the frontier tribesmen. He cannot have forgotten the circumstances of the delimitation of the Mohmand Frontier, which gave no small offence to his father and predecessor on the Afghan throne. The late Amir was bitterly opposed to the policy by which the frontier tribes were excluded from his realm and made independent by themselves. In fact, he is understood to have given a warning to the Government of India which in the light of later events appears to be almost prophetic. He said that 'if you should cut them (the tribesmen) out of my dominions, they will neither be of any use to you nor to me; you will always be engaged in fighting or other trouble with them, and they will always go on plundering.' Need there be any surprise, then, that the present Amir, who may be supposed to retain the bitterness which his father felt on this point, should not be particularly anxious, nor seek to go out of his way, in order to help the Indian Government in any clash they may have with the frontier tribes?"

26. The following is from the *Observer* (Lahore), of the 2nd May 1908 :—

The Mohmand rising.

"For ignorant and ill-timed criticism commend us to the European press. The tribes on our North-Western frontier show a spirit of restlessness, the British Government in India is forced to undertake military operations against them, and forthwith the Amir of Afghanistan is blamed for not restraining the impetuosity of the tribes men, though the latter are not under his control. We wonder what good can come out of the

strong language in which some English papers have indulged in when inveighing against the so-called indifference of the Amir in controlling the tribesmen who are now on the war path. Doubtless, His Majesty is aware 'that his measure of responsib lity is very great,' and he stands in no need of an outside reminder to bring home to him the force of this proposition. But the Amir is certainly excusable if he is unable to comprehend how he can be held responsible for the deeds of the tribes who are beyond his jurisdiction and over whom he has no control. The Amir's friendly feelings towards the Government of India are well-known, and none but a biassed critic can detect in them the least indication of a change from the policy of mutual good-will and friendly relations which His Majesty has consistently observed towards the British Government There is no reason to doubt his sincerity, and writings calculated to cast groundless suspicions on His Majesty's motives can serve but little us-ful purpose."

## III.—Native States.

Government and Native States.

2. The *Curzon Gazette* (Delhi), of the 15th April 190?, after remarking that the exchequers of the Muhammadan Native States reflect the poverty of the Prophet's followers in the country, says that the internal condition of some of the feudatory States is wretched in the extreme. The high-handed doings of Residents or (Political) Agents, the gross ignorance of the chiefs of the affairs of States and the wrong advice which they receive from their ignorant companions have been sapping the foundations of the States and deepening poverty in them. As long as Government does not interest itself in the matter and save native chiefs from ruin the latter will never be able to stand on their own legs. The education imparted by it to the sons of Rajas and Nawabs at Ajmere, Lahore and other places, is, however, such that it can prove of no help to its recipients when they come to govern their subjects. If Government wishes to make able rulers of them it should impart quite a different form of education and see that their time is not wasted in receiving the absured and useless education which is now imparted at the Chiefs' Colleges. The present condition of Native States is so shameful that it does not speak well of Government's supervision over them. The paper then goes on to say that although the posting of Residents or Agents to the States constitutes a guarantee of the integrity of, and the prevalence of peace in them, sometimes it also proves a source of weakness to the States. The semi-harbarous State officials do not know what attitude to adopt towards educated officers belonging to the civilised and enlightened ruling race. Some of them resort to fulsome flattery and thereby lower themselves in the estimation of the Residents or Agents, while others give themselves airs in their pride of birth and get trampled upon. The Editor has witnessed the doings of Residents or Agents as also of native chiefs and their semi-barbarous officers in several States. Some of the chiefs, who were of a very mild disposition, got swallowed up, while others who proved to be tougher customers, were crushed like wasps. Again, in some States the Political Agents evince not the least interest in the affairs of the State : they keep themselves shut up in their houses, take no notice even of the grossest wrong-doings on the part of the chiefs, and throw into waste paper baskets the petitions submitted to them by the State subjects. The paper next announces its intention of publishing articles to throw light on the pitiable condition of Native States, specially those under Muhammadan rulers, and to request Government to go to their rescue. Government should help the States, not by appointing British officers to carry on their administration, but by reforming the chiefs and providing able and faithful officials for them. After remarking that the officers lent by Government to the

States are usually men who have completed their period of service, the Editor says that they may be far abler than the present-day semi-barbarous State officials, but that they lack the activity and the capacity for work to be met with in young men.

## IV.—KINE-KILLING.

28. The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 18th April 1908, publishes the following:—

Kine-killing in India.

"We guarantee that kine-killing which is at the bottom of the existing disunion and daily recurring quarrels between Hindus and Muhammadans can be put down in India at once. There is no necessity at present for collecting funds to achieve this great task, but at least one crore of Hindus should signify their approval (of the object) to our office in the following form:—

'I _____, son of _____, caste _____ sub-caste (got) _____, resident of _____, in the _____ district, hereby declare that I am sincerely desirous of seeing kine-killing put down in India and that I will not demur or object to the means which may be adopted hereafter to achieve this great object.

(Sd) _____'

*Note.*—A list of the members of this society will be published in the *Inkalab* from time to time (*lit.* always).

"All communications should be addressed to the _____ (designation not given), *Inkalab*; Gujranwala."

## VII.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

### (*d*)—*Education.*

29. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 17th April 1908, remarks that the Government of India issued a circular in November last inviting the opinion of the Local Governments and Administrations on the question of making primary education free in British India. It has been given out recently that the majority of the Governments and Administrations consulted hold the view that the experiment cannot be tried till the educational grants for all the provinces are considerably increased. After remarking that this dashes to the ground the expectations formed by the public in the matter, the paper says that while a small State like Baroda has made education free and compulsory a mighty Government like the British pleads want of funds for making the experiment. The extra money required for the purpose, it adds, must be the total of the amount now realised from the students of primary schools on account of tuition fee. The amount should be found by replacing highly-paid Europeans by native graduates, who will do more work than the former on smaller salaries.

Free primary education.

30. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 24th April 1908, publishes a communication from one Hukam Singh, of Sangoi, who says that the rumour is persistent that the Khalsa College is to be removed from under the management of the Sikhs and placed entirely in the hands of Europeans, on the sole ground that the money given in aid of the institution by (Sikh) Ruling Chiefs was contributed at the instance of Government. The writer would

Khalsa College.

like to know whether Sikh Chiefs cannot give away any money even for religious purposes except with the permission of Government. He adds that the rumour has caused excitement even in places where the Khalsa College had never been heard of before and that the public are anxiously waiting to see what sense of self-respect the Sikhs possess and how their loyalty is to be rewarded by the powers that be.

31. The following is from the English supplement to *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 24th April 1908 :—

"Half truth in text-books."

"Mr. V. J. Jaradekar, Pleader, Amalner, has brought to the notice of the general public a piece of the false information circulated by means of the Mahrati Reading Series Book Seventh. He says :—

'Lesson Forty-Five (Famine and its Relief) on page 125, says the Government advances Tagai to agriculturists to sink wells, etc.; so far so good; but further on boldly declares, "*it charges no interest for the same.*"'

"Now, so far as my knowledge goes, Government charges interest at (4) per cent. per annum on Tagais. I also learn that the rate of interest has been increased to 6 per cent. per annum lately. I hope I am right. It may very easily be said that it was a mistake on the part of the person charged with the writing of the lesson; but it is not so easy to be believed that the misstatement escaped the notice of all the Government officers concerned.

In fairness to what the Government aims at, mention ought to have been made of the Income-Tax which was specially imposed on the people to make a provision against famines, and which has poured crores into the coffers of the Government. But, while totally ignoring the imposition of the tax, it deals to the public a bare falsehood (if my information is correct).

"Lord Curzon from the pinnacle of his authority declared that the Indians are dishonest. But who makes them so if there are any at all? The lesson makes a happy reference to the lakhs of rupees spent by Government to avoid and counteract famines, but scrupulously keeps back crores exacted from the ryots for the same.

"To bring the matter into a nutshell there is a suppression of a fact and a misrepresentation of another on the part of the Department of Public Instruction. If anything of the kind is given utterance to by a man of the public, Government authorities at once raise a hue and cry and say 'you misrepresent Government and circulate false reports.' Now cursed be the education that our boys have to receive through books like these published under the very authority of the Government!!

"This only means a sore need of an education in the hands of the public to counteract the effects produced by lessons like the above. Faults in all the series, whoever may have composed them, are so numerous that they stand undeniably self-condemned." The learned Pleader ends by hoping that Government will correct the errors and properly revise the series.

*(h)—Miscellaneous.*

32. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 17th April 1908, remarks that some-

Mr. Stephen, lately an Extra Assistant Commissioner in the Punjab.

time back Mr. Stephens, a European Extra Assistant Commissioner at Gujranwala, was placed under suspension on charges of bribery. A Special Magistrate has been enquiring into the charges and the evidence adduced before him went to show that Mr. Stephens had been taking bribes right and left. On the 23rd March last, however, a telegram was received from the

Government of India to the effect that his resignation had been accepted and that the case against him should be dropped. This was done and, according to rumour, Mr. Stephen has to go to Burma, where he will assuredly be appointed to some other good post. The paper next states by way of contrast that Bhai Ram Singh, a Public Works Department Clerk at Gujranwala, was sentenced to three months' imprisonment on the 27th February last on the charge of having offered to pay Rs. 100 to the Head Clerk of the Deputy Commissioner's office, Gujranwala, if the latter secured him a post, for which he had already applied. The trying Magistrate, it adds, admitted that Ram Singh was a good and respectable man, still he added that as bribery had become universal the man should be punished in an exemplary manner. The Editor would, however, like to know whether exemplary punishments should be inflicted on helpless natives alone, Ram Singh had only offered to pay a bribe, but Mr. Stephen was proved to have received thousands of rupees in bribes. While, however, the former has been sent to jail the latter has escaped scot free. After remarking that Malik Ahmad Khan Tiwana and Sardar Gurdial Singh, Man, were ruined by being prosecuted on charges of bribery an English bribe-taker has gone unscathed owing simply to his having tendered his resignation.

Mr. Stephen, lately an Extra Assistant Commissioner in the Punjab.

33 The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 28th April 1908, writing on the same subject, says that the fact that Mr. Stephen has been permitted to resign his appointment leaves no room for doubt that most, if not all, of the charges preferred against him had been proved to the satisfaction of Government. As, however, the case against Mr. Stephen was not taken into the court he can always claim to have been quite innocent. It is, therefore desirable in the interests of both Government and the people that the charges against him should be tried in a Court of Law. After remarking that Government left no stone unturned to humiliate an old servant like Malik Ahmad Khan, Tiwana, and a highly placed officer of the position of Sardar Gurdial Singh, Man, the paper says that Government has dropped the case against Mr. Stephen merely because he belongs to its own nationality. It deeply deplores Government's decision in the matter on the ground that the unrest prevalent in the country is due not a little to the invidious distinctions which Government and its officers make between natives and Eurpeans.

F. ISEMONGER,

*Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*

*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

LAHORE :

*The* 2nd *May* 1908.

Punjab Government Press, Lahore—14-5-08—2089—95—H, L. S.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 19. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 9th May 1908.**

---

## CONTENTS.


I.—POLITICS.

Page.

(a)—*Foreign*—

*Nil.*

(b)—*Home*—

1. A Political Drama (*Haq Pasand*) ... ... 259
2. The Rulers and the Ruled (*Hindustan*) ... ... 263
3. Muzaffarpur outrage (*Parkash*) ... ... *ib.*
4. Muzaffarpur outrage (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... *ib.*
5. Muzaffarpur outrage (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... 264
6. Muzaffarpur outrage (*Tribune*) ... ... *ib.*
7. The Bomb outrage in Bengal (*Panjabee*) ... ... *ib.*
8. The Bomb outrage in Bengal (*Hindustan*) ... 265
9. The Bomb outrage in Bengal (*Tribune*) ... ... *ib.*
10. The Bomb outrage in Bengal (*Observer*) ... ... 266
11. The Bomb outrage in Bengal (*Panjabee*) ... ... *ib.*
12. The Bomb outrage in Bengal (*Khalsa Advocate*) ... 268
13. The proposed Introduction of a Press Law (*Tribune*) ... *ib.*
14. Objectionable writings in the *Yugantar* (*Parkash*) ... 269
15. Objectionable writings in the *Yugantar* (*Civil and Military News*) ... ... ... ... *ib.*
16. Decentralisation Commission (*Watan*) ... ... *ib.*
17. Decentralisation Commission (*Panjabee*) ... ... 270
18. The Indian Army (*Hitkari*) ... ... ... 271

II.—AFGHANISTAN AND TRANS-FRONTIER.

19. Mohmand rising. The Amir's showing of his hand (*Hindustan*) ... ... ... ... 273
20. The Mohmand rising (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... *ib.*
21. The Mohmand rising (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... *ib.*
22. The Mohmand rising (*Vakil*) ... ... *ib.*
23. The Mohmand rising (*Akhbar-i-'Am*) ... ... *ib.*
24. The Mohmand rising (*Civil and Military News*) ... 274
25. The Mohmand rising (*Akhbar-i-'Am*) ... ... *ib.*

Page.

26. Loi-Shilman Railway (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... 274
27. Tribesmen and modern weapons of war (*Wafadar*) ... *ib.*
28. Frontier affairs (*Hindustan*) ... ... ... 275

III.—NATIVE STATES.

*Nil.*

IV.—KINE-KILLING.

*Nil.*

V.—NATIVE SOCIETIES AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

29. Political Aspect of Christianity (*Hindustan*) ... 275

VI.—LEGISLATION.

*Nil.*

VII.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

(a)—*Judicial*—

*Nil.*

(b)—*Police*—

30. Indian Police (*Hindustan*) ... ... ... 277

(c)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs*—

*Nil.*

(d)—*Education*—

31. Last Entrance Examination of the Punjab University (*Haq Pasand*) ... ... ... ... 278

(e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land*—

*Nil.*

(f)—*Railways and Communications*—

32. Inter-class Passengers (*Tribune*) ... ... 278

(g)—*Postal matters*—

*Nil.*

(h)—*Miscellaneous*—

33. Public Works Department Engineers Resolution (*Tribune*) ... ... ... ... 278
34. The Forest Department and the People (*Tribune*) ... 279

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 19. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

**Received up to 9th May 1908**

---

### I.—Politics.

*(b)—Home.*

A Political Drama.

1. The *Haq Pasand* (Amritsar), of the 1st May 1908, publishes the second instalment of "**A Political Drama: a British Officer's Darbar, or the miserable condition of Mother Bharat**":—(*Vide* para. 6, Selections No. 18, dated 2nd May 1908).

"ACT I.

SCENE 2—*The Bazaar.*

*First boy.*—Friends, do you know the wretched condition in which our country is ?

*Second boy.*—Yes, the English have made natives dance to several tunes since their advent here. A new law is enacted every day.

*Third boy.*—The English have killed indigenous industries and have reduced the country to a state of poverty. They have introduced (*lit.* wrought the miracles of) railways and the telegraph and have blinded simple Indians. They pursue their policy under the pretext of establishing peace and drain away the country's wealth.

*Fourth boy.*—They have taught us the only sort of education which would benefit themselves. In short, everything done by them is intended for their own benefit. When education opened our eyes a little, they yoked us to their mill (desk) and ordered that 24 hours' work should be exacted from us.

*Fifth boy.*—A novel thing has now been done. Did you hear the lecture delivered by our Head Master ? He has ordered the boys to take no part in politics, on pain of being punished by the University.

*Sixth boy.*—Then why do students in England take part in politics ? Does not the Home Government fear students and apprehend a rebellion from them ?

*First boy.*—Friend, the reason why native students are asked to hold aloof from politics is that, if they take part in politics in their boyhood, they may drive the British Government out of India when they grow to man's estate. The reason why English students are allowed to join in politics is that it is desirable that they should be fit to govern foreign countries on finishing their education.

*Second boy.*—Well, what do I care for the Head Master's orders? What is there of particular benefit in Government schools? I shall join the national school to-morrow and read there like a free man.

*All.*—We are with you and are heartily sick of Government schools. Shout *bande mataram.*

[ Enter Ul-jalul (blockhead), a jester, who begins to crack jokes with the boys. ]

*Ul-jalul.*—Why are you making this noise? To whom did you address the words "*bandh-ke-maro*" (tie and beat)?

*All.*—You fool, we were singing *bande mataram* and shouting our national cry.

*Ul-jalul.*—All of you are mad about *bande mataram* and are lovers of your country.

Listen! I am also one of you. I consider Government to be both good and bad. I mature my plans at the proper time and am known as a statesman. My wife, however, is a greater extremist and nationalist than I. Wherever she sees British-made articles she breaks them to pieces. I have several times advised her to leave *swadeshism* alone, saying that if the local authorities learnt her sentiments they would involve both of us in a sedition case, have us sent to jail and cause us to work at hand-mills. She, however, turns a deaf ear to me and threatens to marry a *swadeshist* if I continue to patronise imported goods.

May God preserve the British Government for ever?

*First boy.*—You fool, what nonsense you talk!

*Second boy.*—He is a fool indeed.

*Third boy.*—He speaks about his wife in public.

*Fourth boy.*—And does not feel ashamed either.

*Fifth boy.*—You rascal, if your wife loves *swadeshism* what objection can you have to this? Why do you fear Government?

*Ul-jalul.*—I am afraid of being made to grind corn. If the Secretary of State were to prescribe simple imprisonment for lovers of *bande mataram* I would also step into the arena and have a trial of strength with Government.

*Sixth boy.*—Stop your foolish talk and listen to our song.

*Ul-jalul.*—Very well friends Mian Muhammad Din and Hira Lal.

*First boy.*—We love our India better than paradise. (The second line is illegible).

*Second boy.*—We will say a hundred times and in the presence of lakhs India is ours! India is ours!

*Third boy.*—Where can one find such scenery and beauty? Our India is a second paradise.

*Fourth boy.*—O Indians! take care of your turban, which has been knocked off: Listen for God's sake—India is ours!

*Fifth boy.*—O brave men of India, shout together 'India is ours!'

*Sixth boy.*—May (our) arts and industries improve! May the whole of India prosper!

(Enter a police constable with a boy in his custody).

*Constable.*—Walk on quickly. You will be better at the kotwali and will be cured of your *swadeshi* mania.

*Boy.*—But why should I go to the kotwali? What will happen there?

*Constable.*—Jail and hand-mill await you there.

*Boy.*—But for what offence?

*Constable.*—For favouring *swadeshism* and hating foreign-made articles.

*Boy.*—Have I not the right to support *swadeshism*? Is not the law on my side?

*Coustable.*—Away with your law! We care nothing for law, but obey Government alone.

*Boy.*—Have you been so ordered by any of your officers?

*Constable.*—We have orders from the *bara sahib* to take to the kotwali by hook or by crook, any boy found preaching *swadeshism* in the bazaar and to send him up for trial and consign him to jail.

*Boy.*—Very nice! If the authorities cherish such ideas it is impossible for them to crush the *swadeshi* movement.

*Constable.*—To the kotwali without delay! You can argue with the kotwal there.

*Boy.*—Will the kotwal devour me? I am not easy to swallow.

*Ul-jalul.*—Sir, constable, what is this noise about?

*Boy.*—He is taking me (to the kotwali) for no reason. He accuses me of *swadeshism.*

*Ul-jalul.*—Is *swadeshism* an offence?

*Constable.*—Such are our orders.

(High words ensue between Ul-jalul and the constable, and the others run away with the arrested boy. The kotwal comes on the scene and Ul-jalul is arrested.)

*Kotwal.*—Why do you tarry here? Are you fighting with any one?

*Constable.*—Sir, I arrested an offender in the Chandni Chauk and was taking him to the kotwali. This man interfered with me on the way and showed fight. He uses abusive language towards highly-placed officers.

*Kotwal.*—Where is the offender?

*Constable.*—Sir, he has run away at the instance of this man.

*Kotwal.*—What offence did he commit?

*Constable.*—Sir, I arrested him on a charge of *swadeshism.*

*Kotwal to Ul-jalul.*—O you low villain and rebel! You fight with the police, make guilty persons run away and preach *swadeshism* in the city.

*Ul-jalul*—The kotwal has beaten the constable hollow! How can you display such fool-hardiness under British rule? You order the arrest of people for supporting the *swadeshi* movement and pride yourself on your absurd and illegal orders! Recover your senses and hold your tongue. I too have read the Indian Penal Code and understand matters better than you do.

*Kotwal.*—Mahabir, take away this *badmash* to the lock-up. He will be sent up for trial to-morrow and made to realise what it means to oppose the police.

*Constable.*—Very good, Sir.

(The constable hand-cuffs Ul-jalul).

*Ul-jalul.*—Sir, I am a Muhammadan. I neither favour *swadeshism* nor do I ask for *swaraj*.

*Kotwal.*—Are you a Muhammadan ?

*Ul-jalul.*—Yes.

*Kotwal.*—Your name ?

*Ul-jalul.*—Ul-jalul.

*Kotwal.*—Your father's name ?

*Ul-jalul.*—Bhaglol (dullard).

*Kotwal.*—Where do you live ?

*Ul-jalul.*—In the Chandni Chauk.

*Kotwal.*—You are a Muhammadan, and still you preach *swadeshism* and join Hindus in disseminating sedition.

*Ul-jalul.*—Pardon me this once.

*Kotwal.*—You must suffer for your deeds.

*Ul-jalul.*—You are Muhammadan and yet you wish to injure a follower of the Prophet.

*Kotwal.*—The injury will lead to good.

*Ul-jalul.*—What will you gain ? For God's sake let me off.

*Kotwal.*—Bring back the offender (the boy who was arrested by the constable).

*Ul-jalul.*—He has run away.

*Kotwal.*—Search for him.

*Ul-jalul.*—Shall I search for him or try to earn my bread ?

*Kotwal.*—Well, release him on bail here. I will decide to-morrow what is to be done about him.

*Ul-jalul.*—May God keep the British Government over us for ever !

*Kotwal.*—Mahabir, search for the *swadeshi* offender. Ransack the whole city for him.

*Constable.*—And if he should not be found ?

*Kotwal.*—Then arrest some other *bande-mataramist* boy.

*Constable.*—Very good, Sir.

(*Exeunt omnes*).

(*To be continued.*)

2. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 1st May 1908, remarks that Mr. O'Grady recently asked the Secretary of State to exempt constitutional agitation from the operation of section 124 A. He was, however, reminded by Mr. Morley that the section had already the following proviso added to it :—

The rulers and the ruled.

"Comments expressing disapprobation of the measures of Government with a view to obtain their alteration by lawful means, without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt, or disaffection, do not constitute an offence under this section."

Commenting on the above the Editor says that one cannot sufficiently praise the ingenuity of the framer of the section for it is impossible to oppose any official measure and to arouse public agitation without some disaffection being excited towards Government. On the other hand, the people know from long experience that they can obtain nothing from the authorities by following a policy of mildness. Every native journalist is aware of the great might of Government and is not foolish enough to needlessly involve himself in trouble (by opposing it). Unfortunately natives claim to be human beings. Therefore when they are injured they feel and cry out in pain. It will be absured to tell them to make no noise. If they were treated with leniency, courtesy and justice, agitation would at once become unknown in the country and the people would neither demand self-Government nor court imprisonment. If a woman does not love her step-sons, but despises them they pray for her death and think of their real mother. Similarly if a people are oppressed by a foreign Government they are reminded of their (former) national Government. The reason why natives have been led to think of obtaining self-Government is that they can no longer put up with the oppression practised on them. They are, however, still far from being rebels and cry for justice and not for vengeance on Government. If they were treated kindly by the authorities there would be no necessity for either army, guns or Penal Code to keep them loyal. The authorities would pass their days in peace. Now they entail suffering on the people, but can they honestly say that they sleep as peacefuly in these days as they used to do ten years ago ?

3. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 5th May 1908, regrets that the bomb, which has been working such havoc in Europe, should have found its way to India. After referring to the Muzaffarpur outrage, it says that the English have been greatly frightened at the change which this engine of destruction has wrought in the politics of the country. The paper adds that every well-wisher of humanity will condemn the deed and render Government every possible help in arresting the offenders.

Muzaffarpur outrage.

4. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 6th May 1908, publishes a cartoon in which a bomb is seen bursting against a carriage containing two European ladies. Two Bengali boys stand on the left of the vehicle waving their arms in the air, while India—represented as a lady with a crown and a trident—stands on the right. The letter-press is as follows :—

Muzaffarpur outrage.

"The Muzaffarpur bomb outrage.

"*India*—Oh, cruel Khudi Ram ! Why hast thou killed these innocent ladies by throwing a bomb at them ? There is not a single Indian who will not execrate such a reprehensible deed."

5. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 6th May 1908, writing about the Muzaffarpur outrage and the discovery of bomb factories at Calcutta, deplores the introduction of anarchism into India. Nothing worse, it adds, could befall the country and if prompt and strenuous efforts are not made to stamp out the evil peace will become unknown in India and it will become impossible for the people to make progress in any direction. It shocks one deeply to think of the deep misery and the enormous loss of life which anarchism has caused in both Europe and America. Natives should consider it their first duty to forget their differences of religion and language, and strengthen the hands of Government in suppressing anarchy in the land. Meetings should be held in all parts of the country to ask Government to inflict the severest punishment on the perpetrators of the Muzaffarpur outrage with a view to preventing others from committing the same crime. The Editor then expresses satisfaction at the Bengal Landholders' Association having expressed their indignation and abhorrence at the outrage.

Muzaffarpur outrage.

6. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 5th May 1908 :—

Muzaffarpur outrage.

"Human sympathy transcending all artificial barriers of caste, colour or creed will go in an unstinted measure to Mr. Pringle Kennedy, the bereaved husband and father whom the dastardly act of a misguided brother man has deprived of his nearest and dearest. Mr. Kennedy is not only one of the popular leaders of the Muzaffarpur Bar, but a scholar of no mean repute and it seems extremely hard that a cruel destiny should have cast a pall over the career of such a man. Indeed going out on professional business that morning Mr. Kennedy could have little dreamt what a sad misfortune was in store for him that very evening. As regards the authors of the outrage, the police have laid their hands on two, and one of them has seen fit to put an end to his miserable existence. The other will in due course take his trial for the deed, but whether he is or is not found to be the man who threw the infernal bomb we can say this that whoever is responsible for the act will have scant sympathy at the hands of his countrymen, whose whole history and traditions furnish the most open and standing condemnation of these methods. Later telegrams from Calcutta bring the news of police laying their hands upon some of the factories of these terrible engines of human destruction and have arrested a large number of persons whom they suspect to be connected therewith. The danger in such times is lest the subordinate officials may be carried away by their zeal in capturing real offenders to extend their attentions to a number of innocent people, and we trust that the Bengal Government, with that coolness which is a mark of real statesmanship, will take steps to ensure that the risk of involving the innocent with the guilty is eliminated as far as possible."

7. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 6th May 1908 :—

The bomb outrage in Bengal.

"During the last two or three days we have been receiving grave news from Bengal. Events are developing fast and matters are assuming serious shape. The country is in the midst of a crisis, and the raiding of bomb-factories in Calcutta is one of those signs of the times which ought to put the Government as well as the people thinking. They are sufficient to unnerve anybody, however strong, who has not been sufficiently initiated into the methods of the West. Asia, and in Asia pre-eminently Hindustan, has been a land of spirituality, where *Ahimsa*—the horror of causing unnecessary injury or pain to living beings—has so long ruled supreme. We do not know

of any period of Indian history when people took to such wild and shocking methods for the redress of their political grievances. Times have, however, changed, and the disappearance of the old methods of political redress have thrown the people on western methods. So after all we have lived to see the spectacle of anarchic activities in the land of Gautama Buddha. While shocked to our depths by these fearful acts of violence, and pitying the fanatical or demented perpetrators thereof, we cannot but hold the Government largely responsible for the state of things which have made them possible. It is their policy which has so much affected the brains of a certain class of people as to make them commit the reckless act that has resulted in the death of two innocent ladies at Muzaffarpur. Such acts of blind vengeance can only proceed from circumstances which obscure people's mental and moral vision. They are to be ascribed to that derangement of the brain which makes a man desperate and obliterates all sense of right and wrong in the pursuance of an object undertaken. It is all the same a serious matter which shows the existence of chances of still graver developments if the causes that are at the root continue unremedied. The growth of the so-called anarchism in India is a thing which no one could even dream of ten years before. It shows the depth and intensity of discontent which has brought about the existing state of things and converted even the timid, docile, westernised Bengalee into an 'anarchist.' But will this open the eyes of the Government and induce them to turn a new leaf—this has yet to be seen. For the generality of the law-abiding and peaceful Indians the news is too shocking and incredible, but there it is—a tangible evidence of the 'progress' made by India within less than two hundred years of British rule. Just now people are not in a mood to weigh the situation properly. The prevailing sentiment is expressed by such exclamations as—What is it coming to? Do we hear aright? Are we living in India or in Russia?

8. The following is from the Anglo-Vernacular paper the *Hindustan*, (Lahore), of the 8th May 1908 :—

The bomb outrage in Bengal.

"It is an axiom of Indian logic that the qualities of the cause are always present in the effect. Thus the quality of anarchism discernible in the recently detected bomb preparations in Calcutta and the bomb outrage in Muzaffarpur is traceable directly to the Fulleran Government. Lawlessness and anarchy were the sign manual of Fuller's Rule—so lawlessness and anarchy are the monsters begotten of it. Let not the Government become wise after the event once more.

"If the overflooding of the banks is to be checked, the rush of water must be stopped at the main gates of the canal, and not somewhere lower down. Lord Minto, the Parliament and Mr. Morley must take note of this."

9. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 8th May 1908 :—

The bomb outrage in Bengal.

"It was natural that the discovery of the bomb factory in Calcutta should produce as profound and shocking a sensation in England as these incidents have done in India. Revolutionary activities are foreign and repugnant to the very spirit and the traditions of the Indian race and people in England may well stand aghast, as the people in India have been, at this extraordinary development of affairs. It was natural also that the people and the press in England should call for nipping this sort of agitation in the bud and coming down with the heavy arm of the law upon the desperate and demented people, who would according to the newspaper reports of some of the accused, have plunged the country into the mael-strom of a revolution. There would have been nothing unnatural or unexpected in this, but the pity of it is that the leading journal in the blind fury to which these sensational events in Calcutta has driven it has been putting down the blame of all this deplorable upshot to the wrong quarter. For instance, the *Times* is wroth not so much with the Calcutta revolutionaries who were alleged to be

privy to the Muzaffarpur outrage and to have been plotting against the subversion of the present order but against what one jingo journal in its in imitable way described as 'the white Babus' in Parliament. And what has been the head and front of the offence of the British friends of India who are referred to in the *Times'* insinuation? Not even the vilest calumniator of the British Committee of the Congress can say that the Committee or any member of it has ever advocated any but strictly constitutional agitation and it would be a pure distortion of truth to say that any member of the British Committee has ever approved of any violent methods of agitation. On the other hand, they have been always counselling us to follow strictly constitutional agitation and have bidden the Indian reform party to be of good cheer and have faith in the good intentions of Mr. Morley and the British public. We cannot say if they are the target of the Thunderer's fulminations but if they are meant to be attacked we can only express our surprise at the *Times'* way of venting its spleen on a body of noble-minded Britishers. The *Times* may fume and fret and hold out a threat that some checks should apply against these high-souled friends of India but the latter can well afford to scorn the hysterical outbursts of the London paper."

10. The following is from the *Observer* (Lahore), of the 9th May 1908 :—

The bomb outrage in Bengal.

"With the publication of the gruesome details of the anarchist conspiracy in Bengal, the first feeling of stupefaction, with which the news of the bomb outrage at Muzaffarpur and the discovery of a huge conspiracy at Calcutta had filled the popular mind in India, is deepening into one of horror. The foul deed at Muzaffarpur has shocked Indian sentiment and later revelations have been received with amazement, mixed with genuine abhorrence, not only of the outrage itself but of the entire movement, of which it is the outcome. The madness of the perpetrators of the deed is unquestioned, but so is the insanity of those who have taken active part in stirring up bad blood between the rulers and the ruled. In any measures it may undertake to suppress the terrorism now rampant in certain parts of the country, and especially the anarchist conspiracy that has come to light, the Government of India will have the hearty support of all law-abiding subjects of the King Emperor. We are in a position to confidently assure His Excellency the Viceroy and his colleagues that viewing such deeds as the Musalmans of India do with deep detestation, sixty millions of them will not for a moment hesitate to range themselves on the side of law and orderliness in any emergency and that they will unflinchingly support Government in its efforts to put down anarchy and lawlessness."

11. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 9th May 1908 :—

The bomb outrage in Bengal.

"Our profoundest and sincerest sympathies go forth to Mr. Kennedy in his heart-rending bereavement; not because he is an Englishman and our loyalty to the English Government stands in risk of being suspected in the absence of this expression of sympathy; nor because he has been a sympathiser with our political aspirations but for the simple reason that any fellow man similarly afflicted would claim the same from us. An Indian or a non-Indian, a Hindu or a Muhammadan, a European or a Zulu, any son of man so mercilessly and inscrutably struck by the inexorable hand of fate would have an equal amount of sympathy from us. Nay, we go a step further and say that even if Mr. Kingsford had been successfully victimised by this insane attempt at revenge we would have equally sympathised with his survivors. On outrages like these we look down with a sense of abhorrence but we do not hold the community any more responsible for them than they are for the famine and plague which are just now desolating the country. All these misfortunes are a result of our national *karma* facilitated by the inroads of modern western civilisation. Anarchism or secret societies are the peculiar products of that civilisation which is just now holding a supreme sway over the

destinies of man-kind—a civilisation which is so proud of that insolent hypocrisy and cant which go under the name of modern culture. It is the civilising mission of the white man which has helped to introduce these diabolical institutions in the East no less than any other influence. Before the advent of this new type of culture from the West the East never knew anything of this sort. Secret assasinations and under-hand subterfuges were held in universal reprobation. Even the most depraved characters in Asiatic society could not tolerate them. It is the civilisation of the West which along with its crusades against the sacred independence of weaker nationalities and usurpation of the rights of other men has in its train brought these new-fangled weapons of political warfare. It is the same civilising mission which is the boast of the white man to introduce in the East and which furnishes him with 'the pretext for the spoliation and enslavement of the alien races' (See Syad Amir Ali's article on the Anomolies of Civilisation in the *Nineteenth Century and After* for April.)

"It is a suggestive commentary on the influence of European methods in India to find that it should have converted a certain section of the flower of the Indian population into sycophants or anarchists—mercenary agents of an alien Government, or the ferocious harbingers of such deadly ideas as lead to dastardly deeds like the one lately committed at Muzaffarpur. May we ask the British statesmen to ponder, if there is anything inherent in their system of Government in India which crushes the spirit of manliness and encourages instead either a spirit of abject dependence or one of cowardliness? Why should there be a sense of helplessness which drives people to these undesirable extremes, either on the side of the Government or against it? It is just these two types which are at present attracting attention in India, we mean the sycophant or the bomb-thrower. There are highly educated men in the ranks of both—men who could be the pride of their country and ornaments of their society if they could command a free scope for the proper employment of those talents with which nature has gifted them and education has fitted them. Surely there must be something abnormal and unnatural in the social conditions of India under which men of rare parts and good social environments should either take to mercenary sycophancy or blood-thirsty anarchism. Among the persons arrested at Calcutta there are men of genius and talents who would have filled honorable positions in their society had it been in normal conditions but whom circumstances and fate have driven to these blood-curdling methods of life. The fate of these excites our pity but the modes of life of those who carry a brisk trade in 'loyalty' and sycophancy can evoke no other feelings but those of contempt. In this matter we make no distinction between Hindus and Muhammadans. So far as this nefarious trade is concerned any one who prospers thereby is a parasite who deserves no respect. To us it is very humiliating to confess that so many of our educated countrymen should live on back-biting and espionage. The number of Indians just now engaged in carrying tales to Government officers involving such of their countrymen as are disposed to think and act independently is legion. A good number of them hold what generally goes under the name of respectable positions. Government rewards them with titles and posts of emoluments. Government, of course, is perfectly justified in using them as their tools but they should not forget that by attaching too much importance to people like these they set afloat currents of reaction, which produce bomb-throwers, conspirators, revolutionaries and secret assassins. For us the spectacle is one of great pain to see that in this land of *dharma* and chivalry, in this country of the Rajputs, there should be people who have lost all sense of virtue and manliness.

"We would take this opportunity of reminding our countrymen of their noble traditions. Let not the Hindus ever forget that in the long struggle for independence which they have been carrying on intermittently since their first political subjection by the Muhammadans they have never stooped to these low methods which are now characterising some of their countrymen on both sides. Even the cajoling tolerance and the statesmanlike benevolence of an Akbar could not induce all or many to sell their consciences for a mess of pottage. Neither the ferocity of an Ala-ud-din nor the bigotry of an

Aurangzeb could persuade them to degrade their sense of chivalry. May we appeal to them in the name of their old traditions to be firm and manly in the present crisis, eschewing all that is dark, mean, and unworthy of a son of India. Let us by all means carry on an open warfare against the forces which tend to perpetuate our bondage and enslave us for ever, but let us not stultify all our past history by stooping to these underhand methods of revenge. Our advice to our countrymen at this juncture is to be neither hysterical nor nervous, avoiding both the extremes referred to above."

The bomb outrage in Bengal.

12. The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of the 9th May 1908 :—

"The arrival of the bomb in India is an event which can not be lightly passed over. Its first exploit is marked by the horrible outrage at Muzaffarpur. The people who can take life thoughtlessly must indeed be in a state of deep despair, but never has any great cause prospered by association with a system of assasination.

"Peace, freedom and good Government cannot grow over the mangled bodies of innocent victims. It can be safely asserted that the responsible public opinion is horribly shocked and regards with abhorrence the tactics of misguided young men in Bengal.

"The police have discovered the plot and many arrests have been made. It is said that bombs and materials for making many more have been discovered. The enquiry as it proceeds, we trust will make it clear that only a few conspirators were concerned in the matter and we have every hope that Government will deal with the matter with its characteristic calmness."

The proposed introduction of a Press Law.

13. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 9th May 1908 :—

"We wonder why Reuter has been at such pains to wire out to India the silly vapourings and mischievous outpourings of some one who hails under the name of Mr. Mitra. It is unfortunate he has not gone further to enlighten us as to the exact identity of the political genius who proposes to forge fresh fetters for his countrymen without any discrimination between the good and the bad, the healthy and the diseased, the useful and the mischievous but in the absence of that information many will suspect the hand of Mr. S. M. Mitra who has been filling the air of England with denunciations of the Congress and the party of reform. Anyhow it scarcely does credit to the sense of discrimination and discernment of the journalist at home that he should have found room for the anti-Indian fulminations of a man who would apparently see his own countrymen gagged, bound hand and foot, and hung by the rope from the nearest tree, irrespective of the fact that they commit any crime or not. We have nothing but disgust and abhorrence for violent and unconstitutional methods and the misguided few who indulge in them, as we have no sympathy with members of the vernacular, or for the matter of that any press who would mistake their high calling and degrade one of the most potent and beneficent instruments of human progress and advancement by prostituting it for their own narrow and selfish purposes. Nor do we believe that any Indian can take to 'vilifying' Government without being guilty of the basest ingratitude for the manifold blessings and innumerable benefits received, and doing wrong to the hopes of future progress and the aspirations of raising the people from their condition which are indelibly linked with the peace and security which we have learnt to associate with *Pax Britannica*. But surely the freaks of madness of a few demented minds, or the mischievous vapourings of a few misguided or deluded individuals can hardly furnish a reasonable ground to take away from the people at large one of their most cherished rights, and one of the most appreciated of blessings which England has conferred upon us out of the fullness of its own generous

heart. The existence of black-sheep in any community is thoroughly to be deplored, and the limbs of the law are long and wide enough to deal with the guilty. The startling revelations at Calcutta will be dealt with by the Courts, but there is no reason to take panic-stricken counsel from men of the stamp of Mr. Mitra who is flaunted in our face by Reuter. It would be manifestly unjust to the Indian community in Calcutta to suppose for a moment that the mad freaks and mischievous designs which are being revealed could have their sympathy, much less support as a body, and we should think that the sober and sensible section of the people there entertain the same feelings of disapproval and disgust as outside Bengal, although their proximity to the actual proceedings to some extent stands in their way of expressing their real feelings. The alternatives proposed by Mr. Mitra are 'either Government must subsidise half-a-dozen vernacular papers to contradict the lies, or it must regulate the factories of lies' and hardly display any ingenuity or statesmanship, although there is ample evidence furnished to doubt Mr. Mitra's ability to take a broad and comprehensive view of the situation. It was the undying glory of the Liberals that Lord Ripon, whose name is still cherished by the millions of India as that of the noblest Viceroy we have ever had, promptly repealed Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act, and educated Indians have fondly believed that they owe it to Mr. (now Lord) Morley's intervention that the Statute Book has not so far contained another Press Act. We fervently hope that Lord Minto will, with his cool statesmanship and sympathetic interest, steadily resist the irresponsible proposals trotted out by men of Mr. Mitra's short-sighted and suicidal views, and that it will not be the painful task of Viscount Morley, and other members of Mr. Asquith's Cabinet, among whom Lord Ripon is still an honoured and respected colleague to sanction a reversal of the policy, with which the name of Metcalf is associated. We realise the difficulties of Government, but we believe that law and statesmanship can cope with them successfully."

Objectionable writings in the *Yugantar*.

14. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 5th of May 1908, says that the *Yugantar*, which is being prosecuted for sedition, has published an article headed 'The Divine Promise' in which it exhorts the people to boycott Government promissory notes. After quoting an extract from the article, the Editor reports that in another article that paper says that there are 7,28,605 villages in India, that the whole British Army numbers 6 lakhs and that if each village were to contribute one *sanyasi*, the men would exceed the British forces in number.

Commenting on the above, the Editor remarks that it would appear that the Bengalis are pleased with such absurdities. As to the British leaving India, that is an impossibility.

Objectionable writings in the *Yugantar*.

15. The *Civil and Military News* (Ludhiana), of the 4th May 1908, writing on the same subject, says that both articles are grossly seditious. The first one aims at making the people repose no confidence in Government, while the second incites them to rise against it. The *Yugantar* is already being prosecuted for sedition, but it does not discontinue publishing inflamatory writings. No sympathy should be wasted on papers of this description.

Decentralisation Commission.

16. Commenting on the evidence given before the Decentralisation Commission at Lahore, the *Watan* (Lahore), of the 1st May 1908, strongly condemns the suggestion to curtail the right of appeal. It next takes exception to the part of the evidence of the Commissioner, Multan division, dealing with the Irrigation Department, and says that if Deputy Commissioners,

who know very little of that branch of public service, are given a hand in the working of canals the results will prove extremely harmful. Again, honesty is at a discount among the subordinate employes of every department, and it is absurd to condemn only those of the Irrigation Department. The paper then goes on to say that some witnesses attacked the honesty of Native Extra Assistant Commissioners and suggested by way of remedying the evil that a larger number of subordinate appointments should be filled by Anglo-Indians. Are Anglo-Indians, it asks, above corruption? It then refers to the case against Mr. Stephen of Gujranwala, and says that the reasons why the corrupt doings of European officers are very seldom brought to light is that the public fear to speak out against them except in cases of extreme necessity. Besides, it is anything but fair to condemn all native Zilladars and Extra Assistant Commissioners for the sins of a few of them. In conclusion the Editor asks Government to allow the members of the Punjab Legislative Council to discuss the budget statement, adding that the concession is already enjoyed by the United Provinces.

17. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 6th May 1908 :—

Decentralisation Commission.

"Messrs. Dutt and Gokhale have just left for England. Prior to departure they were entertained at the Ripon Club, Bombay, on which occasion both of them made valedictory speeches. The former spoke in a more hopeful and confident tone than the latter about the impending reforms in the administration of the country. Ever since his appointment on the Decentralisation Commission, he has been exhibiting a more robust faith in the wisdom of British statesmanship and in the coming millenium than one may be led to infer, from his writings, he ever had before. Mr. Dutt is an eminent writer on Indian questions. His countrymen are under obligation to him for his close study of Indian affairs and for his having gathered and published materials which would not have been otherwise easily accessible to students of Indian problems. The country is proud of the distinction he has won as a writer and as a speaker. The landholding and agriculturist classes, moreover, owe him a debt of gratitude for his bold handling of the Revenue Administration of the country and his trenchant criticisms of the Revenue policy of the British Government. But, while fully alive to all this, we cannot help feeling in our heart of hearts that the ruling ambition of his life has been to rise as high as possible in the Service and Councils of the British Government. This, we are afraid, giving him all possible credit for the best of intentions, prevents him from looking *through* the promises, pledges, and speeches of the British statesmen clearly and make him hope against hope. The ambition to rise high in the administration of one's own country is not inconsistent with nobility of mind and the desire of being true to his people. But ambition to rise high in the estimation of an alien Government whose interests (or the interests of those whom they represent) are not identical with those of one's country and people, unconsciously vitiates judgment and dims the vision. It may be that this ambition stands in the way of Mr. Dutt's clear grasp of the situation and makes him place such an excessive faith in the solidity and worth of the coming reforms. For our part we have no faith in Lord Morley. We do not think Mr. (Oh! beg your pardon, Lord) Morley is in earnest about the Indian Reform proposals, but even if he were, we do not believe he has the strength or will to do anything solid or substantial against the combined will of the Indian bureaucracy. A few months more and Mr. Dutt will be thoroughly disabused, unless he is determined to be satisfied with *anything* which Lords Morley and Minto decide to give to the Indian out of the fulness of their over-flowing hearts.

"Mr. Gokhale's forecast, however, was not so hopeful as that of Mr. Dutt. He showed wisdom in not being too sanguine about the coming reforms though it is to be regretted that he should have held his own countrymen responsible for their gloomy

prospects. We have great respect for Mr. Gokhale, we believe him to be thoroughly sincere and earnest, but we really cannot follow him when he says that his own countrymen are throwing difficulties in the way. Does he really believe that in the absence of the so-called difficulties Lord Morley was going to give anything substantial to India? If so, we are tempted to remark that Mr. Gokhale has read the history of the expansion of the British Empire to no advantage. He may pardon us for stating our belief that the British have never given political privileges unless the claimants proved conclusively that they had the capacity to take them if not granted. The India of to-day has not given that proof yet, and it is impossible for Lords Morley and Minto to give them anything which they cannot wrench. They have neither the will nor the strength. Let the matter end there, and let us waste no more time, energy and attention upon the prospects of reform. We make bold to prophecy that in our humble judgment the labours of the Decentralisation Commission are bound to end only in giving larger, more summary, and more autocratic powers to the district bureaucrats than they possess under the present system. May we beg our friends in England to cease agitating for Royal Commissions or Royal Committees? We have long ago lost all faith in these bombasts, if we ever had any. To press for them in the light of past experience is to add insult to injury, and we cannot help remarking that in this matter at least we must ask to be saved from our friends. We wish the Indian reform party would once and for all make it clear that we want no Commissions or Committees. What we want is enough of bread, for ourselves, for our young ones, and for our aged. These Commissions and Committees cannot give the same to us, and so long as they cannot give us that, we want neither Councils nor Budget speeches. We must decline to be satisfied with these toys unless we are in a position to make these Councils and Budget speeches produce bread for us and our people.

The Indian army.

18. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), in its issue of 20th April, publishes an article under the heading "The Indian army." The article commences by stating that owing to the lack of any sense of patriotism among Indians, it has been possible to employ and train natives as mercenaries to subjugate their own countrymen. This fact was first recognised by Dupleix, who desired to employ his discovery to bring India under the sway of France. His countrymen, however, did not approve of such a scheme, but the English were deterred by no such scruples, and they first drove the French out of India and then established their supremacy with the assistance of Indian sepoys. The writer then dilates on the valour and loyalty of Indian soldiers and quotes instances of their fidelity to Clive. He compares their courage with that of English soldiers, whose cowardice has frequently been shown on the battle-fields of India. Continuing he asks what reward Indian soldiers have obtained for establishing British rule in India. In reply he states that far from receiving any reward they have been subjected to systematic ill-treatment. It was this ill-treatment that was the main cause of the mutiny—or sepoy revolt—and since the mutiny the lot of the sepoy has grown from bad to worse. He is made to feel his inferiority to his comrade, Tommy Atkins, and his loyalty is held in question. Worse still, he is branded with disloyalty. Before the mutiny the number of sepoys employed was large but the number has now been reduced, British soldiers being employed where formerly native soldiers were entertained. Formerly a martial spirit prevailed in the country, and, even if the people of India groaned beneath the yoke of foreign rule, at least they had the satisfaction that their hearths and homes were defended by their countrymen. The case is far different now, and the result has been to weaken the country both physically and financially. So serious is this that Govern-

ment finds it difficult to obtain recruits, and its agents have to resort to tricks to obtain soldiers. A significant instance of how the loyalty of the sepoy is appreciated appears in the fact that there is no native artillery in India, though before the mutiny this arm of the service was largely in the hands of native soldiers.

The writer then gives specific instances to show the wide difference in the treatment accorded to British and Native soldiers in order that Government may promptly introduce reforms and allay the feeling of discontent. He points out that the sepoy is accommodated in *Lines* while the white soldier is given comfortable barracks. These Lines, he asserts, are no better than piggeries or kennels, being ill-ventilated and badly lighted, while the barracks of the British soldiers are palatial buildings fitted with all manner of luxuries. On the line of march the sepoy is made to carry heavier kit than the British soldier. Moreover he is given an inferior rifle to that carried by his European comrade. The British soldier may go out shooting, taking his rifle with him—a privilege never accorded to the sepoy.

Again recruits are enlisted under the impression that they are to be employed solely on military duty and they subsequently find to their cost that they have to build Lines and do the work of coolies.

The British soldier gets free rations while the native soldier has to find his own food. The punishments awarded to the native soldiers, too, are more severe than that awarded to the British soldier for the same offence. Flogging exists for the poor heathen sepoy, but not for his Christian comrade.

In the case of recreation the same distinctions exist. Gymnasia, billiard-rooms, theatres and libraries are found for the British soldier while nothing is done to cheer the hard lot of the sepoy. More work, too, is exacted from the latter and parades are so constant that they can scarcely find leisure to cook and digest their food. Consequently they break down in health before they can complete the service entitling them to pension.

Nothing is done for the moral or religious instruction of sepoys. Nor may they read their national newspapers, while British soldiers are free to read what they will.

Having quoted these instances of unfair treatment the writer goes on to say that the Indian army is intentionally kept in an inefficient and backward state because it is not considered politically expedient to make it otherwise. The loyalty of the native troops is doubted and consequently they can never be efficient. It is not considered desirable to have efficient native officers, and consequently men of no education or position are selected from the ranks who will be servile and ready tools in the hands of British officers.

In conclusion the writer asks why, if the native army is inefficient and it is considered desirable to keep it so, the native army is kept up at all. He gives his opinion that the answer lies in the fact that the Indian Army provides snug berths for thousands of European officers. The services do not exist for India, but India for the services, which fact accounts for the existence of the Indian Army.

## II—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

19. The following is from the Anglo-Vernacular paper the *Hindustan* (Lahore, of the 1st May 1908 :—

The Mohmand rising. The Amir's showing of his hand.

"The long expected thing has occurred. The Amir has been strengthening his army and arsenal since some time. His visit to India, his refusal to accept a dinner offered by the Delhi Muhammadans if beef formed part of the menu, so as not to wound the susceptibilities of the Hindus, his subsidy to the Islamia College of Lahore, his donation to the Sikh temple of Sarhind—all pointed to the weather-wise which way the wind blew. Even the masses of the Punjab who sometimes show a clearer perception of things than their brethren, the brained idiots, rumoured that no sooner the Amir returned home safe he would seize the first of oportunity to have a trial of strength with his allies beyond the Kabul river. And so he has done."

20. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 6th May 1908, remarks that the trans-frontier Pathans have an intense love for their country and will lay down their lives in the defence of their freedom. The paper then goes on to say that perhaps the real cause of the Mohmand rising lies in the recent survey of the alignment of the Kabul River Railway. The Mohmands may have been misled into thinking that the construction of the railway will render their country unsafe and liable to interference from outside. If this is so, it is not surprising that they should have been influenced by the preachings of their *mullas*. It is the policy which gave rise to this suspicion in the minds of the Mohmands and which has enabled the *mullas* to preach a *jehad* which deserves to be condemned.

The Mohmand rising.

21. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 6th May 1908, thanks God that the news of the death of the Amir has proved to have been unfounded. The rumour, it adds, appears to have been set afloat by His Majesty's enemies in order to increase the trouble and to neutralise the efforts of Sardar Nasrullah Khan to prevent Afghans from helping the Mohmands and to recall Afghan soldiers from the seat of war. The Editor regrets that Anglo-Indian newspapers should continue to accuse the Amir of negligence and carelessness. The *Pioneer*, it says, has gone the length of accusing Nasrullah Khan of collusion with the Mohmands and of trying to induce the ruler of Kabul to help the enemy.

The Mohmand rising.

22. The *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 29th April 1908, cannot admit that the Amir or his subjects have been helping the enemy. His Majesty can derive no pleasure from the struggle between the Mohmands and the Government of India, while he is fully aware of the great might of England and knows that the whole Afghan population, let alone the Mohmands, cannot withstand the British forces. It is an insult to him to say that he regards the war as a *tamasha* or that he does not realise that tribal risings spell equal danger for both the Government of India and the Kabul Darbar.

The Mohmand rising.

23. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* (Lahore), of the 2nd May 1908, deplores the conduct of the Amir in connection with the Mohmand rising, and expresses a hope that His Majesty will prevent Afghan soldiers and *mullas* from making

common cause with the enemy. The Amir should also see that the arms and ammunition manufactured at the Kabul factory are not sold to the Mohmands.

The Mohmand rising.

24. The *Civil and Military News* (Ludhiana), of the 4th May 1908, remarks that the Amir should adopt stringent measures to put an end to the importation of arms into Western Afghanistan through the Persian Gulf. His Majesty should also prevent his subjects from joining the Mohmand *lashkar*.

The Mohmand rising.

25. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* (Lahore), of the 2nd May 1908, publishes a communication in which the writer suggests that Government should employ reliable spies to collect news about the enemy. After remarking that Japan owed her victory over Russia to spies, the correspondent adds that the British officers with the expedition should allow no Mohmand to enter the camp on the pretext of selling anything to the soldiers. He next advises Government to occupy Mohmand territory so long as the Amir does not stand surety for the future good behaviour of the Mohmands. In case His Majesty should be unwilling to do so Government should not evacuate that territory but should settle Sikhs in it to defend the frontier, exempting them from the operation of the Arms Act.

The Loi-Shilman Railway.

26. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 4th May 1908, observes that an extension of the Loi-Shilman Railway is calculated to result in more than one political danger. To extend the line through mountainous tracts necessitates an unusually heavy expenditure, for which Government can obtain a merely nominal return, because trade and industries scarcely exist in tribal territory. The trans-frontier Pathans lead a very simple life and cannot be induced to travel by rail. The project, therefore, can result only in a waste of money, which the present condition of the Indian Exchequer can on no account permit. Lord Kitchener, however, looks to his own requirements alone, and it is no concern of his that several works of public utility cannot be taken in hand for want of funds. Native newspapers and the representatives of the people have cried themselves hoarse in opposing such extravagant military schemes, but theirs has proved a veritable cry in the wilderness.

Tribesmen and modern weapons of war.

27. The *Wafadar* (Lahore), of the 28th April 1908, remarks that the present bumptious attitude of the frontier tribes is ascribable to the fact that they are continually receiving consignments of arms from abroad. After remarking that they receive their supplies of war materials through Persia and Afghanistan, the paper suggests that the Amir and the Shah should be called upon to explain why they allow the importation of arms for tribesmen through their territories. It is afraid that if the frontier tribes continue to receive arms in the quantities in which they have been doing for some time past the British Government will have to engage in a big war with them in the future. The Foreign office should find out which European countries and firms export arms for the tribesmen.

28. The following is from the Anglo-Vernacular paper the *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 8th May 1908 :—

Frontier affairs.

*A Call to the Hindus.*

"Now is the time to prove your loyalty. The frontier hounds are down upon the British Lion. Besides the reported casualties it is rumoured that 16 British officers have been caught by these barbarians and burnt alive in the blazing fire of the oven. The 'Cat of Kabul' is pretending to be asleep, but the scintillation of its directing eyes is disclosed every now and then. Show the mettle of Hind, vie with each other for displaying feats of bravery, and prove to the world that Hari Singh Nalooah, the Terror of Kabul, is born over again in you, and in you, and in you. Help the Raj in its emergency and fight for the honour of Hindus; drive the mountain dogs away to their kennels and save India from being infested by them once more.

*To the Mussulmans of Hindustan.*

"Children of the soil! Fight for the honour of the soil and disassociate yourselves from the aliens beyond the Frontier. Ye trustees and members of the Committees of the Islamia College, fling away the money of Kabul steeped in the blood of your brethren and stinking of treachery to the British Raj. You may be sure the Exchequer of the British Government will not lack in supporting and maintaining the educational interest of your community. Soul of Sir Syyed Ahmad and all ye Aligarites, to stand aloof from the Congress convened by Hindus who make wordy war with Government in open daylight for the rights of the children of the soil proves nothing. Would you that the British throne remain unshaken in India, then tell your co-religionists over the border once for all and loudly—'Hands off! We will have nothing of you!'"

*A Call to the National Volunteers of Bengal.*

"The cry is, Westward Ho!—from your own Motherland. I call you not to Far Japan or Further Manchuria this time for the display of your manhood. The walls of India are once more being attempted to be scaled by the 'Frontier Cats' as in the days of Mahmud Ghaznavi, the destroyer of Somenath, and the perpetrator of countless atrocities. In spite of the vigilance of the British Raj, your co-religionists, the Hindus of the Borderlands, have been the first victims. Bestir yourselves! Offer yourselves as volunteers to the Indian Government to serve in the field in any capacity. Resent the attempt of the Frontier Foreigner to overrun your land again and again. Make a stand for the integrity of the continent of Hindustan. From the list of casualties you will see how your Punjabi brethren are dying there by the scores in the defence of their motherland. Hasten to their sides, form ambulance corps, nurse them, tend them, bring them back to life if you can, or keep watch by them as their souls depart to the Heaven reserved for heroes.

"Beg, petition, urge the Government to allow you to serve it in its times of greatest need.

"*Speed on the wings of heroism and patriotism to the Frontier.*"

## V.—Native Societie and Religious matters.

29. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 1st May 1908, publishes the following :—

Political aspect of christianity.

"In our last few issues we have proved by citing quotations from the Bible itself that if the testaments are inspired and reliable books they throw the same light on the life of Christ as has been thrown on it by us in our articles. A careful study of the histories of different ages and races only leads one to the conclusion that all great and famous men whom the world has seen were not as great during their life-time as they

were subsequently represented to be by the people. The greater the lapse of time the greater sanctity or spirituality the people invest their deeds and speeches, thus making a mountain of a mole-hill.

"Accordingly it is possible that those who told the story of the life of Christ, may have followed the same line of conduct. Old histories and the gospels merely show that Christ was a human being who finding his nation and country in a miserable condition tried to save them from the oppression of the Government of the day and that the Government therefore resorted to a stratagen in order to arrest and crucify him.

"As it was a remark made by Colonel Parsons in the course of his interview with Sardar Ajit Singh which had suggested to us the idea of writing on the subject in detail, we wish to point out now the resemblance that exists between the incidents of Christ's life and those of the Sardar. Just as we are not prepared to accept Christ as a Prophet we can regard Sardar Ajit Singh also only as an ordinary mortal. It is possible that the future incidents of his life, which render the resemblance between him and Christ incomplete, may lead future generations to invest him also with spirituality and prophethood; but this has not yet come to pass because the successor of Christ already exists in the Punjab.

"There can be no doubt that Christ and Ajit Singh resemble each other to some extent and that the resemblence is sufficiently great to surprise everyone and make him ask the question whether the present Government will also accord Ajit Singh the treatment which was meted out to Christ.

"Christ was born at a time when his nation was governed by foreigners. The people were burdened with innumerable taxes and fresh ones were imposed on them daily. The powers of those days levied these taxes against the wishes of and without consulting the fellow-countrymen of Christ. False notions regarding caste and descent reigned supreme among the people, who were not united.

"The authorities used to harass the ruled in various ways. Christ was an obscure and common person. He roused his nation. The authorities took this ill because the heart-sore people promptly began to follow Christ. He condemned taxes in plain language. The Government feared its subjects—and it is only natural that an unsympathetic alien Government should fear its subjects—and was afraid to lay hands on Christ of its own motion, but wished to get hold of him by stratagem and have him accused by the people themselves. Accordingly they dared not arrest him as long as he was in the company of the public. In the end, they caused him to be arrested by bribing one of his disciples; and he was crucified, not in consequence of any outcry on the part of the people, but on the strength of the evidence given by three or four ordinary persons. What happened after Christ's crucifixion? We will state at some other time what happened after the death of Christ and what evils manifested themselves in the administration and what changes took place only a short time after that event.

"Similarly Sardar Ajit Singh is an ordinary person. In these days also the taxes levied from natives are very large in number and the poor people, who have to pay them, have no voice in their imposition. Every form of disunion and faction exists in the country. Sardar Ajit Singh raised his voice against the Colonisation Act and the land revenue assessments and this proved extremly injurious to the authorities. All the inhabitants of the Punjab, who had been hit hard by these laws, naturally sympathised with the Sardar, and the authorities and the police dared not lay hands on him on the occasion of his lectures under the auspices of the *Bharat Mata* society. When, however, the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai showed them that the people would keep quiet they mustered enough courage to lay hands on him also. Christ was sold for Rs. 30 by one of his friends and similarly the Sardar was betrayed by one of his friends in consideration of receiving Rs. 500 or more. The betrayer of Christ committed suicide through shame, but the betrayer of the Sardar has now repented and burns incense at his altar.

"The nobility raised an outcry against Christ and demanded his crucifixion. Similarly all the sycophants were ranged against the Sardar and expressed a desire that he should be hanged. Christ used to conceal himself towards the close of his career and political expediency compelled the Sardar also to go into hiding. In a word, there exists a resemblance between Christ and Ajit Singh in everything, the only difference between them is that while the former held his peace after his escape from the cross the latter seems bent on serving (his country) even after his deportation. It only now remains to be seen what treatment will be accorded to him by the Pilate of the day and whether or no future generations will look upon him as a Saviour. It rests with the authorities to bestow their honour on him, otherwise he is a poor and ordinary man, albeit he grieves for his country. He follows in the footsteps of Christ, although he does not wish to become a king. Colonel Parsons was not, therefore, guilty of great exaggeration in calling him Christ and we are extremely thankful to him for having suggested to us a new phase of Christianity (*lit.* the Bible).

## VII.—General Administration.

### (*b*)—*Police.*

Indian police.

30. The *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 1st May 1908, remarks that if the police were to perform their duties honestly and in a sympathetic spirit they would minister to the comfort of the people more and prove themselves to be the most useful body of public servants in the country. As it is they entail greater hardships on the people than the employees of any other branch of the public service. The reason for this is that the country is governed through them, with the result that they can commit all sins with impunity or, to speak more correctly, feel themselves compelled to commit all the sins which are usually laid at their door. Indeed, what oppression can they not practise, seeing that they possess the power to endanger the honour, lives and property of the people. A curtailment of their powers means taking away from those of the authorities. If an (Anglo-Indian) officer had to avenge himself on a *reis* who would trump up a case and procure evidence against the latter (if the police were deprived of their existing powers)? Again, how would the administration be carried on in the absence of the police force? In other words, administration is taken to mean to keep the entire population in a state of fear and alarm at all times. The result is that where police employees commit ten acts of oppression at the instance of their officers they do not fail to perpetrate five on their own account, and this is only natural. They have become so addicted to practising oppression that their hearts have been rendered callous and they are not amenable to any human or spiritual influences. While they pride themselves that they can ruin whomsoever they wish the people regard them with deeper feelings of disgust than any other class of men. The police are fully aware that they are trusted in no assembly, that no one seeks their friendship, and that a father fears his son (in the police force) and *vice versa*. But why do they put up with all these indignities? simply for the sake of bread and *izzat*, *i. e.*, to have the power to practise oppression, which is confounded with Government. They should, however, know that their emoluments and powers are being cut down by degrees, and that Europeans, Eurasians and even Native Christians are being appointed to higher posts in the Police Department in preference to the children of the soil. The time is not far distant when Indians will be appointed only to the posts of constables and head constables and will have neither the power to oppress

nor the ability to live well. The Editor then publishes an extract from the *Statesman*, which reports that considerable indignation prevails among the Calcutta Police over the orders forbidding the appointment of Native Inspectors to the post of Superintendent. He hopes that the police may either be punished for their sins or may realise their duties.

### (*d*)—*Education.*

31. The *Haq Pasand* (Amritsar), of the 1st May 1908, after remarking that more than two-thirds of the candidates who appeared at the recent Entrance Examination of the Punjab University have been "ploughed," enquires whether this massacre of the innocents does not show that Government wishes to suppress education in the country and that Lord Curzon's educational policy has begun to make itself felt in all the Universities. The Editor then refers to Government's anxiety to prevent students from taking part in politics and says that its treatment of the candidates for this examination is not calculated to make loyal subjects of them. Perhaps Government wishes native students to fail in their examinations and to turn to politics.

Last Entrance Examination of the Punjab University.

### (*f*)—*Railways and Communications.*

32. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 12th March 1908 :—

Inter class passenger.

"In these days, when an Indian gentleman has occasion to travel in a railway train, he is put to great inconvenience, whatever class of ticket he may possess. In the case of first and second class tickets he may expose himself to incivility or rude behaviour from an uncivil fellow-passenger but if he has got an Inter class ticket, he will have to undergo a great deal of worry, as there are only four compartments attached to a train, one meant for Europeans and Eurasians, and the other reserved for ladies and two only for other gentlemen. My personal experience is that generally third class passengers fare better than those of Inter class when the latter have to bemoan their fate, if unfortunately there is a goodly number of their companions ; it is with great difficulty that they can make room for themselves. This grievance can be very easily redressed by adding some more Inter carriages to each train. No train except E. I. R. can boast of having cushions in Inter class. I think all Inter class carriages can be provided with *gadelas* at a very small expense, thus contributing to the convenience of the passengers and earning their genuine and heart-felt thanks. I beg to draw the attention of Railway authorities to the above said defects and hope that they will lay the public at large under a great debt of gratitude by removing these complaints. The Europeans are requested to treat their native fellow passengers, if any, with tenderness so that they may bridge the gulf which is already widening, giving solidarity to the British Government.—*A correspondent.*

### (*h*)—*Miscellaneous.*

33. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 7th May 1908 :—

Public Works Department Engineers Resolution.

"THE other day we referred to the recent Government resolution on the P. W. D. resolution and said that the effect of the resolution is to further accentuate and perpetuate the difference in rank, pay and prospects of the engineers belonging to the Provincial and

Imperial cadres of the establishment. On closer examination we find that the new resolution, while it professes to benefit both the cadres of the Engineering establishment, reserves all the prizes and privileges for the members of the Imperial cadre, who are now wholly recruited from England. But to the members of the Provincial Service the new resolution is something like a gilded bitter pill. It professes to better their prospects but in reality takes away their existing prospects of promotion and emoluments. It has to be remembered that before the year 1895, all the engineers appointed from India were taken on practically the same terms as the men from England, the only difference being that the engineers from the Indian Colleges were placed on a lower grade than the English engineers. The only handicap placed on the Indian engineer in those days was that he was made three or four years junior to an engineer appointed from England but in other respects he was on the same footing as an engineer appointed from Cooper's Hill. In 1895, the provincial scheme was started and the Indian engineers' pay was fixed at approximately two-thirds of that of the men from England. But still members of both the cadres all started from the same grade and were borne on the same gradation list and except as regards difference of pay, there was no other distinction. Many of them, who have passed out of Indian Colleges since 1895 have become Executive Engineers, having attained that rank after about ten years' service and have under them Assistant Engineers appointed from England, who are junior to them in service. But under the present scheme all this is changed. Engineers from the Indian Colleges will remain as Assistant Engineers for the first fifteen years of their service, their names will be borne on a separate list and altogether they will be treated as a set of subordinates, because an Indian Assistant Engineer of about fifteen years service will be liable to be posted under an Engineer appointed from England of only eight or nine years. For it is now ruled that while an English Engineer will attain the rank of an Executive Engineer, one from the Indian Colleges must remain an Assistant Engineer for so long a period as the first fifteen years of his service. This is hardly a fair recognition of the claims of a highly capable body of public servants, especially as it is generally admitted that the training given in Indian Colleges is in no respect inferior to that given in English Colleges of Engineering, now that the Cooper's Hill College has been abolished. Nor is there any tangible reason why such arbitrary disabilities should be imposed on Engineers recruited from the Indian Colleges, save that the members of the provincial cadre are in many cases children of the soil. We trust the Government will realise the hardship done to the Indian Engineers and see its way to revise the resolution so as to remove the present anomaly."

34. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 10th May 1908 :—

The Forest Department and the people.

"The Forest Department is a branch of the administration in this country with which the people come a good deal into contact. The areas open for grazing have been restricted very much and in almost all districts the extension of cultivation, and the constitution of forest reserves have greatly curtailed the facilities available for grazing cattle. In the days when there were no forest reserves people were at liberty to graze their cattle where and as they liked, to get as much wood fuel free of cost as they required, to carry away as much grass as they wanted. In fact several hundreds of people in rural areas were able to earn their living in what was known as the jungle. It is certainly correct that the rise in the cost of grass and wood fuel is due to forest reserves and the rise in the price of cattle of all kinds may safely be attributed to the same cause. People residing in villages as well as large towns complain that it is very difficult to get green fodder for their cattle and this cannot be without an injurious effect on the health of the latter. In times of scarcity and famine no doubt the rules relating to the working of forest reserves are relaxed a bit, but in many cases the relaxation is almost nominal. In the case of large towns people who keep cattle and horses have to pay heavily for grass and there are times in the year often extending over three months at a stretch when it is impossible to get green grass at all. Both milch cattle and horses have to be fed on dry

fodder known as *turi* and it is not possible for animals fed on such inferior stuff to keep in good condition. Green grass cannot be obtained except in the forest reserves and there the people who are anxious to earn their living by cutting grass dare not enter. It is our conviction that some day this matter will have to be gone into by Government in some detail and from the standpoint not of the Forest Department but of the interests of the people. At present the Forest Department has everything its own way and the consequence is that the best interests of the people suffer.

F. ISEMONGER,

*Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*

*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

SIMLA :

*The* 11*th May* 1908.

Punjab Government Branch Press, Simla—11—19-5-08—95.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 20. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

**Received up to 16th May 1908.**

---

## CONTENTS.


I.—Politics.

*Page.*

*(a)—Foreign—*

*Nil.*

*(b)—Home—*

1. How natives can raise themselves (*Jhang Sial*) ... 281
2. Calcutta Anarchists (*Sada-i-Hind*) ... ... 282
3. Calcutta Anarchists (*Akhbar-i-'Am*) ... ... 283
4. Calcutta Anarchists (*Akhbar-i-'Am*) ... ... *ib.*
5. Calcutta Anarchists (*Akhbar-i-'Am*) ... ... 284
6. Calcutta Anarchists (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 286
7. Calcutta Anarchists (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... 287
8. The Anarchist movement in Bengal (*Observer*) ... *ib.*
9. The Bomb outrage in Bengal (*Panjabee*) ... ... 288
10. The Press Law (*Tribune*) ... ... *ib.*
11. An appeal to native young men (*Jhang Sial*) ... 289

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

12. The frontier rising (*Akhbar-i-'Am*) ... ... 289
13. The frontier rising (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 290

*Page.*

III.—Native States.

*Nil.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

*Nil.*

V.—Native Societies and Religious matters.

*Nil.*

VI.—Legislation.

*Nil.*

VII.—General Administration.

*(a)—Judicial—*

*Nil.*

*(b)—Police—*

*Nil.*

*(c)—Municipal and Cantonment affairs—*

*Nil.*

*(d)—Education—*

*Ntl.*

*(e)—Agriculture and questions affecting the land—*

*Nil.*

*(f)—Railways and Communications—*

*Nil.*

*(g)—Postal matters—*

*Nil.*

*(h)—Miscellaneous—*

*Nil.*

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 20. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

**Received up to 16th May 1908.**

---

### I.—Politics.

### (*b*)—*Home.*

1. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 9th May 1908, publishes a communication from one Piyare Lal Narain, who remarks that in its own kennel even a dog behaves like a lion. "It is master of its kennel and may or may not permit another dog to enter it. Indians are, however, worse than dogs: they have to suffer in their own country the hardships which befall one in foreign lands. The house belongs to them, but they cannot touch one brick of it. The house is theirs, but they dare not shift the drain one inch. The city is theirs, but they cannot venture on its roads. Everything belongs to them, and yet nothing is theirs. The black native—the nigger—cannot own anything. The God of Christ and the fire of Moses have conferred the proprietorship on white leprosy. . . . The native has no claim to his (own) body, mind, brains and soul. He is born in slavery, is brought up in the lap of it, wears the badge of slavery, and is laid in a slave's grave after his death. This is the horoscope of every Indian. But why does this degradation, this humiliation, this slavery, fall to the lot of natives? Has God made them merely to serve the purpose of beasts of burden? Are they destined only to carry rubbish and eat the dirtiest of food? Have they really no claim on the world and do they own nothing because they are black? They work from morning till evening and from evening till night. The hardest tasks are reserved for them and they undertake them willingly and accomplish them. They raise corn by the sweat of their brow, but they cannot keep it and have to undergo privations. There is only one road open to them, *viz.*, that which leads to hell. They can only tread the path to jail or death, and that which leads to the latter is the more comfortable. But can they look for comfort after death? No. Paradise is not for the weak and cowardly. It is for the brave and courageous. One law rules both worlds, and that is "might is right." It is might which reigns supreme in the universe. No one cares for the weak, who are only automatons working for the strong night and day, and weakening themselves in order to minister to the comfort of their masters. What return do they get for their labour and for weakening themselves? Only a few drops of oil, which cannot benefit them in any way.

How natives can raise themselves.

Oil lengthens their lives no doubt, but for what purpose? Only that they may prove of use to their masters for a longer period and may not quickly become unserviceable. Mr. Naoroji remarked that the English protected the lives and property of natives merely to ensure that the latter should continue to minister to their comfort which they robbed them. But why do the people submit to being plundered in this way? Why do they not tell the English plainly—'Go away. We will not submit to be robbed by you. You have despoiled us of much; we can no longer tolerate this state of things. This property is ours and was acquired by the strength of our arm. You have not the slightest claim to it. Go back to your own country—your island. Drop the pen and the hunting crop. Handle the spade and grow potatoes. You do not deserve to eat wheat, white wheat. We have grown this for ourselves and not for you.'

"It is only strength that can prompt the utterance of these high-sounding words and effect their performance. If they are not backed by might they resemble the utterances of Jesters and cannot drive the English out of the country. They can only bring into ridicule those who utter them and provoke the retort 'Well spoken, Babu! The Babu speaks well! Damn him! He asks for rights. The nigger does not feel contented at having been reclaimed from the state of a wild monkey.

"Natives should remember that empty words cannot move the English; they can accomplish nothing. They need 'might' in order to be considered deserving. They will only obtain their rights when they possess the strength to obtain them. After referring to Darwin's law of the survival of the fittest, the writer remarks that if natives wish to survive and to see themselves formed into a nation, they should make themselves strong and raise themselves above their neighbours. They should acquire strength, imbibe the feeling of nationality, remove obstacles from their path, let no people be stronger than themselves and destroy the power of all other nations. Then and then alone can they establish their prestige and have the right to apply the honourable epithet of nation to themselves. There are only two paths which they can tread. One of these leads to strength and life, and the other to weakness and death. They should chose the former path, throw off the yoke of weakness and set aside cowardice. The descendants of Sri Krishna and Bhishma should aspire, not after fine clothes, but after strength. The strength, however, which the writer wants them to acquire emanates, not from a strong body, but from a stout heart. Natives stand in need, not of brute force, but of the strength of the heart, bravery and courage. A weak-minded man can accomplish nothing even with the deadliest weapons, but a man possessing a strong will can kill an enemy with his arms alone." The writer then goes on to say that moral and not chemical tonics are required for making the heart strong. Excellent morals alone can impart strength to the heart. All moral strength emanates from God, and natives should remember that He only helps those who help themselves. They should reform their morals, regulate their lives, and purge themselves of their defects and weaknesses.

Calcutta Anarchists.

2. The *Sada-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 5th May 1908, regrets that the Bengalis should have begun to use bombs like the Russian Nihilists. This conduct on their part is calculated to throw a foul blot on the loyalty of the people of India.

Calcutta Anarchists.

3. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* (Lahore), of the 7th May 1908, remarks that the discovery of bomb factories at Calcutta is calculated to fill the minds of all well-wishers of the country with despair. It is a pity that while the indigenous press assures Government of the loyalty of the people and demands for them equal rights with Englishmen, some natives should prove themselves to be inimically disposed towards the powers that be. The Bengalis are already in bad odour with Government, and it is to be feared that the recent discoveries at Calcutta will still further injure their reputation with the authorities. The Editor then goes on to say that these discoveries leave no room for doubt that some *badmashes* in the metropolis had been making arrangements for imitating the murderous doings of continental Anarchists and Russian Nihilists. It is possible, he adds, that the opponents of the partition of Bengal may have resorted to anarchism in order to wreak their vengeance (on the authorities). God alone knows whether the extremist members of Congress, who used to make violent speeches in the heat of excitement, have anything to do with the conspiracy or not. Some anonymous and seditious leaflets were distributed in Calcutta before the Muzaffarpur outrage. The people were warned in them not to buy currency notes and to withdraw any money they had invested in them. Speeches are also said to have been delivered in some villages in Madras telling the people that British rule was about to come to an end and that the country was on the eve of obtaining *Swaraj*. If all this was the work of the Calcutta Anarchists, nothing can be more regrettable, and no thoughtful person can sympathise with such grossly seditious doings. Is the loyalty of natives to Government no better than this? If Government were to regard them with distrust after this, it would not be surprising. Can those who have been trying to drive the English out of India by such means say how it would be possible to maintain peace and order in the country after the departure of its present rulers? After remarking that the misdeeds of a few natives are likely to bring the whole population into discredit, the Editor enquires whether it is by resorting to anarchy that the people hope to obtain their rights from Government and induce it to release them from the burden of military expenditure. He adds that it may be easy to make seditious speeches and imitate the anarchists, but that the consequences will prove most disastrous to the country. In conclusion, he says that the large sum of money which the conspiracy appears to have cost should have been utilised for affording relief to the famine-stricken.

Calcutta Anarchists.

4. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* (Lahore), of the 8th May 1908, after referring to the business which was to be transacted at the meetings which were recently held by the local Hindus and Muhammadans to express their indignation and abhorrence at the outrage, says that similar meetings are being convened in different places, so as to impress on Government that the followers of both Hinduism and Islam are thoroughly loyal and that they wish it to inflict the severest punishment on the culprits in order to put down sedition in the country. Indeed, adds the paper, those who hatch or support conspiracies like that recently unearthed at Calcutta are a disgrace to the country and the nation. Indians are very fortunate in having been placed under a liberal, sympathetic and honest Government like the British. Those who wish it ill deserve to be execrated in this as well as in the next world.

5. The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 9th May 1908, publishes the following :—

Calcutta Anarchists.

"*The Calcutta anarchist conspiracy.*

"Where is the peace-loving Indian whose heart will not tremble with fear on reading the accounts published by us in our issues of yesterday and the day before? No sensible person in the country, be he educated or not, can help feeling startled on perusing these accounts. The news received daily is so strange and awe-inspiring that it makes one wonder at this sudden thunderbolt. Of all the provinces of India Bengal has tasted most of the blessings of British rule, and her sons have always been so noted for their peaceful and law-abiding habits that the English regarded them as arrant cowards and their conduct has led the whole country to consider Bengalis as a weak and timid people. It is well-known that the Bengalis surpass all (other) native races in intelligence and that they have profited more by British rule, and are better acquainted with and possess a larger experience of the traits of character of the British nation than (the people of) any other province. It is very easy to abuse them now. The safest and easiest thing to do is to heap the grossest abuses on those who have been guilty of such shameful and *hellish* doings, to remind them of the excellence of British rule and then to ascribe to them the reprehensible qualities of foolishness, wickedness, ingratitude, perfidy, distrust, and unworthiness. We should, however, consider the cause of their evil. Why and how have the supporters of this conspiracy increased so fast? The facts revealed make it as clear as day that the conspirators do not consist merely of foolish, ignorant, vulgar and short-sighted persons. The conspiracy is not the result of the doings and efforts of uneducated madmen. Nor does it appear to be the work of poor and destitute people. The facts published in our yesterday's issue leave no room for doubt that the accused include among them able graduates and men of ambition and of experience of the world. Again, the discovery of such large quantities of materials for making bombs compels one to admit that money has been spent like water in connection with this huge conspiracy. And where did the money come from? It could not have been dug out of the earth. Only the rich can spend money so lavishly. The cause of the evil, therefore, is all the more worthy of consideration. There is a well-known adage to the effect that truth is usually bitter and that it is very difficult to meet a person who will speak the truth. At all events, certain occasions are so important and critical that true loyalty demands plain speaking. When, however, one thinks of doing so one is invariably seized with the fear of being misunderstood. The British constitute the ruling race, but are strangers to the ruled, and hold themselves entirely aloof from them. Who knows what construction Government may put on what one may say. In our long journalistic career we have frequently given publicity to incidents which have revealed the grossest injustice, selfishness, pride and arrogance on the part of certain Anglo-Indian officers. There incidents have shown that some officials have had their heads so turned that they have harassed individual members of the subject race, through whose assistance they rule in comfort and peace, till one feels disgusted and is forced to think that death is preferrable to such a life. Some worthies merely because they belong to the British nation consider themselves of such importance that they do not hesitate to injure the feelings of Indians. When complained against they laugh the complaint to scorn. There can hardly be a single file of the *Akhbar-i-'Am* which does not contain reports—albeit couched in mild language—showing that the feelings of Indians are of absolutely no account. All Indians are regarded with feelings of distrust. Some Anglo-Indians look upon a native, however respectable, as worse than their pet dogs. We have only recently seen how a Native Ticket Collector at a certain station on the Southern Punjab Railway was disgraced and beaten by a Feringhee guard. It has frequently been proved that the authorities do not take into consideration even serious complaints from Indians, but treat the latter in a way which cannot but alienate their hearts. Who can say then that it is such repeated disappointments, insults and injuries to their feelings which have prompted the sensitive Bengalis to hatch this conspiracy? There must be men in all the provinces of India who have been victims of acts of oppression and high-handedness on the part of some Anglo-Indian Officer

or some British soldier or some other European and who must be cursing in their hearts the life led by them. We repeat that it is very easy to abuse those accused of being concerned in the Calcutta conspiracy. The occasion, however, does not require a show of lip-loyalty, but demands that one should seriously reflect how the evil has originated. The statements made by some of those who have been arrested at Calcutta are so plain-spoken and fearless that they show that the men are really ready to kill and die. The following account of an interview * with one Babu U. K. Dutt will support this statement:—

* This is a report of an interview which a representative of the *Englishman* had with the Babu.

"What motive had you for all this?"

"I was working for my country."

"Why did you resort to such extreme measures?"

"I wanted to free my motherland from the British Government."

"Did you expect to do this?"

"Yes, we all expected it."

"You all actually expected to accomplish this?"

"Yes, when the revolution came off."

"What revolution?"

"There is to be a revolution."

"When is it to take place?"

"Very soon. It may take five years or ten or twenty or even fifty years."

"Are you sorry now you have done all this?"

"No, not at all. I would do it all again."

"If you are set free will you still act like this?"

"Yes."

"You are not afraid?"

"No, not in the least."

* * * * * * * *

"This conversation clearly shows what a spirit of deep opposition (to the British) has been imbibed (by the Bengalis). The people of Bengal have obtained the blessings of British rule in the largest measure, and it was incumbent on them to appreciate that rule most of all. The reverse has been the case. If one were to call to mind the virtues (*lit.* praise) and excellences of the noble (British) statesmen who so easily conquered India and made her over to England, and to compare them with the conduct of Anglo-Indians of the present day, one would find a world of difference between the two. The British have been ruling Madras for a long time past, and there, too, they are regarded with feelings of disgust. It is very easy to accuse Indians of ingratitude; but if the English, believing God to be omnipresent and omniscient, were to honestly consider their general treatment of Indians, we are sure they would be able to come to a right decision in the matter. Apart from others, even a Viceroy like Lord Curzon, who ruled over the whole of India, did not hesitate to say that Indians and their forefathers did not appreciate the truth. If the systematic inconsiderate treatment of the Bengalis is at the bottom of the evil the truth of the following saying has perhaps been proved. 'When a man is driven to desperation he resorts to fight.' To tell the truth, it takes two to make a quarrel. In quarrels between Government and the people we always declare Government to be in the right. It is to be hoped that Anglo-Indian newspapers will perform their duty also in the same spirit. We take God to witness that in saying what we have said we do not wish to defend the conspirators. Indeed, no well-wisher of the country and the nation do so. We simply wish to find out why matters have come to the present pass. The conspiracy (*lit.* this) has not been hatched by rude villagers. All (the conspirators) are educated men. If feelings of discontent had not existed in the country, the conspiracy

would never have assumed the proportions which it has. Who can say yet whether all or only a small part of the trouble has yet transpired.

*"A respectful request.*

"We request our Government with folded hands that (the people) may be treated with kindness, justice and sympathy. Government is itself undoubtedly just and kind, still the contempt, rigour and cruelty which characterize the daily behaviour of Englishmen may, to some extent, be responsible for the evil. Newspapers publish articles from time to time setting forth the complaints of the people and expressing their indignation and discontent. Government could profit by the press if it paid attention to such articles, and if it promptly afforded proof of its sympathy and of the honesty of its motives. Since it fails to do so the existence of newspapers can serve no useful purpose. Unfortunately some officers entertain the opinion that it argues weakness on their part to listen to the grievances of the people. This is a matter for regret. Such ideas are harbingers of misfortune. What does one witness on journeys by rail and on other occasions when the representatives of the rulers and the ruled meet together? May God bless the Tika Sahib of Nabha, who alluded to this evil on the occasion of the (last) budget debate in an extremely moderate manner. Has the least attention been paid to his words? Has any reply been vouchsafed to him? What he said merely went in at one ear and out at the other. We respectfully request Government to beware and shake off its sleep. It should not continue in its sleep of negligence and remain in a state of indifference, for this will not only injure itself, but will also mean ruin and ill-luck for the country. Punish offenders by all means, and punish them severely, but at the same time you should remove those defects which are the cause of the origin of such reprehensible ideas in all provinces of the country. Treat the people in such a way that no one can say that you assail their rights and interests and care nothing for their self-respect and feelings. Above all, extreme care should be exercised in convicting the accused, but innocent persons should suffer for no cause. We know full well that many innocent persons fall victims to personal grudges on the occassion of agitation and unrest. It is possible for acts of gross injustice to be perpetrated on mere suspicion, which, far from pacifying, alienates the hearts of the people. If the discovery of this conspiracy will lead to a better treatment of the people by Government and Britons generally, we believe that God has been merciful to both India and England. This subject has been treated at length, but too much stress cannot be laid upon it.

Calcutta Anarchists.

6. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 9th May 1908, regrets that it is the indifference of Government, the oppression practiced by Anglo-Indians and the perversity of the police which have alone been responsible for the appearance of the bomb-thrower in such a poor and inoffensive country as India. Government will now practise all sorts of oppression, but it should bear in mind that no one but itself is to blame for what has already taken place and that its own mistakes will be responsible for whatever may occur in the future. The people can only be kept loyal by being treated with justice. Oppression and high-handedness make disloyal subjects. After referring to the discoveries made at Calcutta, the Editor says that he cannot but deplore the existence of anarchists and a revolutionary movement in the metropolis. He cannot, however, believe the reports, but will wait for further information. He knows what took place at Rawalpindi, Lahore and Tuticorin and what atrocious inventions were made by the police there. Who knows whether the Calcutta police also have not, in order to earn fame for themselves, followed a similar course? In conclusion, he ays that truth will assuredly prevail in the end, and that Government should herefore mend its ways before it is too late.

7. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 8th May 1908, remarks that good comes out of evil. The bomb outrage at Muzaffarpur has, doubtless, resulted in the death of two innocent ladies, but it has at the same time led to the discovery and capture of large quantities of bombs in Calcutta which were sufficient to blow up the capital of India. The whole of India generally, and of the people and Government of Bengal especially, should feel grateful to those unfortunate ladies, who, by sacrificing their own lives, albeit unconsciously, have saved Calcutta from a terrible disaster and led the police to discover a diabolical conspiracy which is unparalleled in the history of India and especially of the Bengalis, who are known to be a timid and a peace-loving race. It is a pity that European civilisation has, along with numerous blessings, brought in its train a number of evils and led some imprudent young men of Bengal, educated in Western arts and sciences, to commit crimes that are calculated to shake society and civilisation to their very foundation. Anarchism is the most diabolical of crimes. After stating that anarchist plots have wrought havoc in Russia and filled the minds of all sensible persons with anguish and pain, the Editor remarks that all philanthropists and well-wishers of the nation and the country will admit that the best interests of India demand that this poisonous plant, which is likely to injure the future well-being of India, should not be allowed to take root in Indian soil. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the public will ungrudgingly help the authorities in unravelling the diabolical conspiracy, as otherwise the country will know no peace.

Calcutta Anarchists.

8. The following is from the *Observer* (Lahore), of the 13th May 1908 :—

The Anarchist movement in Bengal.

"The plot is thickening, and the so-called "Nationalist" movement in India has entered upon a fresh stage of development. The introduction of the bomb as an engine of destruction heralds the approach of a new era in the history of Indian agitation, and the appalling discoveries of the anarchist conspiracy at Calcutta have sent a thrill of horror throughout the length and breadth of the land. It is useless to pretend that *all* Indians share in this feeling; but every one whose judgment has not been clouded by blind bias, and whose political prejudices have not deadened his human sensibilities, will unquestionably recoil with horror at the ghastly spectre that the dreadful contrivances of the anarchists have conjured up before a startled India.

"It behoves go-ahead political workers to pause in the midst of their mad career and consider whither they are leading their country and countrymen. India has, almost suddenly, arrived at the brink of a frowning precipice, and one step forward will hurl her down into ruin and oblivion. It is time for over-enthusiasts to stop and see if they can save themselves as well as those who, by following the lead of insane agitators, have been placed in a truly perilous position. For howsoever vehemently they themselves may deny their responsibility for the dastardly crime at Muzaffarpore and for the diabolical revoluntionary plot at the very head-quarters of the Government of India, there is undoubtedly a visible and a strong link between the propaganda of the agitators and the recent events at Muzaffarpore and Calcutta. These are but the first fruits of the crop of calumny, vituperation and disaffection which has been so assiduously sown ever since the partition of Bengal.

"Government, we feel sure, cannot but be watching the situation with anxiety and concern. It is, however, necessary to take prompt and suitable measures to put down the spirit of anarchy which is abroad in certain quarters. It is no longer possible to view the growth of lawlessness with equanimity. If further indifference were shown, its dimensions would grow and there would be no knowing the extent which the seriousness of the

situation might assume. For the welfare of the people, no less than for the stability and good name of the British Government, it is imperative that vigorous steps were taken to combat the insurrectionary movement which has been so long tolerated, but towards which any more leniency cannot be shown consistently with the interests of both the people and the administration. As we said in our last, Indian Musalmans will not, in any emergency, hesitate for a moment to range themselves on the side of law and order and they will unflinchingly support Government in its efforts to put down anarchy. The proceedings of the public meetings held by the Muhammadans in various parts of the country afford an unmistakable indication of Muslim attitude on the point and, speaking in the name of more than sixty millions of our co-religionists in India, we are able to confidently assure Lord Minto's Government of their determination to stand by their British rulers in the measures which may be undertaken to rid the country of the canker of sedition and lawlessness that has been spreading fast, but any further progress of which must be forthwith arrested with a strong hand."

9. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 16th May 1908 :—

The Bomb Outrage in Bengal.

"The ethical standards of the East and the West differ so widely that what is bravery in one is considered to be cowardice in the other. When we therefore say that secret and dark methods of injuring a real or a supposed enemy are cowardly we say so according to Hindu ethics. A civilisation, a good many of whose votaries justify *lynching* and shooting of unarmed persons and races by those armed with the deadliest weapons which the advance of science has placed at their disposal cannot altogether consistently call the deeds dastardly. If a crowd of persons can take possession of a single individual and wreak their vengeance on him by burning him alive, or if an armed person can shoot another who is unarmed withot evoking the moral disapprobation of his countrymen, surely that man cannot call the bomb-thrower a coward. We notice that some Anglo-Indian papers, notably the *Asian*, would like the white population of India to resort to lynching or summary shooting of all Nationalists who may be suspected of harbouring any ill-will against the European community. They may do so if they choose, but then in the eyes of the Indians they will be no better than the bomb throwers. The latter, be it said to their credit, are wholly devoid of any feelings of personal revenge. Their action proceeds from a misguided feeling of patriotism. Their selflessness is beyond doubt. Their reluctance to save their skins by telling lies is another praiseworthy trait. So far most of them have confessed their guilt and that apparently without much pressure. Their motives in doing so reflect credit upon their religious and moral training. While whole India is with one voice condemning them for their reckless and insane deeds they are willingly offering themselves for sacrifice at the altar of their convictions. We cannot say how we wish these misguided souls—noble in their thoughts and ideals—had been saved from these insane methods. We wish somebody had told them in time that for the first time, in the history of their noble land and religion, they were making such a reprehensible and utterly *un-Aryanly* use of their zeal. The confessions of these scions of a noble race cannot but evoke feelings of painful admiration for straightforwardness and nobility of behaviour in admitting the responsibility of their conduct and speaking the truth even in their hour of sore trial. Their straightforwardness, their love of truth, and their zeal were undoubtedly worthy of a better cause. Oh! how we wish they had seen the criminal folly of their actions in time and desisted from doing what according to their own standard of morals, at least, was nothing if not sinful and cowardly. There can be no denying the fact that in this case a blind admiration of the Western standards and Western methods has been their ruin."

10. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 13th May 1908 :—

The Press Law.

"The *Pioneer* has followed in the wake of Mr. Mitra and has once more trotted out the suggestion of gagging the Press. It says that it must now be plain to the Secretary of State that the wishes of the Government of India in the matter of Press legislation can no longer be disregarded, and suggests some repressive measures for the purpose of gagging

the press. The suggestion is not a new one and at any other time the suggestion, we are sure, would have been pooh-poohed by English public opinion. Indeed, Viscount Morley said in one of his speeches last year that suggestions had been made to him for curtailing the liberty of the Press, but he declared his intention not to be hurried into repression. He further said that the Press was a Western institution and he was going to try the experiment to let it continue. But within the last few days there have been abnormal developments in Bengal, a dastardly outrage which cost the lives of two European ladies was committed, and the Police have unearthed anarchist designs of a mischievous character. And horrible revelations, the advocates of press legislation contend, have considerably altered the aspect of the situation. The confessions of some of the accused arrested in connection with this hair-brained gang, we are told, clearly point out the measure of mischief that some of the vernacular papers are doing, and it is contended that the Government can no longer tolerate with impunity the dissemination of this sort of inflammatory writings. Now, we fully recognise that the high calling of journalism has been abused by some of the new fangled Bengalee vernacular press, whose whole stock-in-trade consists of vituperation and abuse; and we further maintain that it is the duty of the Bengal leaders as well as the Government to wean the youthful mind from the influence of the rabid press. But, at the same time, we strongly hold that the vernacular press performs a highly useful function in educating the masses and that it will be a calamity of the greatest magnitude if any steps were taken tending to a reversal of the noble policy which is associated with the venerable names of Metcalfe and Lord Ripon. Freedom of speech and writing are among the proud heritages of British citizens, and any limitation of these priceless privileges will certainly not redound to the glory of the Government or the welfare of the people. At the same time, it is the duty of the public to do all in their own power to check the torrent of rabid and mischievous literature in Bengal. Cannot the Government and the leaders of the people co-operate in this matter to stamp and weed out this noxious growth by other means than legislation? We hold that they can, and ought to. There can be no doubt that the whole community, save a few demented persons, are with the Government in this matter. Let the representatives of the people come out with open dissociation from the mischievous prints, let them, the parents, use their authority whole-heartedly to wean their boys away from it, and then we are not without hopes that this irresponsible journalism will be purged of its worst elements. The responsibility lies heavy on the shoulders of the leaders of public opinion of taking a vigorous and direct initiative in the matter, and we trust they will rise to the occasion. As regards the suggestion of a policy of coercion of the press we shall here quote the language, which Mr. Birrell used, *viz.*, that coercion, although it is the most handy of present remedies, is the most impossible of permanent cures. Coercion, the lessons of history tell us, has always failed in its effects, and at best its effects, are temporary, but if the Government and the leaders of the people earnestly co-operate, the latest and most unhealthy phase which has come as a disagreeable surprise to the whole country may be successfully combated."

An appeal to native young men.

11. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 9th May 1908, publishes the following from the pen of one Bannerji:—

"Young men, you possess strength (and) enthusiasm. Use your strength and enthusiasm for the good of the country and the nation. Spread yourselves in villages in small groups and work a change in the ideas of the masses. Teach them *swadeshism* and tell them what is to their benefit. Famine is prevailing (in the country). Help your brethren in whatever way you can. Prove yourselves and national volunteers to be the servants of the nation. This is not the time for us to fight among ourselves and abuse one another. Forget personalities and stick fast to principles. You will be overtaken by calamities and misfortunes, but God will help you. Commence your work at once."

## II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

The frontier rising.

12. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* (Lahore), of the 9th May 1908, publishes a communication from one Mohsan, who says that the suddenness with which the frontier tribes have risen into rebellion at the instance of the Mullas, &c.

shows that some hidden forces are at work inciting them to rebellion. The fact that the rebels took up arms against Government all of a sudden and that they received munitions of war and other materials direct from Kabul clearly shows that it is not the frontier ilaka but Afghanistan which is the centre of all this trouble. This surmise is further supported by the fact that neither the Governor of Jalalabad nor the authorities at Kabul are taking any steps to prevent the Afghans from joining the tribes. The Zakka Khel expedition was, doubtless, a success, but that expedition had nothing to do with the present rising. After remarking that the Mohmand rising has caused much surprise on account of its having so suddenly assumed serious proportions, the writer goes on to say that the authorities should deal with this rising in an effectual way. Is it not likely, he asks, that the Amir's delay in answering the Government of India in the matter of the Anglo-Russian agreement in spite of several urgent *reminders* has something to do with this rising? The people of Afghanistan must have come to know about the agreement by this time. How is it possible for them to approve of it when the Amir himself is opposed to it. The Amir may accept the agreement, but his subjects are sure to condemn it. The latter consider all connection with Russia as injurious for their country and hence they can never relish the idea of their country entering into trade and other relations with Russia. They consider the people of all other religions as kafirs and they have with great difficulty agreed to enter into friendly relations with the British, thanks to the efforts of the late Amir Abdur Rahman Khan. It is to be regretted that the friendly relations which existed between Afghanistan and the British Government, and which were greatly strengthened by Prince Nasrulla Khan's visit to Europe and the Amir's visit to India, have been strained by the Anglo-Russian agreement, for there can be no doubt that the agreement in question is the cause of the present rising. It is quite probbable that the Mullas, &c, have taken advantage of this agreement to rouse the worst passions of the ignorant and bigoted Afghans by telling them that the English have now joined hands with Russia and are trying to enable the latter to obtain a footing in Afghanistan. Such preachings are calculated to set the whole country ablaze, and then it will not be in the power of the Amir to extinguish it. It therefore behoves the authorities to win over refractory tribes by kindness instead of coercing them by the sword. The best way to put an end to the present rising is to reassure the Amir in regard to the Anglo-Russian agreement. His Majesty's officers are better able to keep their frontier tribes in check than the British officers inasmuch as the former are thoroughly acquainted with the feelings of the frontier tribes. In short, the writer attributes the present Mohmand rising to the Anglo-Russian agreement, and remarks that the agreement may be an excellent thing, and that it may serve to put an end to long-standing disputes, but as the Afghans will never regard with favour those portions of it which relate to Afghanistan, the friendly relations which have hitherto existed between the British Government and the Amir are sure to become strained.

13. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 9th May 1908, writes as follows :—

The frontier rising.

"When the time for giving an increase of pay arrives promotions go to British soldiers (*lit.* Europeans and *goras*). Bags of hundreds, thousands, and lakhs of rupees

go into the pockets (*lit.* stomachs) of the *goras*, (but) natives meet only with disappointment and neglect. On the battle-field, however, (the authorities) station natives in front and keep the *goras* in the rear. And why? (so that) the latter may not be killed. One can only wish that some one would ask of these images of clay, "why are you paid higher salaries than natives? What good purpose can you serve? We work and sacrifice our lives, but (*lit.* and) it is you who eat and enjoy yourselves." (The *goras* boast) "We are very brave. We are lions?" We can no longer listen to (such) absurd and foolish boasts. Tell us when and where the *goras* displayed their bravery? They have invariably resorted to fraud and deception and have obtained India (by these means). How one wishes that the *goras* would lead the attacks in the war which has now broken out (on the frontier), and show what stuff they are made of! What bravery is there in keeping in the rear like cowards and women and boasting afterwards that it is they who secured the victory? Besides, the Gurkhas, Rajputs and others are not paid larger salaries than the *goras*. Why should they then be made to lead attacks? Is it because their lives are of no value to the English?

"Only a few days ago the English were labouring under the impression that Hindus were rebels, traitors, and seditionists. Now, however, when a war has broken out between the Mohmands and Government the Hindus are made to lead attacks, Muhammadans being placed next after them. Hindus who were (considered) disloyal are now trusted to such an extent that they are placed in front of all, while Musalmans, who used to make continuous professions of their loyalty are stationed behind them? God alone knows what mystery there is in this. The English should have tested the loyalty of these loyalists (Muhammadans). There was here an opportunity to do so. It is a pity that Government should have made a mistake. Is it not foolish to give its honour into the keeping of Hindus, 'about whose disloyalty the English have not the least doubt,' when it can count on such loyal and devoted subjects (Musalmans)? We must respectfully suggest that the *goras* should be made to lead attacks and should have loyal Muhammadans behind them, so that they may remain safe with Muhammadans at their back and the Muhammadan enemy in front. Hindus are disloyal and should not be trusted at such a critical time.

"A correspondent wishes to say that the Muhammadans have been secretly praying in (their) mosques for victory for their co-religionsts, the Mohmands, and that, on the other hand, they have been practising oppressions on the (frontier) Hindus, which has made it dangerous for Hindus to live on the frontier. The wives and children of the Hindus of the Shankargarh fort have removed to Peshawar. Government has caused it to be proclaimed that no Hindu should change his residence. Why? Because it feels ashamed that Hindus should suffer under its rule, and yet that it should be powerless to protect them. The Hindus not only fear Afridis and Mohmands, but the local Mussalmans also who are bent on harassing them."

F. ISEMONGER,

*Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*

*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

SIMLA:

*The* 11*th May* 1908.

Punjab Government Branch Press, Simla—28-5-08—12—95.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 21. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 23rd May 1908.**

---

## CONTENTS.


I.—POLITICS.

*Page.*

*(a)—Foreign—*

*Nil.*

*(b)—Home—*

1. The Tommy Atkins and the Jack Sepoy (*Hitkari*) ... 293
2. The Bomb conspiracy in Bengal (*Tribune*) ... 294
3. A Political Drama (*Haq Pasand*) ... .. 295
4. "Justice" (*Hindustan*) ... ... ... 296
5. An appeal for Swadeshism (*Punjab Samachar*) ... 300
6. The Royal Decentralisation Commission (*Jain Ratan*) *ib.*
7. Englishmen and Natives (*Haq Pasand*) ... ... *ib.*
8. England and India (*Paisa Akhbar*) .. ... *ib.*
9. The Anglo-Indian Press and the Bomb outrage (*Panjabee*) ... ... ... ... *ib.*

II.—AFGHANISTAN AND TRANS-FRONTIER.

*Nil.*

III.—NATIVE STATES.

*Nil.*

*Page.*

IV.—KINE-KILLING.

*Nil.*

V.—NATIVE SOCIETIES AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

*Nil.*

VI.—LEGISLATION.

*Nil.*

VII.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

*(a)—Judicial—*

*Nil.*

*(b)—Police—*

*Nil.*

*(c)—Municipal and Cantonment affairs—*

*Nil.*

*(d)—Education—*

*Nil.*

*(e)—Agriculture and questions affecting the land—*

10. Condition of the peasantry ((*Zamindar*) ... ... 302

*(f)—Railways and Communications—*

11. The Railway collision near Ghaziabad (*Akhbar-i-'Am*) 303
12. The Railway collision near Ghaziabad (*Tribune*) ... *ib.*

*(g)—Postal matters—*

*Nil.*

*(h)—Miscellaneous—*

*Nil.*

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 21. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

**Received up to 23rd May 1908.**

---

### I.—Politics.

### (*b*)—*Home.*

1. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 11th May 1908, publishes the following :—

Tommy Atkins and Jack sepoy.

"We are constantly told that the English conquered India with the sword and the inference is drawn that the English are braver than Indians. Although there are a few Englishmen who openly say that Indians conquered India and made it over to the English, yet this point has never been satisfactorily settled. Now, however, that a heavy cloud has spread over the Frontier and Afghanistan has also to be taken into account it would be wiser at the present juncture for the authorities to keep the Indian troops in the rear and to place European soldiers (*goras*) in the front and to refuse to accept assistance from native Rajas and Nawabs because in these days Indian sepoys are afforded a pretext for saying that it is they who conquer but that it is the *goras* who get the credit. The Rajas and Nawabs are also led to assert that either Government is dependent on them for help even in petty wars, or that since Government is afraid of them it takes their troops to the Frontier in order to weaken them.

"If the *goras* are now afforded an opportunity of showing their bravery against the Afghans who are well-armed they will then be entitled to say that if they can conquer Kabul they could have conquered India also. No help should be taken from native chiefs so that everybody may be convinced that our Government does not stand in need of help and that it can resist any Power with the aid of its British troops alone. The bravery of the white soldiers will then be admitted on all hands. Such an opportunity is not likely to recur. It is an act of impertinence on the part of the loyal Indians (to ask) that the native troops may be placed in front of the brave English soldiers. It is to be hoped, however, that on the present occasion those who deserve the credit may get it."

2. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 19th May 1908:—

The Bomb conspiracy in Bengal.

"We have on more than one occasion observed that while the present situation as been unquestionably complicated by the abnormal and horrible developments in Bengal, there is no reason for going into fits of needless panic or alarm over the situation. There is all the more need for much caution for the fire-eaters of the Anglo-Indian press have been declaiming furiously over the situation and been calling for fire and sword on each and every 'pestilential agitator,' irrespective of his political opinion. Of course, we can safely ignore the mad vapourings of wild Anglo-Indian journals like the *Asian*, against which our esteemed contemporary the *Empire* has entered its strong note of protest, but the trouble is that the infection has spread even to the more important and responsible journals of Anglo-India. In a recent article headed 'the cult of the Bomb,' the *Pioneer* lumps together all the leaders of the reform party, irrespective of their creed and tries to brand them all with the same tar. It argues that in India constitutional movement leads to terrorist movement by an easy gradient and that the nexus from top to bottom in agitation in this country, leading ultimately to revolutionary propoganda is complete. Against such indiscriminate and senseless vilification of true national aims it is impossible to reason, and when we read some responsible organs like the *Pioneer* and the *Madras Mail* taking to swelling the cry of hot-headed sheets like the *Asian*, we are really tempted to ask whether the traditional sobriety and the good sense of the Britishers has forsaken these organs of Anglo-Indian opinion at this momentous period in the history of the country. And added to the unbridled vapourings of a section of the Anglo-India press, we find that the London *Times* has gone one further and has poured its vials of wrath not merely on the leaders of the Indian moderate party but also on the small knot of our friends in England. It seems to trace the nexus backwards to the floor of St. Stephen's and lays all the blame at the door of the White Babus' in England. There is therefore the special danger at the present time of panic that the true perspective of the situation may be blurred from the view and amid the welter of the many voices which are the voices of many waters, the 'still small voice' of reason and statesmanship may be altogether unheard. It is therefore the incumbent duty of responsible bodies, Anglo-Indian or Indian, to pause and to consider the exact dimensions of this abnormal development without exaggerating or diminishing its true significance.

"While cautioning the Anglo-Indian public against any undue panic or alarm, we have no desire to minimise the danger that has been unquestionably revealed by the existence of such secret and terrorist societies. The very existence of the latter is a grim menace to society and government and the retributive hammer of law will mete out to each offender the needed measure of justice for his share in the day's work. We, however, believe that the gang has been taken in hand in good time, and we trust that the Police will be able to track out the last of the gang who have been engaged in this wicked conspiracy from their holes.

"* * * The authorities seem to have realised, despite the sensational assertions of some Anglo-Indian papers, that this terrorist plot is the work of only a few demented and hot-blooded youths and that it has not, as it can not from its very nature, struck any root in the soil of the country. Anarchism or terrorism is entirely opposed to the very teachings and traditions of this ancient land and against the very grain of the Indian character. And if the seeds of this horrible exotic from the West have been able to implant themselves in the minds of some young persons, it is due to nothing else than the abnormal mental constitution of those misguided persons. But at the same time we are not very much impressed with the theory that their mental aberrations have been due to the unbridled license of the Bengalee vernacular press. No doubt, some of the vernacular journals in Calcutta have been wholly abusing their high mission and been echoing in their columns all sorts of pernicious stuff; and we have already expressed our opinion that it is desirable in the best interests of the public and the state that their power for mischief should be as far as possible curtailed, if not entirely put a stop to. But we

maintain our view that in this matter any legislation for gagging the press may perhaps prove even a worse remedy than the disease and that in such a matter the thing needful can be best done by the authorities and the leaders of the people co-operating towards the right solution. But we must point out that it will not do to lay hold merely at one end of the wedge. It is no use pouring your vials of wrath upon disreputable sheets in the vernacular press while letting the Anglo-Indian fire-eaters like the *Asian* go scotfree. It may be said that the latter sheet has not prompted any person to commit any violence. That may be so but still it has to be admitted that the red-hot extremist paper is the natural counter-part of the fire-eating Anglo-Indian journal from which it derives its cue. And if any measure is taken against the one, it must fairly and squarely apply against the other, although for ourselves, we are of opinion that this is a matter where the leaders of the public in both communities should co-operate with the Government in putting a stop to this fire-eating business.

"The situation, therefore, although there is no cause for undue alarm, will call for the display of the best qualities of British statesmanship. From the telegram which has been flashed by Reuter a day or two ago, it appears that the authorities have been trying to take a sensible and statesmanlike view of the situation. The authorities have expressed that they are neither surprised nor alarmed at this development. That may be so but at any rate the authorities have ignored the solemn and forcible warnings given by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale both during the debate on the Seditious Meeting Act and the Budget. On both these occasions, Mr. Gokhale drew a deeply realistic picture of the situation especially in Bengal caused by the Curzonian policy and uttered a timely note of caution. That unfortunately was not heeded, and it may be that the Government's policy of advance and retrogression, of patch and drift in respect of the reform proposals have further worked a sinister influence in the minds of these demented creatures. But anyhow, the policy before the Government now stands marked clear and delible. As we have said, the whole country is with the Government in its view of the terrorist; it recoils with horror and indignation from the very contemplation of the atrocious possibilities. Let the Governments now avail itself of this opportunity and inoculate the country effectively against any anarchist bacilli. It has already declared that it is not to be scared away from its forward and progressive steps. Let it steadfastly keep on to the path and grant us the expected measures of expansion and reform. Let not this unique opportunity rush past for it may not be recalled."

A political drama.

3. The *Haq Pasand* (Amritsar), of the 11th May 1908, in continuation of its previous contribution (*vide* paragraph 1 of Selections No. 19) publishes the third instalment of "**A Political Drama: a British Officer's Darbar, or the miserable condition of Mother Bharat**":—

"ACT I.

SCENE 3.—*House.*

(The house of the father-in-law of a Deputy Magistrate in Eastern Bengal. The Deputy Maigstrate is found talking and jesting with his brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law).

The Deputy sings:—

"If a man works hard, there is nothing that he cannot gain.

"The post of Deputy cannot be secured without (the) M. A. (degree).

"The diploma of M. A. is absolutely necessary in Bengal.

"There is no more efficacious recipe (*Nuskha*) than this.

"Who cares for F. As. and B. As. in Bengal.

"Indeed no matrimonial alliance can be formed unless one is an M.A.

"A person who occupies the chair of a Deputy must be dressed in European clothes

"Otherwise it is impossible for him to secure such a position.

"If I take (home) some article of foreign make

"My wife will not give me my food."

*Deputy.*—I am in great trouble indeed. If I try to please the authorities, my wife and children are displeased, and if I follow the wishes of my wife and children the authorities gnash their teeth. In short, although I hold the office of a Deputy Magistrate, I am seriously worried. I am being ruined in every way. The *Swadeshi* agitation has driven native Deputy Magistrates mad with distraction and has caused them extreme trouble. On the one hand, the authorities desire the trade in *Swadeshi* articles to be stopped; they wish Manchester to flourish and that European articles should continue to be imported into India in order that European weavers may thrive. On the other hand, the well-being of India requires that the people should be enriched by the encouragement of the *Swadeshi* movement and that the people should be filled with a desire to promote (indigenous) arts and industries. In short—

"What is required is that no one should feel ashamed of being an artisan,

"And every graduate should be an artisan,

"B. As. should be blacksmiths and M. As. shoe makers,

"And then you will see how the country will flourish."

My friends, for my part, I secretly further the cause of *Swadeshi* (*lit.* enjoy the *Swadeshi*'s youth) and at the same time outwardly agree with whatever the authorities say. It is necessary for us to be obedient to the authorities and it is also incumbent on us to meet the wishes of the members of our house. If we cherish a desire to amass wealth we lose our faith; if we desire to keep our faith intact we lose the chance of making money. In any case, we must love our beloved Hindustan and devote ourselves to promoting its well-being.

(The Deputy then recites some verses in praise of Hindustan).

(Enter the Deputy's youngest sister-in-law Indumati singing).

*Indumati.*—(sings) "Brother-in-law, bring me to-day a doll dressed in native embroidery.

"Go and bring me a doll.

"Brother-in-law, I will make my beloved doll a bride and celebrate her marriage."

(The Deputy opens his bag and taking out an English doll, sings)

*Deputy (sings).*—See my beloved, this doll. Take it, my beloved!

*Indumati.*—This is an English doll, my beloved. It is embroidered with counterfeit stars. Throw it into the fire and burn it.

*Deputy.*—Take it, take it, my beloved.

(Enter the Deputy's brother-in-law Girindra and his elder sister-in-law Taramati, with a cup of tea for the Deputy).

*Girindra.*—Say Mr. Deputy, what is this agitation about in Kharidpur in these days? What a fuss about the *Swadeshi* movement!

*Deputy.*—There are no disturbances or troubles (there).

*Taramati.*—But has the enthusiasm regarding the *Swadeshi* movement subsided?

*Deputy.*—No, it is as great as ever but it is not as great as the newspapers would have us believe.

*Girindra.*—Well, that usually happens. Enthusiasm does not last long. Consider the case of Calcutta, the enthusiasm there is not as great as it was formerly.

*Deptuy.*—Sir, it is owing to Calcutta that the *Swadeshi* movement is gaining ground daily in Kharidsing. Nobody can openly purchase English made clothes in the bazaar. The boys are picketting the roads with bludgeons in their hands.

*Girindra.*—They must be boys who belong to the National School.

*Deputy.*—The majority of them belong to that institution of course, but there are also boys from other schools.

*Girindra.*—Do not the teachers take any notice of the conduct of these boys?

*Deputy.*—What can the poor masters do? They are obliged to keep quiet.

*Girindra.*—Then what are the police doing?

*Deputy.*—Oh why talk of the police? The boys do not care a bit for the police. Only the other evening we saw the police keeping guard in the bazaar while the boys were shouting 'Look here, Policemen, we are picketting.'

(Enter the Deputy's youngest brother-in-law Satyendra.)

*Satyendra.*—Babu, get me admitted into the Kharidsing National School.

*Deputy.*—We have lost everything already. Must I lose my appointment too?

*Girindra.*—Would you send him to the National School if you were not afraid of losing your appointment?

*Deputy.*—Of course I would. Can there be any doubt about that?

*Girindra.*—Then, why do you stick to your appointment? You have completed your lectures (in the Law College) and would have done well had you practised at the Bar. Go to the High Court with my brother and enjoy all the pleasures of liberty.

*Deputy.*—My dear Sir, is it possible for me to pass the pleader's examination in my old age?

*Indumati.*—Then say that you will not resign Government service like a dog who will not give up eating a bone.

*Deputy.*—How can one exercise authority except in Government service? Who will then call me a Deputy?

*Girindra.*—Well, let me know what is your opinion regarding the *Swadeshi* movement.

*Deputy.*—*Swadeshi* is a good thing. It is calculated to promote the well-being of the country. (Opening his bag). See here, I have purchased country-made clothes worth Rs. 50.

*Taramati.*—Cannot country-made clothes be had in Kharidpur?

*Deputy.*—Yes. They can but they are expensive.

*Satyendra.*—Taramati, can you not see through the dodge. If country-made clothes were purchased in Kharidsing and the authorities came to know of the fact, the Deputy Sahib would be put to serious inconvenience.

*Deputy.*—(Laughing). Well, let it be so. Where is the sin in it? What objection can there be in doing good secretly?

*Satyendra.*—Well, ordinarily there is no harm in it.

(Many volunteers wearing *Bande mataram pagris* enter singing and asking for subscriptions for the Congress).

(The volunteers sing a song in praise of Bharat).

(The Deputy's brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law make their contributions towards the Congress fund and fling money into the plate carried by the volunteers).

*Girindra.*—Here, take this eight anna piece.

*Volunteer.*—Fling it into the plate.

*Satyendra.*—I give a four anna piece.

*Volunteer.*—Put it into the plate.

*Taramati.*—I give one rupee.

*Volunteer.*—Throw this too into the plate.

*Indumati.*—I have only one pice.

*Volunteer.*—Your pice, my sister, is welcome to us.

*Deputy.*—(Pulling out a ten rupee note). Take this my brother as my subscription.

*Volunteer.*—(Taking out a pencil and note book). Your name?

*Deputy.*—Why do you want my name?

*Volunteer.*—Our principle is to write down the names of those who subscribe more than five rupees.

*Deputy.*—That is nonsense. Well, write 'A Friend.'

*Taramati.*—No, no, write 'A Deputy.'

*Deputy.*—No, no, write 'A Friend.'

*Taramati.*—What is the harm in writing 'A Deputy.'

*Girindra.*—Why are you bringing the Deputy into discredit by representing him as an agitator? If the authorities hear of his subscribing to the Congress fund, he will be put to much trouble and disgrace.

*Volunteer.*—Then, Sir, what shall I write?

*Deputy.*—As I say 'A Friend.'

*Volunteer.*—(Writing 'A Friend') Very well. *Exeunt* volunteers.

4. The following is from the English Supplement to the *Hindustan* (Lahore), of 22nd May 1908 :—

"Justice."

"We reproduce elsewhere a few scenes from the "*Mysore Standard.*" Though they are painted in exaggerated colours yet they represent in clear and unmistakable manner the sentiment that is unfortunately gaining ground amongst the masses of this vast country. It will be admitted on all hands that nothing can be more injurious to the permanency of any Government than the belief that it is devoid of justice.

"We therefore hope that the Government of His Majesty Emperor Edward of India will pay more than usual attention to this, and remove the complaint.

* * * * * *

"The sons of Hind are not blood-thirsty, but the words of their Law-givers resound in their hearts.

"When justice, having been wounded by iniquity approaches the court, and the judges extract not the dart, they also shall be wounded by it.

"Where justice is destroyed by iniquity and truth by false evidence, the judges, who basely look on without giving redress, shall also be destroyed.

"Justice being destroyed will destroy, being preserved, will preserve. It must never therefore, be violated. 'Beware, O. Judge lest justice, being overturned overturn *both* us and thyself.'

* * * * * *

## KING CHEETAH'S COURT.

SCENE I.—*King Cheetah on the Throne.*

*Enter.*—A carriage driver (aggrieved subject), and Professor Chrome Tan in custody.

*Injured subject.*—Justice, Most Gracious Majesty! As I was driving on your highway this pretended philanthropist got down from his cycle and broke his riding cane on my body, and he confesses Sir King.

*King Cheetah.*—Here guards, let go the prisoner and give him a chair.

(*To Professor Chrome Tan*).—What sayest thou to the accusation?

(*Professor C. T. seated*).—It is true I raised my cane and aimed at the rascal, but it struck the shaft of the cart and it broke. Here, Sire, is the broken cane.

*King Cheetah.*—I really don't believe the cart driver's story nor are his witnesses reliable, but you have pleaded guilty. I have to fine you. I am so sorry. Pay Rs. 3.

*Chrome Tan* (*aside*).—If I had known this I would never have confessed. Damn me.

SCENE II.—*Enter another Subject* (*A Merchant*) *with his Council and a Planter.*

*Subject.*—May it please your Majesty. I am one of your trusted merchants. I have been foully libelled by this arrogant planter. Render me justice.

*King Cheetah.*—Dare you complain against my own flesh and blood. Have it compromised.

*Planter to Subject.*—Pay me my expenses and a hundred rupees for my pains.

*Subject.*—I would rather have King Cheetah's justice. Sir King. We have not compromised, pray give me justice.

*King C.* (*to Planter*).—Do you admit this libellous letter?

*Planter.*—I do.

*King C.*—I do not believe the evidence Counsel. Can't I acquit him though he pleads guilty?

*Counsel.*—I cannot find authority Sir King.

*King C.*—I do not think complainant suffers damage. But as the Planter pleads guilty I must convict.

Planter, pay down a fine of Rs. 10.

*Planter* (*aside*).—Rather cheap, I should hit the whole brood of them at that price.

SCENE III.—*Enter a corpse borne by 4 black men and a white man in custody.*

*All black men together.*—Justice, Sir King. Retribution for murder.

*King Cheetah.*—Nonsense. It is a pure accident. (To the white man) What do you say?

*White man.*—I plead guilty to assault only.

*King C.*—Do you? but the death is certainly an accident. (Aside) He deserves to be fined for his stupidity. (Louder)—I adjudge that the accused do pay a fine of Rs. 15 and that the police officer who investigated the case be departmentally punished.

SCENE IV.—*Enter a Lady with dishevelled dress, a Tahsildar as a witness and an ex-Soldier in Police custody.*

*King Cheetah* (*aside*).—Another white man in custody. It is intolerable. I must put a stop to this.

*Lady.*—Is there no justice in this land? I cannot tell my story. Your trusted servant here will describe my wrongs.

*Tahsildar handing a complaint.*—Outrage, My Lord, on a respectable native lady in a Railway compartment.

*King Ch.*—I cannot believe your story. Why did you not bring the Railway porter? No European would make love to such a stout woman.

*Lady* (*aside*).—Are there no stout women amongst them?

*King Ch.*—What are you muttering, but I am not going to fine you for frivolous complaint, for I think it is due to an error of fact. The prisoner was in your compartment, but you misunderstood him.

*Enter King's Advocate recently appointed.*

What a profound judge. A Daniel come to judgment.

—*Mysore Standard.*

5. The *Panjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 5th May 1908, makes the following appeal to Indians :—

An appeal for *Swadeshism*.

"O youths, mother India has become very old. Rise and shake off your lethargy. Go to foreign countries such as Japan, America and England and learn new and useful arts so that your mother may be pleased with you. You should now learn to stand on your own legs. Do not waste your life by relying on others." After remarking that these exhortations are not meant for any particular village but for the entire country, the writer goes on to say :—'O mother Bharat, when we look at your present condition we cannot help weeping bitterly. There was a time when thou wert the mother of the whole world but time has wrought a complete change. Oh you children of Bharat! You should take time by the forelock and work hard for your own well-being, bearing in mind that crores of rupees are drained out of the country every year. Do you not feel ashamed of yourselves. You should prove yourselves by your conduct to be so brave as to extort the admiration of all. In these days wherever you go you are expelled with indignity. You should cease to hanker for Government service. If you were to advance the cause of the *Swadeshi* your country would flourish; famines would cease; union would increase and money would be drawn to India from foreign countries. When this is accomplished you will be honoured and respected.'

6. The *Jain Ratan* (Ambala), of the 15th May 1908, remarks that it is difficult to predict the results of the Decentralisation Commission and to say how far the reforms suggested by the numerous witnesses will be adopted. An eminent English Statesman, however, has said that Commissions are usually appointed to allay public excitement. Since this is so, it is idle to expect the introduction of any reforms of importance.

The Royal Decentralisation Commission.

7. The *Haq Pasand* (Amritsar), of the 11th May 1908, says that a Feringhee at Jhansi when riding his bicycle rode over a native of Bandhelkhand and at the same time struck him. The latter, thereupon, gave the Feringee a severe beating. This says the editor, is the only way of bringing Feringhees to their senses.

Englishmen and natives.

8. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 11th May 1908, referring to the provision made in the Home Budget for old age pensions, deplores the present condition of India where more than half the population go about half-naked in the hot weather and where famine, and plague, have become endemic. Although the same Government rules England and India, yet not only oldmen but even youngmen in this country cannot obtain sufficient food, while in England provision has been made for the relief of the aged in spite of the fact that there are already numerous charitable institutions, poor houses, etc., in that country for the help of the needy.

England and India.

9. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 13th May 1908 :—

The Anglo-Indian Press and the Bomb outrage.

"The Bomb outrage at Muzaffarpore has set the Anglo-Indian Press ablaze. They are one and all vomitting fire. Every one is strongly suggesting repressive and coercive measures on a gigantic scale to wipe out the demon of Nationalism. The *Statesman* and the *Englishman* have lost all sense of proportion and talk rank nonsense. We are only

sorry for the former because the writings of the latter have never evoked any respect from any portion of the Indian public. The *Englishman* of Calcutta, with its Lahore prototype, is one of those papers which have materially helped in the genesis of what they in their arrogance call the gutter press of India. Half if not all of the so-called race hatred which the *Statesman* and the *Pioneer* complain of has been produced by the silly and venomous writings of the *Englishman* of Calcutta and the *Civil & Military Gazette* of Lahore. The other Anglo-Indian papers, too, have contributed their share and more particularly the *Pioneer* and the *Times of India* but the lion's share of the origin of the present estrangement between Indians and Englishmen can be directly traced to the two above-mentioned fire-eaters of the Anglo-Indian press. For years they have been carrying on their nefarious trade with impunity—using highly insulting and provoking language against the educated Indian in season and out of season. No wonder that the "base-born's B. A." should have turned round and taken to these ignominious methods of retort. We have already condemned these methods in no un-certain language but when the writers in the Anglo-Indian press engage in fastening the responsibility of the recent outrages on the Nationalist leaders and their propaganda, it is time to remind them of their own share in the genesis of these dark deeds. Year after year, month after month, has the Anglo-Indian press belittled the political aspirations of the sons of the soil and spoken of their constitutional methods of agitation in the most contemptible terms possible. The *Statesman* holds the Moderates responsible for the reckless deeds of a few youngmen because of the apparent disposition of the former to recognise 'the Extremists as a portion of the national forces.' It winds up by asking 'how long Moderates are to be content to associate with the Extremists' whose teachings in its opinion have had such terrible consequences. But is the *Statesman* quite sure that the dissociation of the Moderates from the so-called Extremists would have prevented such consequences? Is not the Bureaucracy and the Anglo-Indian press which always backs it against the legitimate aspirations of the India Nationalists responsible for having weakened the hold of the Moderates over the public opinion of the country? If it is true that Mr. Gokhale does not command that influence with the younger minds of the nation which he did only 2 or 3 years before, may we further ask if the Government and the Anglo-Indian press are not responsible for this decline of his influence? Did the Government listen to the Moderate leader when he warned them time after time of the probable consequences of their follies in declining to treat the Partition of Bengal as a settled fact, in passing the Universities Act and in turning a deaf ear to his appeals for an extension of education and for grant of a greater measure of self-government? Did they not treat the warnings given by him at the time of the passing of the Universities Validation Act with contempt and ridicule? Did they not pooh-pooh his personal testimony to the insanity of their high-handed proceedings in the Punjab? What treatment did they accord to the timely note of alarm sounded by him at the time of the passing of the Seditious Meetings Act? What right have they then to fasten the responsibility of these anarchist methods of some reckless youths on him or others of his way of thinking. As friends of Government, as friends of order and peace, as patriots who know that the best interests of their countrymen demanded a peaceful development of its resources, they have been beseeching the Government begging of them almost on their knees—to stop in their mad attempt to strangle the rising self-consciousness of a whole nation. Their advances were unavoidably repulsed, their utterances treated with contempt, their actions were ridiculed and they spoken of most disparagingly. They still perservered in their old methods but perseverance cost them their influence, and the younger generation, taking their cue from the Anglo-India press, lost all patience with them and gave them up as hopeless. Their respectful representations began to be designated as a policy of mendicancy. We ourselves are no admirers of the begging policy. We do not believe that political liberty can be dispensed with as doles of charity. But all the same we cannot help remarking that the denunciation of the Moderates by the Anglo-Indian press is an act of vulgarity which cannot be justified by any right-thinking man. Any one who reads the files of the Anglo-Indian papers for the last four years in the light of the recent bomb outrage cannot absolve them of their share of responsibility in giving birth to bomb-throwers and anarchists. It is a guilty conscience which makes them howl at the

poor Moderates who have for so long been the object of their attack and who have been of late occupying a by no means enviable position between the 'extremist' amongst the Nationalists and the 'extremist' amongst the Anglo-Indians. The Nationalist 'extremist' is a frank honest fellow who says what he means. The Anglo-Indian 'extremist' is a dishonest person who means as much as or rather more than his Indian compeer but does not own it. One denounces foreign goods, the other actually condemns a whole race."

## VII.—General Administration.

### *(e)—Agriculture and questions affecting the land.*

Condition of the peasantry.

10. The *Zamindar* (Karmabad), of the 8th May 1908, publishes a communication from Lala Radha Kishen, who, in continuation of his previous remarks (*vide* paragraph 17 of Selections No. 15), says that the present wretched condition of the zamindars is due in a great measure to their ignorance and illiteracy. The best way to remedy the evil is to make education free and compulsory for boys till they attain the age of 12 at least and it is not at all difficult for Government to apply this remedy. It is, however, a crime in these days to make even a reference to this subject. Indeed Lord Curzon's Indian Universities Act has proved that a Government which has no feeling for the people is not likely to undertake any fresh burdon or responsibility in the direction indicated. Moreover, free education will necessarily involve a reduction in the money drained from the country on account of Home charges and this the Government is not likely to agree to. We may, however, ask why Government takes no steps to spread education among its own subjects? Those who ask this question should, however, bear in mind that the agriculturists are poorer than any other class, and cannot afford to give even Primary education to their children. What should then be done to educate the agricultural classes? The writer urges that subscriptions should be raised from every village and the amount thus realised should be spent in helping to educate the sons of zamindars. Should this suggestion be found impracticable, villagers should engage the services of a teacher who should be remunerated in kind at the time of every harvest. The educated Indians residing in a village should supervise the work of the teacher. After expressing his regret at the absence of fellow-feeling among all classes of the people, the writer says that if schools are opened in the way he suggests and the people begin to take an interest in them the zamindars will be enabled to appreciably improve their condition within ten years. Another question may be raised, *viz.*, 'how is it that zamindars were better off before the advent of British although they were illiterate in those days too?' It is true that the people were illiterate in those days but at the same time such things as litigation, forgeries, registered bonds, alienation of land, British civilisation and foreign-made articles were unknown and the people were saved from a variety of evils designed for the purpose of plunder. There was no law of limitation and the people were not under the necessity of raising loans. The rulers in those days realised a share from the produce and if the land yielded no produce they realised no revenue. All this is changed now. Whether the land yields any produce or not the zamindar must pay his land revenue even if he has to mortgage his son or landed property, or to sell his daughter in order to find the requisite money. Whether the land is cultivated or not and

whether the zamindar's family falls ill or dies, revenue must be paid to Government. And the beauty of the whole arrangement is that the revenue is not fixed and can be enhanced at will. The writer then emphasises the need of educating the agricultural classes and remarks that if they try to help themselves the authorities may also be persuaded to help them. There can be no doubt, he adds, that want of foresight and ignorance have been the ruin of zamindars but that if these causes are removed the condition of the zamindars will undergo a change for the better. Another matter which has materially assisted in the ruin of zamindars is their love of litigation, born of party factions. The best way to remove this evil is to establish a *Panchayat* for every group of two or more small villages. The *Panchayats* should be appointed by Government and should consist of such disinterested persons as are not likely to be partial to any one. All petty criminal cases and all cases concerning loans should be dealt with by *Panchayats*.

### (*f*)—*Railways and Communications.*

11. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* (Lahore), of the 15th May 1908, publishes an account of the railway collision near Ghaziabad and remarks that it would be well if the representatives of the deceased filed a suit for damages against the railway authorities. The paper then takes exception to the practice of throwing heavy responsibilities on the shoulders of low paid station masters and remarks :—

The railway collision near Ghaziabad.

"To whom should we pray for the redress of our grievances. If a similar fate had overtaken a train containing British soldiers the whole British public would have cried for the blood of the Indian Government. No responsible officer, however, takes the slightest notice of the complaint of Indians. Oh what an admirable administration ! The Indians die and the English make money. This is even-handed justice indeed. The cries of the Indians remain unheeded by the responsible authorities. If an ekka were to run over a person and kill him the driver would be sure to be sent to hell. It now remains to be seen what punishment is meted out to the Manager or District Traffic Superintendent on the present occasion. It is, however, a foregone conclusion that only poor native station masters will be sent to jail for the collision, leaving their families and children to starve."

12. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 19th May 1908 :—

The railway collision near Ghaziabad.

"The harrowing and gruesome details of the terrible railway collision on the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway have caste a veritable gloom over the whole of Upper India, and the incidents connected with the death of a large number of human beings crushed or burnt to death in the warm embrace of the god of fire furnish abundant food for serious reflection. Terrible as has been the havoc wrought, and irreparable as the loss must be of hundreds of families, even that could be borne if there were any guarantee that henceforth these tragedies are going to be a thing of the past. While the whole of Northern India stood aghast at the appalling news from the scene of the collision, the official figures struck every one as mocking the gravity of the situation. It must be recognised, however, to the credit of Mr. Wynne, the newly appointed Chairman of the Railway Board that he promptly proceeded to the spot and took immediate action to do what is possible to make the recurrence of such accidents less frequent in future. To Mr. Wynne's prompt action and deep interest it must be set down that

the later official figures are as high as a hundred and an effort has been made to find out the exact number of those who took tickets by that day's ill-fated colliding trains, and to count the charred remains that were available. But if the graphic and heart-rending accounts furnished by European eye-witnesses are to be given the fullest credence, and we see no reason why they should not be, the actual number of fatalities must have far exceeded these figures.

"But whatever the exact number of men and women who actually perished, the Government and the people are face to face with another dilemma. When the collision on the North-Western Railway occurred some time back, we were told that the 'line clear' system was at fault, and it was given out with a flourish of trumpets that the electric tablet system would be adopted, and it would result in such accidents becoming a thing of the past. We were told that it was an automatic system, that when a tablet was removed at one station, the companion tablet at the next station on the other end of the line could not possibly be removed. This belief has received a severe shock, in that both the tablets are said to have been found among the wreckage. If this is really the case both the trains were running with proper authority, and it follows that their conductors were innocent of any blame.

"The Ghaziabad collision has been the most disastrous within recent times, and we hope a serious effort will this time be made to arrive at the real causes of the trouble. An expert inquiry by the officials of the various railways may be well and good so far as it goes, but the trouble is, it does not go far enough. What is wanted is an independent commission to overhaul the whole system, to take evidence of all classes and sections of the community, and to suggest ways and means to remove the existing and exceedingly unsatisfactory state of things in a matter which vitally concerns the lives and safety of thousands, and hundreds of thousands of people."

F. ISEMONGER,

*Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*
*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

SIMLA :
*The 19th May* 1908.

Punjab Government Branch Press, Simla—1-6-08—31—95.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 22. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 30th May 1908.**

---

## CONTENTS.


I.—POLITICS.

*Page.*

(a)—*Foreign*—

1. Ill-treatment of the Indians in the Crown colonies (*Hindustan*) ... ... ... ... 305

(b)—*Home*—

2. Government and the people (*Azad*) ... ... *ib.*
3. Government and the people (*Haq Pasand*) ... 306
4. Government and the people (*Hitkari*) ... ... *ib.*
5. Calcutta Anarchists (*Wafadar*) ... ... *ib.*
6. Calcutta Anarchists (*Army News*) ... ... 307
7. Calcutta Anarchists (*Army News*) ... ... *ib.*
8. Calcutta Anarchists (*Sewak*) ... ... ... 308
9. Calcutta Anarchists (*Hindustan*) ... ... *ib.*
10. Calcutta Anarchists (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 309
11. Calcutta Anarchists (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 310
12. Calcutta Anarchists (*Hitkari*) ... ... *ib.*
13. Calcutta Anarchists (*Haq Pasand*) ... ... 311
14. Calcutta Anarchists (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... *ib.*
15. Calcutta Anarchists (*Rajput Gazette*) ... ... 312
16. The bomb outrage in Bengal (*Tribune*) ... ... 313
17. The bomb outrage in Bengal (*Tribune*) ... ... *ib.*
18. Sedition in Bengal (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 314
19. Sedition in Bengal (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... 315
20. Extremists and Moderates (*Hitkari*) ... ... *ib.*
21. How natives can rise (*Hindustan*) ... ... *ib.*
22. The Agitator (*Hindustan*) ... ... ... 316
23. India's past greatness (*Arya Gazette*) ... ... 317

II.—AFGHANISTAN AND TRANS-FRONTIER.

24. The Mohmand expedition (*Tribune*) ... ... 317

III.—NATIVE STATES.

*Nil.*

*Page.*

IV.—KINE-KILLING.

*Nil.*

V.—NATIVE SOCIETIES AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

*Nil.*

VI.—LEGISLATION.

*Nil.*

VII.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

(a)—*Judicial*—

25. Libel case against *Jhang Sial* (*Jhang Sial*) ... 318

(b)—*Police*—

*Nil.*

(c)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs*—

*Nil.*

(d)—*Education*—

26. The Indian system of education (*Hindustan*) ... 318
27. The Indian system of education (*Jhang Sial*) ... *ib.*

(e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land*—

*Nil.*

(f)—*Railways and Communications*—

*Nil.*

(g)—*Postal matters*—

*Nil.*

(h)—*Miscellaneous*—

*Nil.*

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 22. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

**Received up to 30th May 1908.**

---

### I.—Politics.

#### (*a*)—*Foreign.*

1. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 15th (received on the 22nd) May 1908, remarks that a telegram from Attawa states that Mr. Mackenzie King has given out that a satisfactory understanding has been reached which will prevent Indians from emigrating to Canada. Warnings will be issued by the Government of India, and the Canadian regulations will be communicated to shipping companies.

Ill-treatment of Indians in the Crown colonies.

Commenting on the above the Editor enquires where natives should emigrate to. It is grossly unfair that the colonists in Canada, Australia and South Africa should be eligible for the Indian Civil Service and for high appointments in other services in this country, but that natives should be prevented from earning their bread in these parts of the world. On the one hand, British Statesmen speak of the people of India as citizens of the British Empire, but, on the other, they forbid them to emigrate to the Crown colonies. After characterising this as a disgraceful inconsistency, the Editor says that all sections of the people should unite in requesting Government to adopt retaliatory measures, *viz.*, to forbid the employment of the white inhabitants of these colonies in the public service of India and to prevent them from trading with or in the country. It is, however, doubtful whether Government will take such steps against white men, unless the demand is supported by all classes of natives. As it is, the people should boycott the colonists and their manufactures, while Indians should settle in East Africa, which is very fertile and still uninhabited.

#### (*b*)—*Home.*

2. The *Azad* (Lahore) for the month of April (received on the 21st May 1908) publishes an article written by Professor Hargobind Pershad Nigam, M. A., who says that Indian leaders are being sent to jail, flogged and

Government and the people.

made to work on mills for merely technical offences. In the present circumstances, the people should not even indulge in legitimate criticism of the doings of Government because forsooth the authorities are just and they fully understand what is best for the people. It is said that it is brutal to take vengeance and that the State punishes a culprit not with a view to avenge itself upon him, but to reform and to deter others from committing the same crime. This is true enough, but what is to be said of a Government which punishes people simply for the sake of vengeance ? In these days a man may or may not be guilty of an offence, but he must be punished in a manner which savours of revenge. When the Amir of Afghanistan came to India and heard that sentences passed in Indian courts are sometimes reversed on appeal, he asked whether in such cases the lower courts were punished or not. Of course, human beings are liable to err, and it is unjustifiable to punish the lower courts for the decisions passed by them in good faith ; but should not a Judge be punished if his judgment is prompted by motives of malice ? Is it not heartrending to see such Judges rewarded instead of being punished ? After referring to the conviction and sentence passed on Babu Bepin Chandra Pal and the increase of pay, amounting to Rs. 500, which was given to Mr. Kingsford, the writer deplores the severity with which Indian reformers are punished for their zeal, and remarks that the spirit of revenge which the Judges displayed in deciding their cases is utterly unworthy of British courts. The higher authorities should punish instead of reward Judges like Mr. Kingsford, who are led by social prejudice to sacrifice justice. They should also see that those culprits who are allowed to escape with little or no punishment on account of their colour, or because they are addicted to flattery, are adequately punished inasmuch as failure of justice in such cases is calculated to shake the popular faith in British sense of justice.

3. The *Haq Pasand* (Amritsar), of the 21st May 1908, reprints the above.

Government and the people.

4. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 18th May 1908, remarks that during the last week as many as 5,579 persons died of plague in India, and remarks that it is difficult to say how many more died of starvation or were hanged. The paper then publishes the following prayer :—

Government and the people.

"O God ! Bless the country with such a calamity that the entire Indian population may go to Thee and none be left behind to mourn them. These unfortunate people can neither earn a livelihood nor do they die. If Thou wishes that they should live, provide for their livelihood so that they may live with honour. Otherwise, O Heavenly Father, give us a small piece of land from Thy Kingdom where we may settle. But promise beforehand that Thou wilt not enact new laws for us every day and keep us separate from white races so that we—the black men—may not interfere with their comfort."

5. The *Wafadar* (Lahore), of the 14th May 1908, says that Indians used to regard their rulers as vicegerents of God on earth. Now, however, a change has come over them : they adversely criticise, nay, have become

Calcutta Anarchists.

mortal enemies of their present rulers. After referring to the recent discoveries at Calcutta, the paper says that Bengali Anarchists wish to imitate Russian Nihilists. Strenuous efforts should be made to arrest and punish them, so that others may be prevented from following their example. If this is not done and they are allowed to acquire strength, India will assuredly become a second Russia. It is high time that Government displayed its might and rid the country of every Anarchist living in it. The authorities should also keep a close watch over the Bengalis residing in the different provinces, while the local public should see that Anarchism does not make its appearance in the Punjab. In conclusion, the Editor remarks that it is the duty of every loyal subject to co-operate with Government in running Anarchists to earth.

Calcutta Anarchists.

6. The *Army News* (Ludhiana), of the 16th May 1908, remarks that the bomb is a product of the West, and that Asiatics have always condemned cowardly methods of taking life. Religion still reigns supreme in Asia, and orientals consider it a religious duty to protect life. For this reason the history of India has always been free from those diabolical deeds which are perpetrated in civilised Europe in the name of politics and commend the support and sympathy of a section of the public. The Muzaffarpur outrage has, however, deprived India of this proud distinction—a fact to be deplored. The Editor then goes on to say that the fools who wished to turn India into a second Russia and thought to obtain self-government with the aid of the bomb should have reflected whether the barbarous doings of a few madmen have ever ensured the progress of a country or influenced a Government. After condemning Anarchism, he says that the introduction of the evil into India is calculated to prove highly injurious to the people, and it is therefore the duty of every public man in the country to prevent Anarchism taking root in Indian soil.

Calcutta Anarchists.

7. The *Army News* (Ludhiana), of the 23rd May 1908, says that the fools who think of obtaining political freedom by shedding blood and disturbing the peace are the enemies of the country, and the wisest heads in the land should devise means to exterminate them. However strongly one may disapprove of certain administrative measures of Government, no sensible native can have the hardihood to deny that, from economic and geographical consideration, the British is the best Government for India. Orientals believe that Governments are ordained for different countries by God and that if a people try to subvert a Government before its appointed time they only involve themselves in ruin. It is true that so far no Government, however strong, has proved lasting, and that the British Government cannot therefore remain in India for ever. As long, however, as the British can boast of virtues, the possession of which is essential for rulers of men, it should be concluded that God is solicitous for their advancement and prosperity and that to oppose them is tantamount to opposing Providence. The Editor is not, therefore, prepared to believe that the mad doings of a handful of demented young men can produce any change in the feelings of loyalty of the general Indian public. After condemning Anarchism, he says that the people should render Government every possible help in suppressing the movement, which

is calculated to prove highly injurious to the interests of the country. He adds that Government's duty in the matter does not consist only in suppressing the movement and inflicting exemplary punishment on those connected with it. It should also refuse to listen to prejudiced advice from Anglo-Indian newspapers and to pass a law in the heat of the moment which will serve as a powerful weapon in the hands of the police to oppress innocent persons. The present law of sedition has proved effective enough, and Government should not stop the pens and tie the tongues of unoffending persons for the sins of a few seditionists. The oppression of the innocent will have the effect of offending the people and strengthening the very movement which the authorities are anxious to put down. It will also be wrong to suppose that Anarchism is the result merely of inflammatory writings and speeches. It is highly necessary for Government to find out the real cause of the evil. Government should ascertain what grievances have rendered the people desperate. It is as necessary to redress these grievances as to punish the Anarchist now under trial.

Calcutta Anarchists.

8. The *Sevak* (Hissar), for May 1908, says that the Muzaffarpur outrage has roused feelings of deep disgust among the general public. Government should make sifting enquiries into the matter and inflict condign and exemplary punishment on the butchers concerned in the detestable deed. But it should at the same time see that no innocent person is involved in trouble in consequence of the prevailing excitement. It should also try to find out and remove the causes which have led to the appearance of Anarchists in a country like India, the people of which consider it a heinous sin to injure even an ant and would rather die from plague than consent to the destruction of rats in their houses.

Calcutta Anarchists.

9. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 15th (received on the 22nd) May 1908, says that no one can sympathise with the Calcutta Anarchists, while all have condemned their doings. It is, however, extremely necessary to consider who is responsible for the appearance of terrorism and bomb-throwers in Bengal. The Editor ascribes the evil entirely to the short-sighted and repressive policy which Government has been pursuing for some years past. The people have been subjected to diverse hardships and deprived of their rights one after another. The grossly cruel partition of Bengal in the teeth of strenuous opposition was the climax of the reactionary policy. The Bengalis resorted to every legitimate means to have the partition cancelled or modified, but their united voice proved to be a veritable cry in the wilderness, and the entire population of the country was deeply disappointed, especially the Bengalis. Nor was this all. Sir Bamfylde Fuller and his subordinates elected to follow an extremely foolish policy. Hundreds of men and schoolboys were punished for no offence, while independent-minded journalists were prosecuted and punished for no reason. After remarking that last year's unrest in the Punjab was due to similar causes, the paper says that Government's indifference to the cries of the Bengalis has had the effect of breeding Anarchists and leading to the establishment of secret societies in Bengal. The evil, it adds, cannot be remedied by hanging or transporting one or two hundred Anarchists. A perusal of the history of Russia will show that, so far from being put down, Anarchism gains in strength by the employment of such means.

Others as reckless of life will step into the shoes of their deported or transported comrades to wreak their vengeance. The efforts of the authorities to stamp out Anarchism will result only in an increase in the number of Anarchists, and the struggle between the two will prove highly injurious to both sides, a fact which will be borne out by the modern history of Russia. If Government is really anxious to put down unrest and Anarchism it should abandon its repressive policy, redress the legitimate grievances of the people and grant them their political rights and freedom. A new spirit is abroad in all the world, and even those nations which have hitherto been wrapped in sleep seem anxious to engage in the race for progress. Indians too have thrown off their sleep and wish to better their lot, to make progress and to regain their past greatness. Government therefore should not throw obstacles in their way, but should lay them under obligation by lending them a helping hand and inducing them to move on.'

Calcutta Anarchists.

10. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 16th May 1908, publishes the following :—

"History bears witness to the fact that no people rebel against their own rulers, but that it is the oppression practised on them by their rulers that has the miraculous power of making them rebellious and teaching them how to rebel. We had never even imagined that a loyal and mild people like the Indians would resort to rebellion. There used to be lectures and legal agitation, but how is it that they have gone so far as to resort to bombs ?

"It is not difficult to answer this question. If Government had not shown utter disregard (*lit* murdered) for the feelings of the people, if the English had not looked down upon natives with contempt, and if the latter had succeeded in obtaining justice in cases against Englishmen, nobody would have heard (anything) about agitation, much less about bombs. How long can a people tolerate oppression ? We do not approve of the action of Anarchists, nor do we desire that they should not be punished for their wicked deeds, but at the same time we consider that it would be an act of cowardice and meanness if we hesitated to say that Government itself is responsible for the appearance of Anarchists because it has not only destroyed the arts and industries of India and deprived the Indian people of their rights by acting in opposition to the Queen's Proclamation, but has also disregarded the aspirations of the people and gagged their mouths. Four years ago there was no agitation simply because Indians trusted that they would be able to induce Government to comply with their wishes and that Government being their *Ma Bap* would not reject their prayers. The fact is that the people then had never unanimously begged for anything from Government. Had they done so and received a blunt refusal such as they have had now, the events of the present day would have occurred many years ago. Whether or not Government in the pride of its power admits that it has committed a gross political blunder in murdering the aspirations of the people, we openly and loudly (*lit* by beat of drum) declare that unless this attitude undergoes a change for the better Government will have to bear the consequences. When a revolution is impending in the country events occur much as follows. Government first oppresses its subjects and the latter give expression to their feeling of dissatisfaction. Government suppresses them and determines to gag them. The people become exasperated, organise secret societies, resort to bombs and hurl their oppressors to hell. In

the end either they are ruined or they obtain victory over their rulers and establish their own rule in the country. The people doubtless suffer heavily in such revolutions, but they do not heed the consequences since the fight (in which they engage) is one of principle. Indians are loyal and are devoted to the English, but what are they to do when the English themselves compel them to rebel. Since our conscience is clear we trust that Government will excuse us when we say plainly that if it does not change its present attitude the matter will assume serious proportions. At present it is only a few ordinary persons who have taken to committing mischief, but later the whole of India will be converted into a *Yagistan* (a country with no settled Government). The recent conspiracy has been revealed because only a few Indians were concerned in it, but if later the entire country joins in a conspiracy, even the angel of Government will learn of it. We have no sympathy with the Anarchists because we are Hindus, and Hindus are a peace-loving people and consider the taking of life to be a gross sin. If, however, Government itself becomes the means of creating Anarchists, what charge can we bring against them ?"

Calcutta Anarchists.

11. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 16th May 1908, says that meetings are being held in all parts of India to condemn the doings of the Calcutta Anarchists and express sympathy with Government. Not a single meeting, however, has been held to adopt a resolution to the effect that the English have practised such gross oppression on the people that the latter have been driven to lay themselves open to a charge of disloyalty.

Calcutta Anarchists.

12. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 18th May 1908, remarks that Indian soil is not congenial for the growth of Nihilists. The statements of the Calcutta bomb-makers, who expressed their sorrow for the death of two innocent ladies and attributed their failure to this murder of the innocents, show that they are not such hardened criminals as European Nihilists are, who do not feel the least compunction even when they kill innocent persons. Why have the Nihilists then appeared in the country ? The Anglo-Indian papers attribute the terrorist campaign in India to the preachings of enthusiasts and writing of the vernacular press. They regard every Indian from the member of the Viceroy's Council to an ordinary person as disloyal. The Indian press has, however, proved by incontrovertible arguments that educated natives are much grieved on account of the Muzaffarpur outrage and that it is impossible for them to sympathise with, or encourage bomb-makers. The bomb-makers really owe their origin to the doings of Lord Curzon, Sir B. Fuller and those officers who oppress and disgrace the Indians, flout public opinion, treat the people worse than dogs, deprive them of their food and then gag them, and also to those Anglo-Indian papers which support these rulers. If the truth be told the present condition of the country is worse than before. Formerly the people had faith in the British sense of justice and contented themselves with adopting a mendicant policy. But now they have lost all hope of obtaining justice from the British people. The heavy taxation which has reached its utmost limit, famine which has become endemic in the country, the partiality shown by courts to Europeans in cases between the latter and natives, the Police oppression, and lastly the partition of Bengal carried into effect in the teeth of universal opposition, present a spectacle which was quite unknown formerly and which has

greatly impressed both the educated and uneducated. And lastly the treatment accorded to students belonging to respectable families has filled their young mind with feelings of hatred for the British rule. Matters have now come to such a pass that the people resorted to manufacturing bombs. Such a thing would never have happened in India if the authorities had paid heed to the counsels of the native members of the Viceregal Council and had treated the people with justice.

Calcutta Anarchists.

13. The *Haq Pasand* (Amritsar), of the 11th May 1908, remarks that meetings expressing regret at the Muzaffarpur outrage have been held in Bengal and the Punjab, and probably the other provinces also will follow suit. But will all these meetings have the effect of putting an end to these dastardly outrages ? The Editor is not opposed to these meetings, but is afraid that they are not likely to lead to any substantial result. The people have no power to prevent the commission of these outrages. The Government, however, can, if it so chooses, put an end to the evil by assuring the people that they will be allowed to live like human beings. This object can be attained by awarding heavy punishment to the Anarchists on the one hand and adopting a generous policy towards the people on the other. Government has already earned a bad name on account of the doings of the police, and if in dealing with the Muzaffarpur outrage it adopts repressive measures, the situation is likely to assume a serious aspect. The arrest of leaders like Arabindo Ghosh will merely add fuel to the fire, and it will not be surprising if some morbid young men take the opportunity to establish Anarchist societies in Calcutta on a permanent footing. It is therefore high time that Government acted in a calm and dignified manner and took a warning from recent events. How is it that these people resorted to bomb-throwing ? Were they so tired of their liberty that they preferred incarceration in jail ? Were they not aware that they would be put to death when their doings were unravelled ? It is apparent that the bomb-makers were so discontented that they were obliged to resort to the terrible expedient of bomb-throwing. If Mr. Kingsford had dealt with the newspapers in Calcutta charged with sedition with leniency instead of endeavouring to please Government, Mrs. and Miss Kennedy would never have lost their lives. All Magistrates should therefore learn that the people are not prepared to allow acts of injustice perpetrated by them to pass unnoticed. The people should bear in mind that these outrages are not calculated to do any good to the country. On the contrary, it will afford an opportunity to their Anglo-Indian enemies to embitter the feelings of the English against Indians. They should also note that Indians can never successfully oppose a firmly-established Government by means of bombs. Their well-being lies in creating a public opinion in England favourable to India and obtaining self-government by constitutional means. For the present, however, the doings of some Bengalis have not only cost the lives of two innocent ladies and placed their own lives in danger, but have led the Government also to suspect sedition everywhere.

Calcutta Anarchists.

14. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 15th May 1908, remarks that the news which Reuter has flashed to this country that the authorities are not surprised at recent political developments in the country and are determined to carry out the legislative reforms to which they are pledged will be

received with a sense of relief by the general public. This shows that the recent outrages will not in any way hinder or put back the expansion of Legislative Councils and the establishment of Advisory Councils. The manner in which the people of India have with one voice expressed their abhorrence of, and indignation at, the Muzaffarpur outrage and the Calcutta bomb conspiracy shows that they appreciate the blessings of British rule and consider its maintenance to be essential for their well-being. The Anglo-Indian papers, however, so far from appreciating this universal feeling, are trying to prejudice the authorities against the people by saying that they are all implicated in the conspiracy. After regretting the conduct of those proud and short-sighted officials who have pushed the matter so far as to lead some impolitic orators and notoriety-hunters to resort to violent speeches which have turned the head of some immature young men, the Editor remarks that the entire country is indignant at the recent outrage, and hopes that the authorities will leave no stone unturned to unravel the diabolical conspiracy and devise means to make such dastardly deeds impossible in future. At the same time they should take care that the accused persons are allowed full opportunity of proving their innocence so that no really innocent person be harassed on mere suspicion. The Editor also hopes that Lord Morley and Lord Minto will reassure the people by making declarations in corroboration of the news communicated by Reuter and direct the Bengal Government to uphold British justice by dealing with the accused persons in a strictly impartial and judicious manner. It is also the duty of Government to enquire into the root cause of the present discontent which has resulted in dastardly outrages and to find out why after 150 years of peaceful rule such tragic occurrences as the Muzaffarpur outrage should have taken place in 1908.

Calcutta Anarchists.

15. The *Rajput Gazette* (Lahore), of the 16th May 1908, says that, in view of the confessions made by some of the accused in the Muzaffarpur outrage case, the coolies and others who were sent to jail on the charge of having attempted to blow up Sir Andrew Fraser's special train at Midnapur are reported to have been set free. The question therefore arises whether all the evidence adduced by the police in order to procure the conviction of these men had been fabricated. If this was so, are not the police and the Magistrate who tried the case to blame for sending these coolies to rot in jail for some time? It is to be regretted that although the guardians of the public peace cause thousands of persons to be punished for no reason, the responsible authorities should not look into the matter and should thereby bring the fair fame of the British Government into disrepute. The Editor then goes on to say that, according to the *Bande Mataram* newspaper, Profulla (one of the boys concerned in the Muzaffarpur outrage) did not commit suicide, but was shot by the police. If this is so, he adds, no one who appreciates the peaceful character of British rule can help deeply deploring the event. Such incidents exercise an extremely unpleasant and dangerous effect on the feelings and passions of the public. After remarking that it remains to be seen whether Government will inflict any punishment on the culprits, the paper deplores the outrage and the appearance of the bomb in the country. It is of opinion that if the authorities make thorough enquiries and conduct themselves in a most just and lenient manner, matters will be set right for ever.

16. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 28th May 1908 :—

The bomb outrage in Bengal.

"Calcutta is springing sensation upon sensation on the rest of India. The bomb outrages, the terrorist factories, the real or supposed arrests, the many house searches, the startling confessions and what not have all followed on the heels of one another in rapid and breathless succession, but the latest to hand threatens to beat them all hollow in point of its unexpected suddenness and grave import, as well as by the agreeable nature of the results expected. The latest piece of sensation, however, comes to us *viâ* Bombay, * * * The Calcutta correspondent of the *Sanj Vartaman* telegraphs under date the 20th that he has learnt from a very reliable source that the relations between His Excellency Lord Minto and His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal are seriously strained over the question of the bomb outrages. His Honour Sir Andrew Fraser is of the opinion that most stringent repressive measures should be passed to completely eradicate the anarchist evil from Bengal. It is said that His Excellency Lord Minto has taken a firm attitude in this matter in believing that the criminal law of India as it stands at present is powerful enough to meet the present emergency, and he therefore means to allow the ordinary law of the land to take its own course and to punish the accused if the charge of anarchism be brought home to them in the ordinary tribunals of law. Not only this, the correspondent goes on to give a circumstantial account of a threatened resignation by Sir Andrew Fraser if his recommendations are not accepted. The telegraph wire, it is said, is busy between Simla and London, and the final orders from Home are anxiously awaited.

"It is impossible to say now if any credence is to be attached to the circumstantial details of the report. But this much we may say that if the actual state of things is anything like what it is pointed to be, Lord Minto will deserve the heartiest congratulations of all thoughtful and far-sighted people for refusing to be rushed into panic-stricken action. And public opinion all over the country will support His Lordship in the view, which all sections of the press have voiced, that the ordinary law will meet all contingencies and is more than sufficient for all practical purposes. It is to be hoped, if the report is accurate, that Lord Morley will not fail to back Lord Minto in the dignified and statesmanlike course he has chosen to adopt, and that the Cabinet, which in turbulent Ireland with its deliberate and comprehensive cattle-driving exploits and other political crime has repealed the Irish Coercion Act, may see its way to strengthen the hands of the 'man on the spot' in India to meet the crisis in a gentle and statesmanlike manner and with calm and fearless dignity. What if Sir Andrew resigns a few months earlier than his time? Let his successor have a free hand to bury the dead past and to open a new chapter. And at the present juncture no one would be better fitted to win the hearts of the Bengalees and to throw oil over the troubled waters than the Hon'ble Mr. Baker, the Lieutenant-Governor designate of Bengal. If Lords Minto and Morley avail of this grave juncture by overhauling things a bit to the satisfaction of the people and the restoration of the normal feelings of old, Lord Minto's period of *régime* will remain as memorable for high statesmanship and farsighted action as that of his predecessor has become for the reverse. It is, indeed, time Lord Morley also moved to impress his personality on the Indian sphere by rectifying the great blunder of the administrative partition of Bengal. The time has come once more, and the country awaits a real and tangible expression of statemanship to heal old sores and to begin afresh the chapter of unsullied relations and progressive advance which has been temporarily disturbed, thanks to the feverish activity and heedless persistence of Lord Curzon's reign and the doctrine of settled fact adopted by Mr. Morley."

17. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 29th May 1908 :—

The Bomb outrage in Bengal.

"The Poona extremists' manifesto on the present situation, which by the way is issued over the signatures of a much larger body of men than could be gathered from the wires, does not stop short at expressing regret over the lamentable deaths at Muzaffarpore, but goes on to give the signatories reading of the situation and their remedies for

the same. As such it deserves careful consideration and a detailed examination. Mr. Tilak and his colleagues observe, 'we firmly believe that these regrettable occurrences are the result of prolonged and persistent disregard of public opinion and a continued policy of repression on the part of the Government, and not, as alleged in some quarters, of any speeches or writings.' This statement of the situation is, it will be noticed, entirely at variance with what has been appearing in the columns of the fire eating fraternity among the Anglo-Indian Press. And it is important to examine the matter from the standpoint of both with a view to arrive at any sound conclusions. The Jingo fire-eaters with an obstinacy and vehemence which go far to defeat their cause maintain that Western education is at the root of all trouble, that racial hatred is the motive-force of all agitation, that it is the passions and prejudices of the enemies of British rule that fan the flames of racial animosity and sectional bitterness, and that consequently it is the prime authors of agitation that must be extirpated. That explains the hunt after possible centres of a revolutionary propaganda in America, France or England, to which we referred the other day. The Poona manifesto, on the other hand, claims that speeches and writings have absolutely nothing to do with the regrettable manifestations of a dangerous character that have lately been revealed, and that the entire blame for the latest developments lies on the shoulders of 'prolonged and persistent disregard of public opinion and a continued policy of repression on the part of the Government.'

"To take the various issues involved in the above statement of the case, this much will probably be conceded on all hands, that the trouble chiefly dates from the time of Lord Curzon, and that the malady has gone on increasing in certain directions in face of the many cures prescribed to remove it, until it has come to this, that certain misguided youths have been carried away by the strength of their feeling and the fire of their enthusiasm to take to methods which have been universally condemned, and to incur responsibility for actions which have evoked a feeling of pain and regret in all quarters. And Lord Curzon in forcing the measure of partition down the throats of unwilling and frantically protesting Bengalis was, it can hardly be denied in the light of recent events, straining the loyalty and attachment of a section of the people of that province to the utmost. If then a number, insignificant at best, have apparently been brooding over what they believed to be a national wrong, and in sheer despair at their inability, by any constitutional agitation here or in England, to bring back the *status quo* by a reversal or modification of the partition have taken to what cannot be called by any other name than sheer madness, it cannot, and in the interests of the Government and the people should not, be ignored how great a share the sense of utter despair at the failure of constitutional measures taken by Bengal must have played in firing brooding minds with desperate resolves, and nerving them to deeds of transparent madness. And it will remain as an eloquent testimony to the far-sighted statesmanship and deep-seated attachment to British rule of our constitutional reformers that men like the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale and the Hon'ble Dr. Rashbehari Ghosh with an energy, eloquence, and persistence worthy of the great cause time after time gave solemn and deliberate warnings to stay the hands of repression and reaction, and pleaded, with a courage born of conviction and candour the off-spring of honesty, for the much-needed advance towards constitutional progress, and the larger association of the sons of the soil in the administration of their affairs. We can only hope that the Government will move the wheels of the machinery a little faster, as they have given indications that they read the situation aright.

Sedition in Bengal.

18. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 16th May 1908, reports that a few days ago a notice headed "Arm yourselves?" was pasted on the doors of colleges and telegraph posts in Bengal. It exhorted the people to drive the English out of the country, regard them with feelings of hatred, despatch them to hell, &c. Groups of people, with faces beaming with joy, were to be seen reading the notice, which left no room for doubt that the document and its contents were to their liking. The police tore down these leaflets, but no one enquired from them whether they had also neutralized the effect produced by the notice on the hearts of those who had read it. In conclusion, the Editor

remarks that Government should try to win the hearts of the people so that they may not be moved by seditious notices.

The sedition in Bengal.

19. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 18th May 1908, reprints from the *Englishman* a paragraph in which that paper publishes a translation of extracts from a recent article in the *Yugantra* calling upon natives to drive the English out of India.

Extremists and moderates.

20. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 11th May 1908, publishes a communication from Lala Har Dial, M. A., who says that he has for some time past been convinced that all attempts made by the extremist patriots to act in unison with the moderates are not only likely to prove useless and futile, but are positively mischeivous and injurious for the nation. The writer has always been of opinion that the policy of the moderates is injurious for the country and that the Extremists and the Moderates should work separately. The Extremists should realise their power and the nature of their duties and boldly preach their doctrine to their countrymen. A movement which is based on righteous principles is bound to gain strength. It is righteous principles which convert cowards and selfish persons into brave men and patriots and strengthens the minds of martyrs. It is anything but wise to sacrifice principle at the alter of expediency because it results in serious injury in the end. There is a vast difference in principle between the Extremists and the Moderates. Some people say that both parties have the same principles, and that the only difference between them is that while the Extremists run fast for the attainment of their end, the moderates move slowly and cautiously. The writer is enable to endorse this view, and remarks that as a matter of fact the Extremists are moving fast towards liberty and justice although their movement is slow for the present, but the Moderates are moving fast towards national degeneration and ruin. That this is true is apparent from the ideals of the two parties. The Moderates consider Government service is a source of pride and honour, nay the highest object in life. Every year a resolution is passed in the Congress that educated Indians should be given a larger share in the service of the Government. Now, is there any country in the world where the people ask for the loaves and fishes of office from an alien Government as a matter of right ? The Extremists regard service with contempt and say that those who take part in the administration of a Government of whose methods they cannot approve are guilty of disloyalty to their nation. The writer also cannot approve of Mr. Gokhale's suggestion that education should be made free in India because he is afraid that if the suggestion is accepted the indigenous *pathshalas* and *maktabs* will become extinct. The Extremists, on the other hand, desire that instead of seeking Government aid the people should start national colleges, schools, &c, and learn to stand on their own legs. After criticising the doings of the Moderates and remarking that the latter will soon see the error of their ways and give up their shameful practices, the writer urges the Extremists to adhere to their principles and endeavour to attain their ideas.

How natives can rise.

21. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 22nd May 1908, publishes an article from the pen of Lala Har Dial, M. A., who says that a people among whom there are to be found plenty of just, truthful and God-fearing men, must

always prosper. God confers the gifts of power and prosperity only on those nations which value and obey His moral laws. After quoting extracts from Lecky and Herbert Spencer in support of his assertions, the writer observes that in order to raise themselves his fellow-countrymen must reform their character. He next refers to the ill-treatment of the Jews all over the world, and says that their history should serve as a warning to the people of this country. It is not impossible that natives may one day share the humiliation which the Jews have to suffer now and may have to seek shelter in foreign countries in order to earn their bread. Famine will end in the dispersion of the Indian nation, and Brahmins will be converted into menials of other peoples. Indeed, hunger has already been driving natives to emigrate to different countries and seek employment under wealthy European companies. And if the present state of affairs continues the Indian nation will cease to exist. The writer then calls upon rich natives to exert themselves to banish famine from the country, adding that Hindu children are selling at 8 annas per head not far from Ajudhya. In conclusion, he quotes an extract from a letter written by Mr. Gokhale in May 1906 to suggest that 5 per cent. of native young men should devote themselves to the service of their country.

The Agitator.

22. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 22nd May 1908, publishes the following from the *Bande Mataram* (of the 13th idem).

"It is being daily dinned into our ears morning and evening that whatever may be the form of government the people are never discontented till the agitator works upon their feelings. The people cannot know whether they are well-fed and well-clothed till the agitator organises a meeting and opens their eyes to the fact. * * * The people may be rudely handled by the members of the ruling class, * * * but they cannot awaken to their position * * * unless the agitator again intervenes and brings it home to them! * * * You may exhaust all the resources of constitutional agitation, * * * but if * * * you declare that mendicancy cannot obtain a hearing you are a confirmed seditionist, whom the State should not tolerate in the interest of law and order. If you decide upon encouraging your capitalists to invest their money in indigenous industries by stimulating the determination in your countrymen to use country-made goods alone you are said to set class against class and foment race-hatred! If you dissuade your countryman from using foreign-made things * * * you interfere with the freedom of individuals, * * * and you are run in by the police!

"All these facts count for nothing. It is said * * * that the Indian * * * is so well-off under their care as it was never his lot before, but the poor man knows where the shoe pinches and cannot resist the natural expression of feeling for fear that he will thereby be incurring the displeasure of the ruling class. When there is agony within the mouth speaketh in spite of the Penal Code.

"The agitator is a creature of circumstances. It is no pleasure for him to have his footsteps dogged by the detective, to work with one foot in the jail and to be misunderstood by all. * * * He can do very well in life if he is so minded; but his chief drawback is that he has a feeling heart; that he cannot shut his eyes to the misery * * around and that he cannot think of his own self alone while his countrymen lack the essential conditions of a full and happy life. When there is famine in the land the agitator begs from door to door for feeding his countrymen. When the Bureaucracy seeks to saddle the people with an additional tax the agitator is abroad and advises them according to his lights. When any of his countrymen is a victim of oppression the agitator takes up his cause and fights for him. When the police molest the innocent people the agitator * * speaks in their behalf. The agitator cannot bear to see his countrymen depending on others for everything they require and tells them their legitimate duties.

"No doubt, the present day agitator is a little bold and straightforward. He himself sees that so long as human nature will remain what it is, it is no use asking others to feel for us and help us. We shall have to shift for ourselves. Dependence ruins a nation. We must try to be self-sufficient in every department of life. It is then and then alone that a full and exalted life will come to us. We have lost the faculty of action by exclusively leaning on others. That faculty is again to be revived. We must protect our own life and property, we must relieve our own distress, we must ourselves impart to our children the education they require, we must settle our disputes with our own agencies, we must revive our own trade and industries. In short, our national life must have its fullest play, and we must not allow anybody to stand between it and ourselves. This is the agitator's full programme. This is his manifesto. It may be loyal or disloyal. All that the agitator can say it is human and rational. It is patriotic and necessary. * * * It may land him in trouble, but he has the approval of his God and his conscience. He claims the right for his countrymen to be good and great. * * * But mysterious are the ways of Providence. Diverse dangers and difficulties supervene, perhaps to try his faith, to test his strength. He must look above for help and go on in his mission. Man may misunderstand him, but God will not. The lover of power may repress him, but only to add to his strength. He is an invincible being who does God's work. If he is useful to his country * *, a higher power will protect him against the dangers and difficulties thrown in his path. He only requires courage and faith. Let him pray lest these should fail him in this critical hour."

India's past greatness.

23. The *Arya Gazette* (Lahore), of the 14th May 1908, publishes a communication from Lala Har Dial, M.A., who tries to prove that it was India who civilised the world and taught mankind different arts and sciences. It is a pity, he adds, that Indians, who were once teachers of the world, should now be in the position of pupils and should beg (for learning) from others. He entreats his fellow-countrymen to consider it a religious duty to study the ancient history of their country, so that they may know themselves and may not place their children at the feet of English teachers to learn Western arts and sciences. Indians will assuredly regain their former position one day, and those who advise them to continue pupils of Europe and to have the shamelessness and meanness to go on begging (for knowledge) from others are misleading the nation and its young men.

## II.—Afghanistan and Trans-frontier.

The Mohmand Expedition.

24. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 29th May 1908:—

"The war-cloud has at last been lifted up from the horizon of the Frontier; the punitive expedition against the Mohmands is at an end. The dismal and gruesome possibilities which were threatened at the beginning of the compaign and which at one time gave rise to apprehensions of another Afghan war were happily averted and the expedition has achieved its object sooner than was expected. We are not yet in possession of the details of the close of fighting and of the terms of surrender of the offending tribes, but we trust that the Mohmands have been administered a sufficiently wholesome lesson that will at least for some time restrain their predatory instincts. We fervently hope that the mistake of the Zakha Khel expedition has not been repeated. Averse as we are to any military display on the North-West Frontier, we certainly cannot, once an expedition has been started, approve of our troops stopping short of final and real victory. In this case the telegrams about the fight have gone far to show that the Mohmands have been taught a salutary lesson. A prolonged and obstinate warfare, with its enormous drafts upon the public exchequer and the army, is bound to seriously affect the finances of the Government, which are already hard hit by famine. Now that the war is over the

Government is once more free to devote unhampered all its energies to grapple with a more insidious and dangerous enemy, *viz.*, the demon of famine which is stalking over the land. From the reports of the fight that have appeared in our columns, it appears that the efficiency of our troops has been very creditably brought out in this war and no doubt they deserve high praise for successfully driving the tribes to their mountain fastnesses."

## VII.—General Administration.

### *(a).—Judicial.*

Libel case against the *Jhang Sial*.

25. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 16th May 1908, remarks that some idea of the help given by the Deputy Commissioner of Jhang to Mr. Wakefield may be formed from the fact that he not only gave him a contract without inviting tenders, but also allowed him to do as he liked in carrying out the contract. In the case which is pending between Mr. Wakefield and the Editor the Deputy Commissioner has come forward as a witness on behalf of the former. Nor is this all. Recently he summoned the Editor's counsel, Mehta Bahadur Chand, and told him that he was sorry to find that certain Pleaders were conducting the case of the Editor of the *Jhang Sial* without remuneration and that such conduct on their part was calculated to intensify hatred between Europeans and Indians. The Deputy Commissioner also said that it was no use saying that the Editor of the *Jhang Sial* criticised Mr. Wakefield's conduct on the strength of a rumour, and asked Mehta Bahadur Chand whether he would consider it justifiable if some person were to say malicious things about his wife and were then to excuse himself by saying that his remarks were based on a rumour. The Deputy Commissioner was not even satisfied with this. He went to the Municipal Committee and repeated what he had said to Mehta Bahadur Chand. After remarking that by resorting to these tactics the Deputy Commissioner intended to put pressure on the Municipal Commissioners to compel them to pass (Mr. Wakefield's) bills, the paper takes exception to the Deputy Commissioner's conduct in making reference to Mehta Bahadur Chand's wife in public and observes that although the Deputy Commissioner is trying hard to discover sedition in the writings of the *Jhang Sial*, yet he has been so far unsuccessful simply because the Editor is neither a rebel nor a sedition-monger. His writings may be couched in strong language, but they are certainly not seditious. The Deputy Commissioner can, however, find sedition in his writings by twisting and distorting them in the same way as Mr. Wakefield has done in the case which he has brought against him. As regards the case itself it is sufficient to say that the *Jhang Sial* merely referred to some rumours which Mr. Wakefield could have openly contradicted instead of rushing to court. Some people, it is not known whether they are friends of the Editor or of Mr. Wakefield, suggest a compromise which can be easily arranged if the parties display some moral courage.

### *(d).—Education.*

The Indian system of education.

26. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 15th (recieved on the 22nd) May 1908, publishes an article on "National Education" written by Lala Har Dial, M.A. The writer says that education is the best means to ensure the

advancement of a people and to preserve their existence. It was once remarked by the Duke of Wellington, he adds, that the battle of Waterloo was won on the play grounds of the Derby (*sic*) and Eton Schools. The present greatness of England is ascribable solely to the system of education that prevails in that country. Har Dial then goes on to say that some educated Indians are of opinion that Western education has rescued their fellow-countrymen from the abyss of ignorance and that it will breed among the people virtues which will help the country to obtain self-government one day. They hold that the English language is essential for the development of the country's trade and for promoting union in the ranks of the people, and that its disappearance from the land will place a great obstacle in the way of the progress of the nation. They are therefore under the impression that the English cannot be thanked too much for having introduced the system of Western education into the country. After referring to the opinions of Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Naroji and Sir P. M. Mehta in support of his assertions, the writer says that native statesmen of note hold the view that whatever one may say of the conduct of Government, in other respects it is impossiblefor natives to get another liberal and sympathetic Government like it so far as education is concerned. Their only complaint is that it spends very little on education, in support of which statement he quotes Mr. Khare's remarks on the subject at the Congress of 1906. The dissemination of such views, he adds, is highly injurious to the interests of the country. The prevailing system of English education is a deadly poison, and not the elixir of life, to the nation. It has been dragging the people down and not raising them up, while it has been sapping their vitality. So far from fitting them for self-government, it has been stripping them of those habits and virtues which enable a nation to rule itself. It inflicts greater loss on them every year than they have to suffer through the ravages of famine, pestilence and war, through the imposition of exorbitant taxes on them and by the imprisonment of innocent persons. It has been killing the soul of the people, making them irreligious, creating disunion in their ranks, stripping them of their sense of self-respect and cooling their love for their national history. The writer spent fifteen years in acquiring an English education, but now he feels as if he had passed those years in jail and experiences shame in recalling that dreadful period of his life. He then goes on to say that the object of Government in establishing the Calcutta Madrissa for Muhammadans in 1781 and the Benares Sanskrit College for Hindus in 1791 was to please its Indian subjects and prevent them from thinking of their old Rajas and Nawabs, who used to value learning and spend public revenues in disseminating education. Its second object in opening these educational institutions was to make it possible for it to obtain men to serve under it. Its ulterior motive, however, in doing so was that natives might be so imbued with English civilisation that they should forget their old ways to a large extent. Accordingly between 1781 and 1835 it changed the curricula of the Madrissa and the College and introduced English into the institutions.

Commenting on the above the Editor says that this is Lala Har Dial's first article on the subject. The question of national education, he adds, is of extreme importance and on it depends the rise or fall of the Indian nation. He therefore requests the well-wishers of the country to write to *Hindustan* on the subject.

27. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of 16th May 1908, reprints a paragraph from the *Swarajya* (Allahabad), which says that the education imparted in Government schools breathes a spirit of slavery into the pure and tender hearts of native boys. In order to preserve the rising generation from this unholy and noxious influence it is necessary to open national schools and *pathshalas* in every town and village. Again, native gentlemen desirous of national progress should spare one or two hours to teach ideas of liberty and nationality to boys of their *mohallas*. In places where neither of the above plans can be put into practice, boys able to read and understand Urdu, Hindi, or any other vernacular language should be provided with books portraying the miserable condition of India, mentioning the causes of her being in that condition, stating how she can rise, and giving an account of the achievements of their forefathers. Or they should be given newspapers which would teach them lessons of patriotism and liberty, so that the flame of love for their country may be kept burning in their hearts in spite even of the enslaving education imparted in Government schools.

The Indian system of education.

F. ISEMONGER,

*Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*

*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

SIMLA :

*The 30th May* 1908.

Punjab Government Branch Press, Simla—9-6-08—56—[illegible]

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 23 ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

Received up to 6th June 1908.

---

## CONTENTS.


Page.

I.—Politics.

(a)—*Foreign*—

1. Indian in United States America (*Indar*) ... 321

(b)—*Home*—

2. A Political drama (*Haq Pasand*) ... ... *ib.*
3. Calcutta Anarchists (*Hitkari*) ... ... 324
4. Calcutta Anarchists (*Hitkari*) ... ... 325
5. Calcutta Anarchists (*Aftab*) ... ... ... 326
6. Calcutta Anarchists (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... *ib.*
7. Calcutta Anarchists (*Sadiq-ul-Akhbar*) ... ... *ib.*
8. Calcutta Anarchists (*Nazam-ul-Hind*) ... ... 327
9. The bomb outrage in Bengal (*Hindustan English*) ... *ib.*
10. The bomb outrage in Bengal (*Panjabee*) ... ... 328
11. The present policy of Government (*Baghbir Patriha*) 329
12. The present situation and the Anglo-Indian newspapers (*Punjab Samachar*) ... ... ... *ib.*
13. The present situation of the country (*Hitkari*) ... 330
14. The present situation of the country (*Rajput Gazette*) *ib.*
15. Government and the people (*Raghbir Patrika*) ... 331
16. Government and the people (*Hindustan*) ... *ib.*
17. Muhammadans and politics (*Aftab*) ... ... *ib.*

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

*Nil.*

III.—Native States.

*Nil.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

*Nil.*

Page.

V.—Native Societies and Religious matters.

*Nil.*

VI.—Legislation.

*Nil.*

VII.—General Administration.

(a)—*Judicial*—

18. Invidious distiction between Europeans and natives in Indian Court (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... ... 332

(b)—*Police*—

*Nil.*

(c)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs*—

*Nil.*

(d)—*Education*—

19. The constitution of the Khalsa College (*Panjabee*) ... 332

(e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land*—

20. The Famine (*Panjabee*) ... ... ... 333

(f)—*Railways and Communications*—

21. Railway complaint (*Tribune*) ... ... ... 334

(g)—*Postal matters*—

*Nil.*

(h)—*Miscellaneous*—

22. The newspapers (*Hitkari*) ... ... ... 335

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 23. ]

# SELECTIONS
## FROM THE
# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS
## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 6th June 1908.**

---

### I.—Politics.

#### (*a*)—*Foreign.*

1. The *Indar* (Lahore), for the month of May 1908, publishes a letter from one Ram Nath Puri, now in the United States of America, who remarks that even the Americans are by no means free from prejudice against coloured races as they are reported to be in India. They, and especially those European traders and labourers who have taken up their abode in America and call themselves Americans, treat Indians who reside in America very badly. Their hatred is directed not against Indians alone, but against all Asiatics. A man who acknowledges himself to be a native of India is sure to be refused employment, simply because white labourers refuse to work with black Indians. The latter find it dangerous even to walk in the streets as they are liable to be worried and annoyed by mischievous European children. The writer then cites cases in which Indians have been driven out bag and baggage from towns, and in which the police and the British Consul in America have refused to help them when asked to do so. It is a pity, says the writer, that Government does nothing to help their poor helpless subjects who are driven to seek refuge in distant foreign countries owing to the heavy taxes imposed on them. He also deplores the apathy of the Indian people and journalists towards their helpless countrymen in America, and remarks that it is wrong to say that Indians are subjected to all sorts of annoyance in America simply because they are wanting in character, inasmuch as Japanese, Chinese, and other Asiatics also are subjected to the same treatment and yet the Japanese are certainly not devoid of character. He then refers to the efforts of the Indian people to gain their liberty, and remarks that until at least 2 crores of educated Indians out of the total population of 28 crores do not give up the unhealthy restrictions of the caste system and unfurl the banner of *Swaraj* and proclaim the liberty of India, there is no hope of India obtaining liberty.

Indians in the United States of America.

#### (*b*)—*Home.*

2. The *Haq Pasand* (Amritsar), of the 21st May 1908, in continuation of its previous contribution (*vide* paragraph 3 of Selections No. 21), publishes the fourth instalment of "**A Political Drama: A British Officer's Darbar, or the miserable condition of Mother Bharat**":—

A political drama.

ACT I.

SCENE IV—*A Forest.*

Guru Mahindar Nath is seen sitting with his disciples in the forest. They sing a song in which they bewail the transitoriness of the world. The Guru then sings a song in which he dwells on the transitoriness as well as the grossly selfish character of the world.

*Guru.*—Ye who worship God and fear him, ye Sadhus, tell me something new. What is the condition of Bharat in these days? Is she happy or involved in trouble? Has any Sadhu passed through Indian cities and seen anything with his own eyes?

*Jalandharnath.*—Guruji, endowed as I am with very little intelligence, I have passed through numerous cities in Bharat and have thoroughly acquainted myself with the condition of the people. The people of England—a country which is situated in the west, and which is resplendent with her greatness—are governing the country and are passing their days in Bharat. Their mode of government is peculiar and is in every way superior to that followed by the Muhammadan Emperors. The English language is making great progress (in the country) and is being spoken everywhere. All the work of Government is transacted in this foreign tongue and the people are kept informed of Government measures through the newspapers. There are several schools in India where Sanskrit is taught, but they are said to be schools only in name. A knowledge of Arabic is imparted to Muhammadans on the same scale as Sanskrit to the Hindus and like Sanskrit its days are numbered. The English language alone flourishes and every sentence spoken is full of English words. The Railways and Telegraphs are veritable miracles, the result of the advancement of scientific knowledge. As regards wealth, Bharat has ceased to be Bharat, and her former wealth and grandeur are gone. Plague and other epidemics are killing the people and they have been disarmed. The outward aspect of the country is good, but in reality it is rotten (to the core).

*Mashkandar Nath.*—Guruji, Bharat has greatly fallen and has been reduced to a very miserable condition. Men and women have fallen from their religion and are immersed in selfishness. Brahmans have lost their religion; Khshatriyas no longer perform their duties, and Vaishyas have ceased to engage themselves in trade, while the Sudras do not exist. All are in the same plight. Famine occurs annually, causing the people to fall a prey to starvation. Learning is now conspicuous by its absence and the name and fame of Bharat have vanished for ever.

(*Song.*)

O India! There was a time when thou wert the Sun of the World.
Thou wert peerless in logic, philosophy and mathematics.
Every country (in the world) acquired knowledge from thee.
Thou wert called the epitome of the world.
In short, thou wert gifted with all knowledge and art
And thou had'st in thy lap hundreds of Gautamas and Kanads. *
Heaven itself envied thy profound knowledge.
It then began to think how to bring about thy fall
And gave rise to circumstances which led to feuds and wars.
Thy matchless greatness was destroyed in the battle of Kurukhshetra.

*Guru.*—O Bharat! Is this thy condition? Is this the pitiable condition to which thou hast fallen? True. It is too true, whatever God does He does for the best. It is only the result of our own *Karma*. All this misfortune is due to it. O Bharat! Thy beautiful country is now converted into a house of universal mourning. Every Indian is in misery. God's law of "Rise and Fall" is immutable. The ways of Providence are strange. But now, O Sadhus, let us go into the jungle and burn a *Dhuni* (a smoke-fire over which a Hindu ascetic sits) apart.

*1st Diciple.*—It is proper that every person should take a separate road from this place.

*2nd Disciple.*—Let us separate from each other and work separately.

*3rd Disciple.*—Swami. Where shall we go? Give me some order also.

*4th Disciple.*—I wish I could take up my abode in the Dip Jungle.

*5th Disciple.*—I desire to go to Rikhikesh and live there.

*6th Disciple.*—I wish to go to Bindraban, for there I may find some solace.

---

*Gautama was the founder of the Nyaya and Kanada the Vaisesik systems of philosophy. These two constitute a part of the renowned six schools of Hindu philosophy

*5th Disciple.*—Very well, Sir.

*Guru.*—But, Sadhus, let us sing a song in praise of God before we part and let us bow our heads before our Father, the God of this Universe.

*Disciples.*—As your holiness pleases.

(They all sing a song in praise of God).

*Disciples.*—Farewell, Guruji!

*Guru.*—Farewell!

(Mother Bharat with dishevelled hair enters weeping and falls down at the feet of the Guru and becomes senseless. The Sadhus talk with each other.)

Mother Bharat sings—

On every side there is a new world of grief and sorrow.
There is a tear in my eye and grief and pain in my mind.
My tears have a little relieved the restlessness (of my soul).
And when my weeping ceased a little
My heart became all the more distracted.
The world was so tired with our daily grievances that our wails of mourning came as a relief (lit. happy tidings) to it.

The point of the dagger and the head of the arrow which pierced my heart had so much sympathy with me that they remained sticking to it.

*Guru.*—O thou broken-hearted one! Hold up thy head and tell us thy story. His (God's) will be done and thou wilt gain thy object.

*Mother Bharat.*—My heart as well as my mind have become a prey to sorrow. I am not acquainted even with the name of comfort and I have naught but sorrow in me.

Grief has overtaken me and I am involved in sorrow. Sorrow is made for me and I for sorrow.

Those who hear of my condition are also overcome with grief.

*Guru.*—O Mother! Raise up thy head. Do not make us weep any more.

(Mother Bharat holds up her head and the Guru and also the Sadhus stand up in a state of bewilderment).

*Guru.*—What is written on her forehead? She is Mother Bharat!

*Mother Bharat.*—True, if my name had not been written on my forehead, I would not have fallen a prey to these misfortunes.

The writer of destiny has written on my forehead.

The records of deeds are written also on my forehead.

I am unfortunate and am the mother of thirty crores of Indians, but I am suffering from innumerable troubles and am in a miserable state. O thou Incarnation! Consider my condition, and do something for the betterment of my lot.

God knows on what inauspicious moment
This wretched body received life.

So long as the world endures I am constantly overtaken by grief and sorrow.

Even if I go to the next world I do not find any comfort, for I am constantly haunted by the fear of the Day of Judgment. And (so) my soul is not at rest even though it leaves the body.

*Guru.*—Mother, have patience. Your difficulties are coming to an end. Bharat is about to be illuminated with happiness.

Calcutta Anarchists.

3. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 25th May 1908, describes the doings of Anarchists and Nihilists in Europe, and remarks that the revolutionary boys of Bengal can under no circumstances be considered as anarchists because they do not desire the subversion of law and order as European Anarchists do although their conduct may lead to disorder and confusion. It is worth considering whether these boys were actuated by bad motives in resorting to bomb-throwing. There is no doubt that Khudi Ram and Dinesh desired to kill Mr. Kingsford, but had they any enmity with him? No, they had as much enmity with Mr. Kingsford as the latter had with those whom he severely punished. Mr. Kingsford punished some persons severely under the impression that he would benefit the public thereby, because the latter had attempted to disturb the public peace. Similarly Khudi Ram and Dinesh considered it their duty to punish Mr. Kingsford, whom they considered to be an oppressor. If it be said that Khudi Ram was guilty of murder, cowardice, and of using infernal weapons, the revolutionists can reply that every ruler who oppresses the people and sends men to the gallows is also guilty of the same crime. It may be said that Khudi Ram is a fiend because he killed two innocent ladies. It is true; but will a Judge be considered a fiend if by mistake he sentences an innocent person to be hanged who has been sent up for trial by the police wittingly or unwittingly? Is it not possible that at least 25 per cent. of innocent persons are sentenced to be hanged by the authorities? Are not 75 per cent. of innocent persons punished by the authorities? The authorities are not omniscient, and it is quite possible that they may be led astray by evidence and records of this case. But are such authorities punished by the public for punishing innocent persons? Mrs. Kennedy was killed by mistake, inasmuch as Khudi Ram had no intention of killing her, for he merely wanted to kill Mr. Kingsford. If therefore the authorities are not punished for their mistakes, Khudi Ram also deserves to be forgiven for his crime. The question now remains, was Mr. Kingsford really deserving of the punishment which Khudi Ram wished to inflict on him, and what right had Khudi Ram to punish him? Mr. Kingsford considered some boys deserving of severe punishment, but neither the public nor Khudi Ram approved of it. Thus Mr. Kingsford was regarded as deserving of punishment. But Khudi Ram was weak and hence he adopted a method of carrying out his intentions which he considered to be quite proper. Mr. Kingsford, on the other hand, is powerful and does not care the slightest for the means which he adopts to carry out his object, whether the object be just or not. The fight here is unequal because it is a fight between a strong and a weak person. The weak has the right to use any kind of weapon with which to fight his adversary. If Khudi Ram resorted to bomb-throwing because he found himself weak, Mr. Kingsford's kith and kin used explosives far more terrible than bombs in fighting with people on the frontier, who are in every way weaker than they. If a stronger person is justified in using more deadly weapons (than his opponent has got), why is a weak person like Khudi Ram considered guilty in using bombs? Again, if it be an act of cowardice and meanness on the part of Khudi Ram to throw bombs at Mr. Kingsford, it is no bravery on the part of the authorities to send cannons and machine guns to the frontier. Moreover, it is argued that Khudi Ram was cowardly and mean because he used his weapon against a powerful person, and yet the authorities,

who are more powerful than the Mohmands, are using cannon against the latter because they are considered rebels and dacoits for trying to defend their homes, liberty and families.

Again, there is a great difference between the revolutionists of Europe and America, and of India. The European revolutionists demand a radical change in the methods of administration at once, but the Indian revolutionists merely desire justice and a restoration of their rights. Two years ago the Indians desired that the partition of Bengal should not be effected, and that natives should be given a larger share in higher appointments and in the administration of their country. Their demands were very reasonable, but the authorities paid no heed to them, and when they found that the agitation grew in intensity they desired to suppress it by means of repression. In this way the authorities sat on the safety-valve with the result that the boiler burst and led to serious consequences. But the strange thing is that the authorities still suggest repressive measures as a means of putting an end to the unrest that prevails in the country, and regard all those who suggest that the people should by conciliated by justice and sympathy as enemies of Government. These people unfortunately do not see that these are the blunders which have caused intense disappointment in the country and which have resulted in the bitter state of feeling and unrest which has led to the commission of dastardly deeds. It can be boldly asserted that the present unrest is entirely due to the doings of some short-sighted officials and the writings in the Anglo-Indian press, which have exasperated the people and made them reckless. The authorities should remember that Indians are still loyal to the British Government as they were formerly, when they conquered India for the British people and did not feel the least scruple in cutting the throats of their countrymen for the sake of the English. Let the authorities award justice in all cases between Englishmen and natives, let them deal with the people courteously and sympathetically, and let them consult the representatives of the Indian people in enacting laws for the country, then all the unrest in the country will cease. The authorities should remember that if they do this, they need not fear political agitators, native newspapers, bomb-makers or the seditionists in whatever way they may try to injure Government. It is no sign of weakness in Government to redress the grievances of the people. Government really gains and does not lose in prestige by making concessions in accordance with the will of the people.

**Calcutta Anarchists.**

4. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 25th May 1908, remarks that the Muzaffarpur outrage case came up for hearing the other day before the District Magistrate of Muzaffarpur. Khudi Ram was brought into court under Police custody. He showed wonderful firmness in court and went on playing on the bench on which he was sitting, quite indifferent to what was going on. It appears from the newspapers of Calcutta that the accused connected with the bomb conspiracy are being grossly tortured in the Jail. It is alleged that nails are driven into their bodies, their feet and the tips of the finger are pieced with needless, and that they are subjected to shocks from an electric battery. If this is true, what difference is there between the British and the Russian methods of Governments ?

5. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 10th May 1908, writing about the recent bomb outrage at Muzaffarpur, says that the killing of two innocent ladies was a most dastardly act. After remarking that although both extremists and moderates solemnly disavow all connection with the Anarchists, they charge each other with disloyalty. The honest opinion of the Editor is that the present unrest is solely attributable to oppression. There is a long list of acts of highhandedness with which the English stand charged. Indians are kicked to death by Europeans, but no notice is taken of their conduct. Ship-loads of gold and silver are being daily exported to England, but the English people are still crying out for more money. The children of the soil are forced to be content with posts as peons, though even these are held to be too good for them. Their forefathers, their prophets and religious leaders are branded as cheats and impostors; petty offences are most severely punished; boys are flogged and hundreds of Editors and Proprietors of vernacular newspapers are sent to Jail, but still their oppressors are not satisfied, and the result is that the country is in a state of anarchy. The Editor then goes on to say that wherever and whenever the people are oppressed they invariably rise against their oppressors. A general awakening has of late been noticed among Indians, and consequently it is not to be wondered at if the smallest sign of alarm puts them on their guard. The Editor then asks Government whether it would have lost anything by cancelling the partition of Bengal. Would the cancellation have created more restlessness than is to be seen now-a-days? He ridicules the adoption of the repressive measures urged by the *Pioneer* and the *Asian*, and says that if Government follows the advice given and punishes the accused with exceptional severity it will creat a great revulsion in public feeling. The best plan therefore will be to temper justice with mercy in passing sentence and to keep the culprits under close surveillance after the expiration of their terms. In this way they will be prevented from doing mischief in future, and the people who already abhor their deeds will shun their company and look upon them as pests of society. In short, if Government wishes to acquire popularity it should not be slow to listen to the complaints of the people and redress wrongs by making good laws.

Calcutta Anarchists.

6. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 23rd May 1908, referring to the letter alleged to have been received by the *Englishman* from "a Revolutionist," remarks that every well-wisher of the country will be sorry to read the contents of the letter. There can, however, be no doubt that the policy of repression adopted by Government is alone responsible for causing the people to resort to violent deeds—a people who are naturally loyal and law-abiding. It is therefore high time that the authorities gave up the policy of repression and governed the country for the benefit of the people, so as to put an end to the unrest prevailing in the country.

Calcutta Anarchists.

7. The *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar* (Rewari), of the 24th May 1908, after remarking that it is only under an oppressive and tyrannical Government that people are led to resort to bombs, asks how is it that Indians living as they do under the protection of the most civilised Government in the world

Calcutta Anarchists.

have adopted such diabolical methods? European civilisation and a European system of education, says the paper, are responsible for this evil. The Bengalis have imitated these brutal methods from their European masters, but their miserable failure in the Muzaffarpur affair shows that they are not adepts even in the art of imitation. Even the commission of evil requires skill. Moreover, they have not the common sense to foresee that the British cannot be expelled from India by the killing of one or two, or even fifty persons. The paper then goes on to say that Government would doubtless be justified in passing heavy sentences against the accused, but it should at the same time make a searching enquiry as to the causes of the present discontent. There can be no denying the fact that the partition of Bengal is responsible for all the unrest prevailing in the country. The authorities have, however, sought to put an end to the evil by sending Editors to Jail, with the result that so far from quieting the Bengalis they have driven the latter to resort to bombs and dynamite. The Bengalis are an enlightened and peace-loving race, and it is unreasonable to suppose that they have begun to resort to such crime without any cause. It is apparent that they have some grievances which they feel keenly, and if the Government sees its way to redress these grievances, all the unrest will disappear. The Editor therefore urges Government to conciliate the Bengalis by cancelling the partition, and remarks that it is absolutely wrong to say that this concession will detract from the prestige of Government inasmuch as the power of Government is well-known to the people. Repression, he says, will only add fuel to the fire, and will result in lowering Government in the estimation of the world.

Calcutta Anarchists.

8. The *Nazim-ul-Hind* (Lahore), of the 23rd May 1908, deplores the present condition of India and remarks that the bomb outrage at Muzaffarpur and the discovery of a conspiracy in Calcutta will only add to the troubles and misfortunes from which the country is already suffering. After attributing the present unrest and sedition to boycott, *Swadeshi* and *Swaraj* agitations, the paper urges Government to enquire into the causes which have led the Bengalis to resort to anarchism, and take steps to remedy the evil. It then takes to task those who have resorted to the manufacture of bombs, and remarks that a great Government like the British is not likely to be frightened by childish acts of a few wild youths.

The Bomb outrage in Bengal.

9. The following is from the English Supplement to the *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 29th May 1908 :—

"The curtain has risen on the Second Act of the Drama of the Bombs in Bengal. The first glare of the foot-lights had revealed the arrest of the bomb-thrower, the self-immolation of his plucky colleague before any disclosure could pass out of his lips, and a view of the Revolutionists in their dens and the wonderful confessions of a band of thirty-three youths, some of them the flower of the nation. The seizure and acquittal of two innocent boys in Sanyasi dress who were run-aways from home of an early morning to meet their spiritual Guru across the Ganges and their profound reverence for the Teacher, expressing itself in the lowly bowing down of the head each time that the Guru's name was mentioned, added intensely to the histrionic effect of the whole scene.

"The first act ended with the wending of the prison vans prisonwards. The *dramatis personæ* were numerous in it. There was the villain, the despicable spy in the garb of a friend that betrayed, the surprised sister and wife, the cool culprits, the

newspaper police and a host of others. The principal characters were praised by some for their heroic unselfishness, denounced by most for their crack-brainedness, admired by a few as idealists and abhorred by many as nihilists. However much opinions varied, on one point all agreed, that there was no touch of meanness in them. Grand and lofty they loomed in the simplicity and truthfulness of their avowals.

"The sensational effect of the first view of them is scarcely lessened in Act II,—the scene of their Trial.

"The Picture Shows display "26 accused brought into Court in two prisoners' vans, including Mr. Aurobindo Ghosh, under a strong guard of armed policemen, European sergeants and Police officers.

* * * * * *

"The prisoners, varying in size, complexion, age, education, and intelligence, looked—one and all—bright, cheerful, even smiling, as though conscious of their innocence and come on the stage to play out their assumed *rôles* and not to face the fate to which they were doomed. Calm resignation was stamped on their faces, but not defiance.

"Mr. Norton, the Prosecuting Counsel, proved by quoting two instances from English case law that what these Bengal Revolutionists meant to do was to free their country from the thraldom of England. Though to wage war meant in the old days the collection of a large number of persons more or less in the nature of an army, and if it fell short of that it fell short of war, yet this defence could not stand in view of the changed conditions, inasmuch as by the advance of science a few persons could accomplish what was formerly required to be done by a large number of persons, and it was therefore waging war if two or three or a definite number of persons instead of forming themselves into regiments, equipped themselves with arms of precision or used deadly missiles which the advance of chemical science made it possible for them to utilise.

* * * * * * *

"So according to the Government view of the prosecution after the Battle of Plassay this is the first battle fought on Bengal soil, and is the second war of Independence in India.

"Thus the stain of 'murder' and 'crime' is wiped off the faces of these youths. They are stalwart warriors for whom destiny true to its hour had reserved the glory of the gallows or the transports of transportation."

10. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 6th June 1908 :—

The bomb outrage in Bengal.

"The bomb outrage and the revelations that have followed since have thrown a sidelight on the effects of the Risely Circular and the State system of education with its mechanical examinations and unreasonable failures. If it is the function of a properly conducted education to draw out the best in a youth, surely the conversion of so many bright and intelligent young souls into bomb-makers carries its own condemnation. There can be no gainsaying the fact that amongst the so-called bomb-manufacturers who are undergoing their trial at Calcutta there are not a few who are possessed of the highest intelligence and of a sublime spirit of sacrifice. If a man's character and intelligence are to be judged by his devoted application to the task before him, whether the same is right or wrong, criminal or not criminal, surely these men have given evidences of possessing such a character. Without the slightest flaw in their moral character, with the fullest consciousness that their work was likely to receive no commendation or approval from any class of their countrymen, with the certainty of death staring in their faces as soon as they were discovered, these young men displayed an amount of intelligence and devotion to their cause which, if employed in lawful pursuits, was sure to bring them into prominence in any walk of life that they might have chosen for themselves. What then turned them into desperadoes is the natural question that arises in the train of the above-mentioned thoughts? It is impossible to throw aside

the suspicion that the Risely Circular and the expulsion orders of Jingo educationists have played their own part in the genesis of bomb-making in India. It should always be borne in mind that a dull and an indifferent student never takes anything seriously, not even his expulsions and failures. But the consciousness of an undeserved failure or punishment only goads the bright and intelligent youth to desperation. The history of Nihilism in Russia also shows that the vast majority of its leaders and supporters, both male and female, have come from the ranks of the brightest products of the Universities of Russia. The University Professor, who in the pursuit of an imperial policy decrees the expulsion of a student for speaking an unpalatable truth or for giving expression to opinions which the Professor cannot approve of, on political grounds, fails to realize the far-reaching consequences of his non-academic acts of repression. In his newly assumed garb of the guardian of imperial interests in schools and colleges he forgets all what he has read on the philosophy of education, and ignoring human nature wants to produce loyal subjects by a process which is calculated to bring about just the opposite result. Loyalty is a function of the heart and cannot be artificially produced by the rod. Unjust treatment and uncalled-for repression are just the things to nip it in the bud, and the British administration in India knows no greater enemy to the stability of the Empire than those European masters and professors who assume the *rôle* of inquisitors in their relations with their pupils. It is time, therefore, that in the interests of good Government the Risely Circular should be withdrawn, and confidential instructions may be issued to Europeans masters and professors in schools and colleges to give up prying into the secrets of their pupils, to cease using the rod or the power of expulsion, and to substitute love and sympathy for the harshness and cruelty which goes by the name of Discipline. An educationist who does not inspire love and esteem by his masterly control over the hearts of his pupils is only the caricature of a teacher and does not deserve to fill up that position. His proper place is either in the police or in the jail. Boys are boys all over the world and require considerate treatment. The master who treats them as hardened criminals only facilitates their early and premature conversion into the same. Such a teacher is an enemy to society and does not deserve the sacred office of a tutor."

The present policy of Government.

11. The *Raghbir Patrika* (Jhang), for May 1908, says that according to Manu the best King is he who administers even-handed justice among all classes of his subjects. A king who acts differently is permitted to rule for a short time only. Such a ruler can never sleep soundly inasmuch as his guilty conscience always keeps smiting him. The same is the case, says the journal, with the British authorities in India who do not trust the people and do not accord equal treatment to all classes of their subjects. As an instance in point, the writer states that the other day a Muhammadan mob roughly treated the Bengalis in Eastern Bengal at the instigation of the authorities. Recently the Commissioner of the Dacca Division informed Nawab Salimullah of Dacca that he could not keep his promise to fill up vacancies in public offices under his control with Muhammadans simply because he could not obtain efficient Muhammadans for the purpose. It is this partiality shown to one section of the community which has led the Bengalis to resort to bombs. Although all the conspirators have been arrested, yet they have not lost their courage. There may be few rebels to-day, but their number will soon increase and they will come forward boldly to lay down their lives. In conclusion, the writer protests his loyalty to Government and requests it to give up its policy of repression because a subject people can only be won over by love.

The present situation and the Anglo-Indian newspapers.

12. The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 23rd May 1908, remarks that Government should not be led by the nose by the Anglo-Indian papers which are always bent on injuring the interests of the Indians. It is the Anglo-Indian

journals, says the paper, which are to a large extent, if not wholly, responsible for the present unrest in the country. Government also is partly responsible, seeing that for some time past it has been deliberately sacrificing the interests of the country and paying no heed to the legitimate aspirations of the native educated community. It has been bestowing all high posts upon Europeans, without regard for the claims of the Indian community. For instance, Mr. Gupta, the senior member of the Board of Revenue in Bengal, was in every way eligible for the appointment of Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, but he was not appointed simply because he was a Bengali. The Editor and the Proprietor of the *Panjabee* were sent to jail under section 153 A., Indian Penal Code, for promoting racial hatred between natives and Europeans, but not a word of sensure was passed upon the virulent writings of the *Civil and Military Gazette*, which grossly abused natives. It is this invidious distinction between natives and Europeans which is greatly intensifying the present unrest in the country. Moreover, the treatment which Anglo-Indian officials accord natives, however respectable, is in no small degree responsible for the present unrest in the country and hence it deserves to be condemned by all right-thinking persons.

The present situation of the country.

13. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 25th May 1908, publishes a communication from one Hukam Singh, who remarks that every Indian is practically an enemy of his country. Even those newspapers which proclaim their love for the country from the house-tops do not feel the least scruple in injuring the country whenever they obtain an opportunity to do so. Two ladies belonging to a country far beyond the seas met with an accident and died and the whole country went into mourning. But thousands of Indians died owing to the earthquake in Kangra and many died like dogs in the recent fight with the Mohmands, yet the people have not expressed the least sympathy with them. Is it not shameful? They feel sympathy for persons who die a natural death, but have no sympathy for their own countrymen, who according to the *Bharat Mitra* (Calcutta) are being tortured by iron nails being driven into their bodies, in spite of the fact that Lord Morley assured the people that political prisoners should be dealt with leniently. The bomb-makers committed an unjustifiable crime, but their motives were good inasmuch as they desired to save their countrymen. If the means they adopted for the attainment of their desire cannot commend itself to the people, they should try to bring them round to the right path instead of calling them mad as the *Hindustan* has done. Khudi Ram did not desire to kill the ladies and their death was purely due to an accident. Are not many Indians shot by Europeans by mistake?

The present situation of the country.

14. The *Rajput Gazette* (Lahore), of the 24th May 1908, ascribes the present feeling of unrest in the country to the repressive policy of Government. It regrets the manner in which the British Government ignores the demands and wishes of the Indian people, and deprecates the policy under which Government is forced to subsidise the Amir of Afghanistan and the frontier tribes instead of depending on the patriotism and loyalty of the people.

In conclusion it urges the authorities to adopt a more sympathetic treatment towards their native subjects.

15. The *Raghbir Patrika* (Jhang), for May 1908, remarks that the people have sent deputations to Government; they have passed resolutions and submitted memorials praying for the redress of their grievances, but without result. Yet the people are so shameless that they still continue their mendicant policy. Is it possible that the English will leave India, which they have acquired after so much trouble? It is idle to expect them to voluntarily grant political rights and concessions to the Indian people. The latter should therefore be up and doing and learn how to stand on their own legs. They should replace British courts by their own panchayats and foster and develop indigenous arts and industries by supporting *Swadeshi*. They should also establish national colleges and try to improve the productive power of the soil.

Government and the people.

16. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 29th May 1908, says that Sardar Kishan Singh, brother of Sardar Ajit Singh, who is undergoing rigorous imprisonment in jail, has refused to avail himself of the concession offered him in the shape of the commutation of his sentence from rigorous to simple imprisonment. This circumstance, says the Editor, shows that the public have lost all fear of any form of imprisonment. Nor is this all. Death itself has lost its terrors. This is due to the fact that Government has of late turned a deaf ear to the grievances of the people.

Government and the people.

17. The *Aftab* (Lahore), of the 16th May 1908, says that according to the *Observer* the Musalmans have scrupulously abstained in the past from participating in political agitation, and are determined more than ever to adhere to that policy in future. But how is it, asks the Editor, that in spite of their silence they enjoy equal rights and privileges with their other countrymen? Is it not a fact that while the Hindus are trying manfully to protect the rights they possess and regain those they have lost, the Musalmans benefit by the privileges and concessions which the former acquire after much exertion? The present position of Indian Musalmans may be compared to a people who send away their more manly and courageous members to fight in foreign lands and themselves stay at home, but who are ready to share the spoils of victory. In the same way the Hindus bear the brunt of the battle. It is they who are being imprisoned, flogged and deported, but the moment any concessions are made the Musalmans will benefit by them to the same extent as the Hindus. There is another reason too why the Musalmans are benefitting from their present policy. It is well known that the English are determined to keep their hold on India at all costs. And were they to deprive their Musalman subjects of the concessions which the Hindus acquire by means of agitation, the former would naturally feel discontented and might raise an outcry. The Musalmans should remember that they are indebted for the favours they are receiving to the exertions of their fellow-countrymen and not to their own policy of inaction. Indeed, it is possible, if the present state of things continues, that Government may take special pains to propitiate the Musalmans in order to frustrate the patriotic efforts of Hindus. If India contained but one nation like Egypt, such tactics would have been of no avail, for all Indians would have stood up as one man to depend their national rights. The Editor then challenges the *Observer* to mention any single instance of a nation willingly conceding rights to another. After

Muhammadans and politics.

remarking that the English are not likely to prove themselves an exception, he reminds his co-religionists of the Crusades and of the impossibility of Islam and Christianity joining hands together. He then ridicules the policy of the newly-formed Muslim League, and says that the sole object of its formation is to hoodwink the public and flatter the authorities in order to secure comfortable berths for some of its principal members. Among its great achievements may be mentioned the congratulatory meetings held on the occasion of the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai. But are the members of the League aware what the Lala is doing in the present famine for destitute Musalman men and women? If the Lahore Barristers who exulted during the troubles of Lajpat Rai possess any fellow-feeling and are not simply angling for a seat on the Bench of the Chief Court, they should not be slow to avail themselves of the present opportunity to help their famine-stricken co-religionists in different parts of the country. As to the policy of moderation advocated by the *Observer*, it will be sufficient to remind the Editor of that paper that the Hindus were also at first of the same mind, as is apparent from their attitude before the partition of Bengal. But when the tyrranical rulers turned a deaf ear to every reasonable prayer, they were forced into their present attitude. The Editor concludes by remarking that should the Muslim League continue to exist for half a dozen years longer to go through the same experience that other political organisations have suffered, he will be greatly surprised if its members do not adopt the extremist propaganda.

## VII.—General Administration.

### *(a).—Judicial.*

Invidious distinction between Europeans and natives in Indian Courts.

18. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 23rd May 1908, remarks that the other day a European beat a native at Madras so mercilessly that the poor fellow died, simply because he had been obliged to stop his motor car as the native was in the way. When the case was sent up to court the European was only fined Rs. 15. Is it not unjust, asks the paper, that a native should be sent to jail for even touching a European, and yet a European should only be fined Rs. 15 for killing a native? Are not such decisions a blot on the British administration of justice? The Magistrates sentence natives to long terms of imprisonment in order to relieve them of their distress because they know that the latter are poor, and sentence Europeans to a nominal fine because they are rich.

### *(d)—Education.*

19. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 6th June 1908 :—

The constitution of the Khalsa College.

"The *Khalsa Advocate*, while discussing the new Constitution of the Khalsa College, has been indulging in a good deal of outspokenness. In its leader on the subject published in its issue of the 30th May it observes rather significantly that *'Loyalty cannot be manufactured by coercion or force. It is the spontaneous outcome of sympathy. Let this be understood clearly once for all.'* The italics are in the original. The pronouncement is sufficiently candid and deserves the careful consideration of the authorities. It is idle to brush it aside as the vapourings of a few misguided English-educated youths, having no influence in the community, as the feeling which it voices is deep-rooted and genuine. The Khalsa plays an important part in the Empire. Well may his English-educated son enquire what is the Empire doing for him in India or outside it? As we

have already remarked, the action of the Government in the matter of the Khalsa College is most unfortunate, but it rests with the Khalsa young men to change it into a blessing. Considered from a national point of view, an opportunity like this ought to be accepted as God-sent. It puts the workers on their mettle and ought to bring out the best in them. The education of the Khalsa is a question of the greatest importance to the *panth* as well as to the nation at large. Now that the educated Khalsa have been thrown on their resources, we will beg of them to throw off their tutelage and take the work of educating their people in their own hands. Let them not look to the Sikh Chiefs as they are hardly masters of themselves. The Sikh religion is nothing if not democratic in its spirit. Let the leaders of the young party in the Khalsa place their hopes in the people. It is only then that their labours will fructify and bring out the desired result. Among the Khalsas, the most important community is that of the Jats, and we wish a number of Khalsa young men were to consecrate their lives for the education of their Jat brethren. In their anxiety to keep the military classes of the Punjab in their blessed state of ignorance, the Government is not favourably inclined to extend primary education and to make it free. The other day Lord Morley gave expression to this view in almost so many words in his conversation with an Indian which the latter has since published in the Press. We have otherwise also good reason to believe that the scheme for free Primary education is not likely to be adopted because of the fear of education making the military classes discontented. It comes to this: Education is a necessity for every son of man, because it enables him to fight out the battle of life successfully, but as it is likely to create in military classes of India a desire for bettering their condition, it is pernicious for them. The only fitting reply to this would be to concentrate all our energies on the education of the Punjab peasantry, but we know that this cannot be done as our divisions and dissensions stand in the way. Here, however, is a chance for patriotic Khalsas to put their shoulder to the wheel in right earnest, give up the Khalsa College as lost and devote their energies and talents to the spread of education amongst the Khalsas throughout the Province."

### *(c)—Agriculture and questions affecting the land.*

20. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 6th June 1908 :—

The famine.

"In our last issue we published a contribution from a valued correspondent giving a harassing account of the distress in the Kangra District and the exacting demands of the land revenue collectors, who pay not the slightest regard to the difficulties of the people. A similar tale is told by another esteemed friend from Gurdaspur, where the District Hazoor is said to have deputed some fat-salaried Extra Assistant Commissioners to the aid of naib tahsildars in order to expedite, by means above or below reproach, the work of realising the land revenue. The scarcity throughout the Kangra District is unprecedented. Even in the famous *chaila* drought and the great famine of 1899 the rates of cereals did not run up so high there. To-day grain sells at dearer prices at Kangra—and the remoter the place from the plains the higher the value—than in Lahore and elsewhere. It will be no exaggeration to say that the distress in Kangra is the severest of all districts in the Punjab. The Government have not yet done anything to alleviate the distress. The Arya Samaj alone, through the instrumentality of Rai Bahadur Bakhshi Sohan Lal and others, has made some efforts to help the poor population, but for aught we know with the funds at their disposal they will not, we fear, be able to relieve even a fraction of the people's miseries. * * * * The population being mainly agricultural, under the circumstances the Government alone can, if they desire, remove many of its difficulties. But from past experience of bureaucratic methods we very much doubt if the authorities will even go to the length of remitting the land revenue due for the crops that have totally failed. Yet there are some people who fondly believe that it all depends upon the idiosyncracies of a Deputy Commissioner. To them we should like to quote the following instructive passages from the 'Gujrat and Gujratis' of Mr. Behramji Malabari, a writer

whom even a Jingo would not dare to class in the Dutt-Digby school of Indian politics:—

"'A REMARKABLE OFFICIAL DOCUMENT.

"'*From the Collector to the Revenue Commissioner, N. D.*

"'SIR,—Looking at the widespread misery of the ryots, their distressing past and hopeless future, I respectfully submit their arrears be remitted them, or at least the payment deferred till better times—I have the honour to be etc. etc.

"'*From the Commissioner, N. D., to the Collector, Memo.* 2,085,677 *of February* 1877.

"'The undersigned read the Collector's insane letter with pity and disgust; and has done his duty by forwarding the same to head-quarters. Undersigned is afraid the Collector will have to pass a bad half hour with His Excellency, but it will serve him right.

"'*From Chief Secretary to Government, to*_____*Esq., Collector,*_____.

"'SIR,—Your strange communication, forwarded by the Commissioner of your Division, has excited much amusement. His Excellency in Council vows and declares such unpatriotic proceeding on your part is highly reprehensible. But in consideration of your past meritorious services, your folly is forgiven; should you, however, repeat it, His Excellency will be forced to make an example of you. If you have so much sentiment about you, why don't you resign? You will have a crust of bread for your old age.

I am Sir, Yours, etc.

"'*Memo.*—Whereas a certain District Revenue official (name withheld out of consideration for service) has dared to suggest the remission of our just and lawful dues, it is hereby notified for the general information of the whole Civil Service that His Excellency will visit with utmost displeasure any such weakness, which may lead at any time, but for the vigilance of the Police, to gross crimes, such as riot, burglary, dacoity and murder, and ultimately tarnish the fair fame of Britain. Times change and with them must we. The people may die, that is the only means to the salvation of this conquered land. They may starve, languish, sell their childern, or eat them. That is no concern of such High-minded Christian rulers as we are. We *must look to the remote future.* There we descry hordes of Afghans and Cossacks overrunning the fair fields of Cashmere. (Is not he our neighbour? And what is our duty by our neighbour?). And would it be Christian of us to rest before we have made a trans-Himlayan tramway, and till we taken our formidable future foes home to Afghanistan and Siberia, wash the one and put the other to bed? Think over these complications before you talk of remission and this and that remedy.'"

## (*f*)—*Railways and Communications.*

21. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 3rd June 1908:—

Railway complaint.

"AN INVIDIOUS DISTINCTION.

"For some time past complaints have been rife that an extremely invidious, if not grossly insulting, distinction was being maintained, it is of course impossible to say under whose orders, the net result of which was that brand new first and second class cars with improved arrangements of fans and lighting were being labelled for 'European gentlemen,' while 'Indian gentlemen' were being relegated to old, antiquated carriages with the old arrangements. The irritation and heart-burning caused by such a procedure to Indian gentlemen of the highest ranks of society can better be imagined than described, while in this hot and grilling weather it is little-short of outrageous to condemn men who pay the same fare to carriages where they can sit and brood over the heartlessness and cruelty of an arrangement that would perpetuate in India itself a system that has been condemned as barbarous and inhuman in Transvaal. No sane or self-respecting Indian would hesitate to extend his approval, willing and heartfelt, to any rules that may direct

the running of separate carriages or compartments for Europeans and Indians, and however regrettable the cleavage may be, the general sense is that it would be an improvement, as well as more convenient to the Indians at all events, as they will not have to maintain a certain special code of etiquette towards other passengers that may be travelling in the same compartment and may feel perfectly at home. But that under cover of such an arrangement, additional comforts are to be provided for Europeans, while the sons of the soil are to be deprived of being able to participate in the extra comforts and conveniences that may be provided from time to time, is an idea that will not meet with anything but strong and undisguised disapproval, and will evoke a united protest from all sections of the Indian community, who may, if necessary, do well to discontinue travelling in the 'higher' classes as a protest against a studied discourtesy and insult of this kind. In the meantime an incident has occurred at Karachi in which an educated and enlightened Indian, a B.A., LL. B. and Pleader of Hyderabad has given notice to the administration of the North-Western Railway to apologise and tender a sum of Rs. 1,000 as compensation for the pain of mind caused to him, failing which a suit will be filed against the Railway.

"THE KARACHI INCIDENT.

"The following notice, which has appeared in the columns of our Karachi contemporary of the *Phœnix* speaks for itself:—

"*To the Manager, North-Western Railway, Lahore,—No.* 170 *of* 1908—
*Karachi, 28th May* 1908.

"Sir,—On behalf of Mr. Mathradas Ramchand, B.A., LL. B. Pleader of Hyderabad, Sind, we beg to give notice of his claim against the Railway which arose under the following circumstances.

"Mr. Mathradas was travelling from Karachi City to Hyderabad by 7 Up Punjab Mail on Monday the 25th instant by the Second Class under ticket No. 7790. He got into a Second Class compartment No. 182, but was required by the Station Master of City Station to leave that compartment which he stated was reserved for Europeans and go into another which was reserved for Indians. Mr. Mathradas declined to do so, as there was no provision of law under which he could be required to do so. Thereupon he was allowed to proceed as far as the Karachi Cantonment Station, where again he was required to leave the compartment in which he had taken his seat. On his declining to do so, a European Police Constable was called in, who, on being furnished with a written authority from the Station Master of the Karachi Cantonment Station, removed Mr. Mathradas' luggage from the compartment he was occupying and compelled him to leave it and to go to another. As this action of your subordinates was wholly unauthorized and illegal (*vide* section 42, sub-clause 2, Railway Act IX of 1890) and amounted to a criminal offence of wrongful restraint under the Indian Penal Code, we have to call upon the Railway Administration of North-Western Railway to apologize to Mr. Mathradas and to tender him a sum of Rs. 1,000 as compensation for the pain of mind caused to him, failing which we have instructions to file a suit against your Railway, within the period allowed by law."

We beg to remain,
SIR,
Your most Obedient Servants,
HARCHANDRAI AND ISARSING,
*Pleaders.*

(*h*)—*Miscellaneous.*

The newspapers.

22. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 25th May 1908, publishes a communication from Sufi Amba Pershad, who dwells on the usefulness of newspapers, and says that in some future issue he will trace the history of the press

in England from the earliest times to the present and describe its growth in India. The Sufi also promises to describe the hardships which the press had to encounter on its onward march to progress in order to impress on the minds of those engaged in journalism in India that they must not allow themselves to be frightened by the prosecutions launched by the Government inasmuch as their teachers, the English newspapers, also had to pass through the same ordeal.

F. ISEMONGER,

*Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*
*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

SIMLA :
*The 6th June* 1908.

Punjab Government Branch Press Simla—18-6-08—66—95.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 24. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 14th June 1908.**

---

## CONTENTS.


Page.

I.—POLITICS.

(a)—*Foreign*—

*Nil.*

(b)—*Home*—

1. Calcutta Anarchists (*Aftab*) ... ... ... 337
2. Calcutta Anarchists (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... *ib.*
3. Calcutta Anarchists (*Army News*) ... ... 338
4. Calcutta Anarchists (*Wafadar*) ... ... *ib.*
5. Sedition in India (*Hindustan*) ... ... *ib.*
6. The Rulers and the Ruled (*Akhbar-i-'Am*) ... 339
7. Indians and Swaraj (*Aftab*) ... ... ... 340

II.—AFGHANISTAN AND TRANS-FRONTIER.

8. The Mohmand Expedition (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 340
9. The Mohmand Expedition (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... *ib.*

III.—NATIVE STATES.

*Nil.*

IV.—KINE-KILLING.

*Nil.*

V.—NATIVE SOCIETIES AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

10. The Parasnath Hill affair (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 341

VI.—LEGISLATION.

11. The Press Act (*Punjab Samachar*) ... ... 341
12. The Press Act (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... 342
13. The Explosives Bill and the Newspaper Bill (*Panjabee*) ... ... ... ... *ib.*
14. The Explosives Bill and the Newspaper Bill (*Tribune*) ... ... ... ... 343
15. The Explosives and Press Acts (*Observer*) ... 345
16. The Explosives and Press Acts (*Panjabee*) ... *ib.*

Page.

VII.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

(a)—*Judicial*—

*Nil.*

(b)—*Police*—

17. The Police (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... ... 347
18. The Secret Police (*Hindustan*) ... ... *ib.*

(c)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs*—

*Nil.*

(d)—*Education*—

*Nil.*

(e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land*—

*Nil.*

(f)—*Railways and Communications*—

19. European and Native passengers in Indian Railways (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... ... ... 348
20. A Railway grievance (*Tribune*) ... ... *ib.*
21. A Railway grievance (*Tribune*) ... ... *ib.*
22. A Railway grievance (*Tribune*) ... ... 349

(g)—*Postal matters*—

*Nil.*

(h)—*Miscellaneous*—

23. The treatment of natives at the hands of Europeans (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... ... ... 350
24. Fund in aid of Pindi Das (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... *ib.*

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 24 ]

# SELECTIONS
FROM THE
# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS
## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 14th June 1908.**

---

### I.—Politics.

### (*b*)—*Home.*

Calcutta Anarchists.

1. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 24th May 1908, says that the recent bomb outrages have created a feeling of alarm both among the English and Natives. The former are strongly advocating a policy of repression, while the latter suggest that the people should be conciliated by the granting of some substantial concessions. The Editor is, however, of opinion that neither repression nor concession can mend matters at this stage. In his opinion the grant of *Swaraj* alone can remove the present discontent, and prove a panacea for the various evils that are perplexing politicians. How is it possible, adds he, for a foreign people to rule over a country and take nothing in return ? Who can believe that an alien Government is solicitous of promoting concord between the various sections of its subjects, when they know that the policy of divide and rule is more to their interest. It is but natural that every one should look to his own interests, and no one but an arrant fool would care to allow others to share the good things he is enjoying. After remarking that in the event of *Swaraj* being granted Hindus and Muhammadans will live together like brothers, the Editor points out that this desirable consummation cannot be achieved by means of bombs and bloodshed. Indeed, there can be no greater enemy of the country than one who resorts to these most objectionable weapons. In his opinion the battle of *Swaraj* should be fought by the more peaceful weapons of *Swadeshism* and boycott. The encouragement of *Swadeshi* goods will awaken the country from its lethargy and restore it to strength, while the adoption of the policy of boycott will create a panic in the camp of the enemies. These named weapons require a truly patriotic heart and not the strength of a warrior like Rustam or an Isfandyar to wield.

Calcutta Anarchists.

2. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 30th May 1908, remarks that the bomb incident has not only involved Calcutta and Muzaffarpur in trouble, but the entire province of Bengal. The Police have taken advantage of the occasion to pay off old scores and to wreak vengeance on the people. After remarking how two police detectives lived with the Calcutta Anarchists from the very beginning of the conspiracy and communicated to their superiors all that was going on, the Editor says that it is quite apparent that if the authorities had wished they could have nipped the conspiracy in the bud. They, however, preferred to await the development of events in order to obtain credit from

Government. If the conspiracy had been suppressed at the very beginning, neither would Mrs. and Miss Kennedy have died nor would the whole of Bengal have been involved in trouble. There can be no denying the fact that it is owing to the mean and shameful tactics of the police that the matter has assumed such serious proportions in Bengal.

Calcutta Anarchists.

3. The *Army News* (Ludhiana), of the 30th May 1908, cannot approve of Mr. R. C. Dutt's assertion that Anarchism is the natural result of disappointment caused in the public mind by the manner in which Government delayed the introduction of political reforms, and remarks that it is true that there is considerable discontent among a section of the educated Indian community owing to the cause pointed out by Mr. Dutt, but that at the same time there can be no denying the fact that the unrest and discontent which prevails throughout the length and breadth of the country is in a great measure due to the inability of the people to provide themselves with the necessaries of life. If educated Indians were given more seats on the Advisory and Legislative Councils, it would do no good to the people in general because it would benefit only a few educated people. The Editor therefore exhorts the educated Indians to cease to hanker after political reforms and put their heads together to devise means for saving their countrymen from starvation. The most pressing problem which the Government and the people have to solve is how to stop the export of grain from the country, which causes so much misery among the people. Unless the problem is satisfactorily solved, there is practically no hope of saving the people from falling a prey to famine. If steps were taken to grapple with this problem in a satisfactory manner, and make famine impossible in the country, the unrest which is at present agitating the country would die out of sheer inanition.

Calcutta Anarchists.

4. The *Wafadar* (Lahore), of the 21st May 1908, writing about the bomb outrage, deplores the conduct of the conspirators and remarks that such deeds are the inevitable consequences of the preachings of the National Congress. It is a matter of great regret that the authorities did not deal with the agitators firmly in the beginning, because if this had been done matters would never have reached such a crisis. Moreover, the educational policy of Government is not less to blame for the present state of affairs. Government has educated the people on English lines and has taken no pains to impart moral and religious instruction, with the result that the people have begun to imitate the worst side of European civilisation. It is therefore high time that Government educated Indians on the lines on which the Punjab University was established. It should watch the movements of the people and should deal with them in a manner suited to the exigencies of the situation.

Sedition in India.

5. The *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 29th May 1908, says that of late the Anglo-Indian Press has found it both entertaining and profitable to give currency to imaginary stories of sedition, but now that sedition has actually manifested itself in three of the Provinces of India, this section of the press appears to be taken by surprise. Do not these people know that, just as it happens that a chaste woman who is constantly accused falsely of faithlessness

is apt to be led astray out of pique; so the people who were in season and out of season suspected of disloyalty have at last been compelled to become seditious in despair? The Editor then takes the *Times* to task for complimenting the Governor of Bombay for prosecuting certain Native papers, and asks how is it that the *Thunderer* has forgotten to pay a similar compliment to the Punjab Government. He ironically remarks that no Government deserves to be called a Government that has not a sedition case to deal with everyday. Indeed, the general public cannot test the vaunted good management and justice of Government except in such cases. Nay, he would even go the length of suggesting that these test cases should, for the sake of the good name of Government, be always pending not only in each Province, but in each Court throughout the country. Our Government, adds the Editor, should in no way lag behind Russia. If the other power has punished 48,000 men for sedition in two years, the Indian Government should maintain its reputation by hanging and imprisoning as many *lakhs* within the same period. It reflects great discredit upon the authorities that they have not yet managed to hang 48 men. To make up for their failure they should at once as a beginning institute house searches, and if they fail to find any bombs, they can easily send for some from Bengal, where, by the grace of God, a goodly supply has been recently discovered. If this suggestion is considered impracticable, people who are under suspicion can be implicated by placing squibs in their houses, for since Northern and Western India are already suspected to contain bomb factories, no one will discover the real truth. Government need not have any misgivings as to the success of such tactics, for the Chemical Examiner and the Lower Courts are sure to act in accordance with its bidding. As to writing out a judgment it is as simple as to compose a poem or to write an essay. Who cares about the proper application of the law? A judgment can be written according to one's own will regardless of the facts on record, and since the Judges are not bound to measure or to weigh the term of imprisonment they award, they can pass any sentence they like, for it is the accused and not the Judge who has to serve the sentence. The Editor concludes by remarking that the *Times* is entirely mistaken in thinking that the bomb outrages are the result of oppression; in his opinion they are the result of the administration of justice. The public is at liberty to believe what it likes. Although he has no sympathy with Lord Curzon, Sir Bamfylde Fuller, Sir Andrew Frazer, Mr. Kingsford, the *Times*, the *Englishman*, the *Pioneer* or the *Civil and Military Gazette*, still he thanks them all for their share in the present awakening of the people.

The rulers and the ruled.

6. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* (Lahore), of the 28th May 1908, publishes a communication from one Hari Ram of Gujrat, who refers to the present strained relations between the rulers and the ruled and deplores that some Anglo-Indian newspapers, notably the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore and the *Englishman* of Calcutta, instead of pouring oil over troubled waters when Lala Lajpat Rai was deported did their best to fan the flame of race-hatred between the two communities. These newspapers, however, are being prosecuted for libel, and it is to be hoped that the authorities will see that justice is done in the matter, for if these papers escape scot-free they will continue to abuse Indians worse than before and the gulf between the rulers and the ruled will be still further widened.

7. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 24th May 1908, writing about the lecture delivered by Sarala Devi Chaudhrani at Lahore, remarks that she made a mistake in taking it for granted that Indians are unfit for self-government because they do not possess any political power. The Editor says that he would have endorsed the views expressed by the lecturer if she had made them with the object of shielding her countrymen from cruelty and oppression. But if she really believed what she said regarding Indians, he would advise Sarala Devi Chaudhrani to remain within the four walls of her *zanana* instead of taking up the dangerous *rôle* of a politician. India is preparing herself for something great. It therefore behoves every well-wisher of the country to encourage young men and induce them to perform heroic deeds and to prepare for a life and death struggle instead of endeavouring to dishearten them. The brave deeds and grand achievements of Arjan, Bhim, Ali and Omar are still fresh in the pages of history. If Indians claim to be the descendants and followers of these great men, they should try to prove themselves to be their worthy sons and followers, and fear nothing. As men they are all equals. They ought to cheerfully lay down their lives for the country in order that their countrymen may walk over their breasts to rid the country of the enemy. Their corpses will be used as manure to increase the produce of the fields. And even if they fail in their attempt the bones of their lifeless bodies will prick like thorns into the soles of their enemies and hurl them into the fire (of hell).

Indians and *Swaraj*.

## II.—Afghanistan and Trans-frontier.

8. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 30th May 1908, remarks that practically nothing is known regarding the Mohmand expedition. Some say that the tribesmen have been defeated and that the army has returned home victorious, while others allege that fighting is still going on. This is attributable to the unwillingness of the authorities to publish true information on the subject. Whatever may be the cause, there can be no doubt that fighting is not yet at an end. After referring to the battle of Umrakuli in which the enemy sustained heavy loss, the Editor remarks that some English papers suspect the Amir of helping the enemy, while there are others who say that the Amir is helpless and cannot restrain his army from joining the Mohmands.

The Mohmand expedition.

9. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 4th June 1908, remarks that now that the Mohmand expedition has come to a successful close it is time to ask whether the Mohmands will behave properly in future and will cease to give trouble, or in other words, whether the heavy sacrifice of life and money entailed by the expedition will bring adequate return to the authorities. The authorities are apparently satisfied that the expedition has achieved its object since it has inflicted condign punishment on the tribes. But do the Mohmands admit that they have been routed by the British army? It is difficult to say what is the actual result of the expedition, but there can be no doubt that the best way to deal with the frontier tribes, as is apparent from the late punitive expeditions against the Afridis and Zakka

The Mohmand expedition.

Khels, is to purchase the good-will and co-operation of these hungry tribes by the payment of allowances or by increasing, where necessary, the allowances already given to them. Unless the character of these people undergo a great change, these punitive expeditions are not likely to lead to any substantial result.

## V.—Native Societies and Religious matters.

The Paras Nath Hill affair.

10. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 30th May 1908, regrets that the authorities should be so unmindful of the feelings and sentiments of the people as to ride rough-shod over them in the most flagrant manner in order to carry out a measure on which they have set their hearts. After remarking that the partition of Bengal was effected in the teeth of universal opposition, the Editor refers to the Paras Nath Hill affair, in which the authorities have not had the least scruples in offending the religious feelings of the entire Jain community for the sake of erecting a few bungalows on the hill. As a consequence, great unrest now prevails among the Jains, and they recently held a grand meeting at Rangoon, where they decided to boycott all British goods.

## VI.—Legislation.

The Press Act.

11. The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 30th May 1908, commenting on the *Pioneer's* remarks that a Press law is under the consideration of Government, says that all the Anglo-Indian papers, backed by nearly the whole of the un-official Anglo-Indian community, *e.g.*, the Behar Tea Planters' Association, the Calcutta Anglo-Indian Defence Association, etc., have for some time past been clamouring for an Act to gag the Vernacular Press, and under the circumstances the passing of such a measure may practically be considered a settled fact. It is therefore quite on the cards that in a few months an Act will be passed which will invest Executive Officers with such unlimited powers as will totally destroy the liberty of the Press. There can be no hope that the Act will be repealed in the immediate future. Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act was passed when the Conservative Government was in power and it was repealed subsequently by the Liberal Government which followed. The proposed law, however, will be passed by the Liberal Government, and so there is no likelihood of its being repealed by the Conservative Government, which, true to its traditions, will never consent to the repeal of an Act of which they have already expressed their entire approval. The Act may satisfy some Government officials, but all sensible persons will condemn it because it is likely to increase still further the misunderstanding between the rulers and the ruled, and it will prevent much of the needs and wants of the people from reaching the ears of the authorities. It will moreover drive discontent underground, and may consequently lead some people to resort to violent deeds. The Editor therefore urges Government to give up its present repressive policy and not to have recourse to legislation for the purpose of gagging the Vernacular Press and thus increase the unrest prevailing in the country. He also asks all extremist papers to control their passions and not to give expression to violent thoughts and sentiments which are likely to lead to serious consequences.

12. The *Paisa Akhbar* Lahore), of the 28th May 1908, after quoting an extract from the *Pioneer* regarding gagging the Vernacular Press, remarks that the Anglo-Indian papers hold seditious writings and speeches responsible for the crimes committed in Calcutta. When the Anglo-Indian papers are unanimously clamouring for a gagging Act, and when the authorities are also inclined towards it, there can be no doubt that the measure will soon be passed.

The Press Act.

But the question is whether a Press Act will prove beneficial to Government and the country. Public opinion is that the Act will prove injurious to Government, for when the native newspapers are gagged Government will not be in a position to know the feelings and sentiments of the people, which they at present only learn through the vernacular papers. Even admitting for the sake of argument that some papers have overstepped the bounds of moderation in criticising the action of Government, is it justifiable for Government to gag the entire press among which there are several papers which keep within the bounds of moderation and always have the interests of the country and Government at heart? After remarking that newspapers greatly help to remove misunderstanding between the rulers and the ruled and in keeping the authorities acquainted with the feelings and aspirations of the people, the Editor deplores the conduct of the extremist newspapers and remarks that the *Yugantar* and the *Nawashakti* may feel proud of their achievements in boldly inciting the people to kill Englishmen, but do these papers realise that their mischievous career will come to an abrupt end when the gagging Act comes into operation? He then goes on to say that although some papers similar to those referred to above have misbehaved in the most flagrant manner, it will be a gross blunder on the part of Government to strike a blow at the liberty of the whole Native Press for the fault of the few. The Editor therefore urges Government not to adopt such repressive measures as gagging the press, which may end in the country's ruin, and entreats the extremists to keep within the bounds of moderation and not to commit such acts as may result in throwing the country into unrest and disorder.

13. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 10th June 1908 :—

The Explosives Bill and the Newspapers Bill.

"We regret the enactment of the Explosives Bill and the Newspapers Bill, which were passed at Monday's sitting of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, as much as we deplore the circumstances that have led to them. Before proceeding, however, to analyse the measures in detail it is time to consider once again if the futility of the policy of repression has not been confirmed by its results. It is time that those responsible for the Government of India should know that there is absolutely no room for further repression. That any movement with bombs and dynamite as its only means of expression should be punished and suppressed with a firm hand goes without saying; but there is absolutely no evidence pointing to the inadequacy of the existing law to cope with the alleged conspirators, all of whom have been arrested and put on their trial. The recent pronouncement of the Government, both in India and at Home, has confirmed this fact. Fresh legislation under the present circumstances is, therefore, going direct against commonsense. Legislation dictated by panic is the last thing to disarm those dangers which now look so formidable in the distance. The psychological moment has arrived when it is no longer possible to neglect the warnings of the past and make no provision for an inevitable and an obvious future. In temperance

and self-restraint lies the real strength of British rule in India; not in panic and repression. If there are still any British statesmen left, now is the time for them to honourably use their exclusive power for the benefit of the excluded millions.

"Some of our leaders seem to think that the appointment of an Indian on the Executive Council of the Viceroy and the expansion of the Legislative Councils will allay the unrest that is agitating the Indian mind just now. With due deference to them, we beg to differ from that view. In our opinion, the present unrest is more economic than political. It is political in so far that the economic changes necessary for the prosperity of the country cannot be brought about except by a Government which feels its responsibility to the people of this country rather than to the people of England. An Indian member on the Executive Council of the Governor-General cannot relieve the pressure upon Indian life which is so much responsible for the existing unrest. How can the enlargement and expansion of Legislative Councils stop the continuous drain on Indian finances and check the permanent spoilation of the country that is going on, passes our comprehension. What Indians want is bread. The agriculturist, the artizan and the professional all suffer for want of work which will bring them decent and nourishing food, wholesome clothing and a sanitary cottage. Agriculture is not paying, trade is slack, and professions are blocked. The average citizen having only hands and brain and no capital cannot find any decent occupation which will keep him and his family going. He has to resort to evil practices, subterfuges, and tricks to earn a living. The most lucrative and paying jobs in all departments of life are in the hands of the foreigner, or his creatures, the Indian stock-brokers, capitalists and speculators. The ordinary citizen has no capital to keep him going except his brains, but his brains have not been cultivated and trained to enable him to hold his own in competition with the foreign producer. Hence the scarcity of bread from which every one suffers and which is the root cause of this discontent. How will the expanded Legislative Councils remove this want we know not unless the Indian element has a majority therein, which makes the Executive responsible to the Legislature, as it is in all civilized States of the modern world. There can be no real reform in the Government of the country unless the Legislature is more supreme and consists only of the representatives of the people. A Legislature which has to carry out mandates from England; which, instead of controlling the Executive, is responsible to it; which is guided by considerations other than those that secure the good of this country against the rest of the world; a Legislature which is tied down to the policy of open door; a legislature which cannot effectively retaliate against those who shut the doors of their country to Indian labour—cannot relieve the present pressure. A mere addition of a few more Indian members on the Legislative Councils, to be always in a hopeless minority there, simply to air out their grievances or utter a few homilies on politics every year, cannot redeem the situation. The British must make up their minds to let India retain a good bit of the bread which they annually take out of the country and then make an equitable distribution of it among the sons of the soil if they are really anxious to allay this unrest. The one way of doing it is providing for universal education, both general and technical. A system of universal primary education, supplemented by widespread provision for technical instruction must in the course of a year enable the people to raise their heads above water. Any programme of reforms which does not include this is bound to be a failure and will not make any impression on the people. We hope our leaders will impress this as clearly as they can on British statesmen, not that we expect anything substantial from the latter, but because we do not want them to be misled as to the real causes of unrest in India and as to the proper remedies to allay it."

14. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 10th June 1908:—

**The Explosives Bill and the Newspapers Bill.**

"The Viceroy's Legislative Council has met and parted. The measures placed on the legislative anvil on behalf of the Government of India, as represented by the Executive Council, have come out in the shape of law, without the slightest change, and the Press law suffers with its companion Bill from the haste with

which it has been enacted. The Hon'ble the Tikka Sahib of Nabha was correct in expressing his regret that public opinion, which has a substantial interest in supporting the administration and the cause of law and order, has not been taken into greater confidence. His Excellency Lord Minto claimed that the machinery of legislation in open Court was preferable to legislation by Ordinance. This is no doubt true; but what opportunity did the public at large, which has at least an equal stake with Government in peace and order, get to carefully consider the Bill, or to offer its opinion and advice to the Government or the Legislature? The Hon'ble Tikka Sahib complained that he got the Draft Bill only on Sunday. We can supplement the Tikka Sahib's information by saying that on Saturday we got the programme of the Council meeting to be held on Monday, and had no idea of the contents of the Bill except what was furnished by its title; on Monday we got the information that the Bill had been passed into law, and had received the Viceroy's assent the same evening, and as the Bill is now beyond the sphere of the Legislature, it cannot serve any purpose to offer an academic criticism on any particular provisions of the measure. Sir Harvey Adamson, it must be said, made a strong case against the *Yugantar* and certain prints of the same type, and had armed himself with official translations of a number of incriminatory articles, and the idea of the seriousness of the situation entertained by the Government may be gauged not only from the fact that the Government has adopted the emergency procedure in Council, but also from the Home Member's declaration that the passing of the law could not be postponed a single day, the situation was so serious. The non-official members supported the passing of the Bill, and no other course was obviously open to them. No sane or reasonable man can stand sponsor to open or veiled incitements to outrages or violence, and the members could not reasonably take the position that the Government of India should not proceed to adopt measures to remedy an evil of which they take so serious a view. We may, however, observe that public opinion throughout the country will support the non-official members in the idea that the situation, however delicate and serious, is happily by no means emergent as Sir Harvey Adamson thinks, and that the Bill might safely have been permitted to take the normal course, and that the public interest would not, in any case, have run the risk of suffering by a week or ten days' delay. The Hon'ble Munshi Madho Lal voiced the sober and intelligent opinion all over the country when he declared that the whole country is at the back of Government, and that the Bill could safely be referred to a Committee for consideration. The Hon'ble Saiyad Muhammad, the able and thoughtful representative of Madras, expressed the same view, and we can only regret that Government's view of the high responsibility which undoubtedly rests on them of taking adequate measures for the lives and safety of the people did not permit them to look with approval on a proposal of adjournment which came from the united body of the non-official members, who undoubtedly voiced the public opinion of the whole country. But as we have said, these are now merely academic questions of little practical value. The Hon'ble Tikka Sahib did his duty when he strongly objected to the extensive powers given to Magistrates in the matter of attaching and forfeiting a press, and it is evident that in the absence of a provision allowing the right of appeal from a conditional order of attachment *exparte*, a good deal of inconvenience, if not worse, may be caused in conceivable cases, and the fact that the Appellate tribunal (the High Court) might quash the order would offer no reparation for the attachment, which may continue during the pendency of the case before the Magistrate, while the evidence for the parties may have to be examined at leisure, and may occupy a protracted period of time. We know that the sanction of the Local Government will be necessary, and we presume the Local Government will make a thorough and independent examination of the incriminatory articles, but still in law the Government itself has waived its right to be treated otherwise than as a party, and the fact of the sanction may cause a certain amount of hardship in certain possible cases, if it raises in the mind of the Magistrate a presumption against the accused, which may lead to an *exparte* order of attachment. And yet, as we have said, the evil does exist to a certain extent, and the Government cannot but be expected to face it, with the force of public opinion,

behind them. That is all the more reason why that public opinion might have been taken into confidence, and allowed greater opportunity to express opinion and offer advice on the measure. But the Bill has passed into law, and these might-have-beens may be dismissed as futile speculations after the event."

15. The following is from the *Observer* (Lahore), of the 10th June 1908 :—

Explosives and Press Acts.

"The expected has happened, and the violence of the agitators has compelled Government to tighten its grip over the forces of sedition and anarchy. At last Monday's meeting of the Viceregal Council, both the Explosives and Press Bills were introduced and passed into law, receiving the assent of the Viceroy the same evening and being gazetted next morning. The account of the proceedings of the Council meeting, which will be found in another column, is worth a careful perusal, especially as it bears out the contention of those who have been counselling moderation and pleading for the leaders of the movement of agitation to keep their followers in hand. For the legislation now passed the Indian Statute Book is indebted to those who had inaugurated an anti-British campaign in India. Such legislation was bound to come sooner or later, as it was futile to anticipate that when efforts were being made to upset the peace of Indian society and strike at its stability, Government would keep quiet and unconcernedly look on the attempts of the malcontents to bring it into disrepute with the people of the country. No Government that cares for its own safety can watch without anxiety doings similar to those with which India has of late become familiar, and its interests cannot but grievously suffer if it does not take vigorous steps to thwart the machinations of its enemies. The British Government in India has done only what it must have done if it was anxious for its welfare and that of its subjects. We deeply regret the circumstances which forced it to undertake repressive legislation. But we do not doubt the necessity for action and think Government was thoroughly justified in insisting upon expediting the passage through the Council of the Explosives and Press Acts. The situation is really serious, and no one who does not look at it from the standpoint of the revolutionaries will hesitate to extend the heartiest support to the Viceroy and His Excellency's colleagues in their efforts to grapple with the difficulties of the administration. Government is bound to suppress sedition and anarchy, and we welcome the measures which it has taken to achieve the object."

16. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 13th June 1908 :—

The Explosives and Press Act.

"We do not know whether to congratulate the Government or to sympathise with them on the new legislation which they have been forced to undertake by the utter failure of the repressive measures hitherto employed. The Home Member has made some remarkable admissions which are in a certain sense highly complimentary to the Bengalee Press. What was hitherto looked down as 'ridiculous bombast' has now come to be acknowledged as sufficiently mischievous to require the violent use of the Legislature and to be put down with a firm hand. The influence exercised by the Press in having converted the 'timid Bengalee into a fanatical Ghazi' is again a flattering acknowledgment which the papers of the ilk of Lahore *Observer* might take note of. 'The prosecution,' laments the Home Member, 'has been tried and tried again and has completely failed to put a stop to this incitement to outrage.' Hence the necessity of suppression. * * * * While something may be said in favour of the new policy of suppression in cases of incitement to murder or offences under the Explosive Substances Act, we are not sure if any sensible person outside the Anglo-Indian circles will be found to support the dangerously extensive powers of mischief which the Legislature has given to the Executive and the Magistracy, to suppress and ruin a newspaper that suggests *any act of violence*, however trivial it may be. Vague and undefined powers like these carry their own condemnation and defeat their very object. It is only desperate people that take to defying a great and powerful Government, and such people are the last persons to care for loss of property.

Repression having admittedly failed, it has to be seen how far suppression will serve the situation. The powers of suppression given by the new Act are sufficiently comprehensive to enable the Local Governments to put down any newspaper that is troublesome. Because, after all, what is and what is not an incitement to *an act of violence* is a question of interpretation. An Indian newspaper reporting an assault by a European on an Indian, and suggesting that instead of going to Court the latter should have paid his assailant then and there in his own coin, is as much liable to be put down as the paper that propagates revolutionary ideas and calls upon the people to retaliate by acts of murder, etc. His Highness the Tikka Sahib and the Hon'ble Nawab Saiyid Mahmud commented upon the vagueness of these provisions and urged a further consideration of the same, but the Government pleaded urgency and wanted immediate passing of the measure as framed by them. The Act differs from an Ordinance in so far that in the case of the former it is made to go through the farce of having been passed by the Legislative Council, but we think the latter is a more honest and straightforward course than the former. To frame a measure in the dark secrecy of the Executive Council Chambers and then to pass it at one sitting of the Legislature does not at all add to the public appreciation of the action of the Government, except that it affords the latter an opportunity to explain their motives and to make pronouncements which are more of the nature of threats than sober statesmanlike utterances of men who feel the serious responsibility of rising equal to the occasion.

"Yet there is another side of the matter. No Government worth the name can afford to tolerate a defiance of its authority in the way in which the *Yugantar* has been doing it, much less an alien Government can do so. The revelations of the bomb conspiracy and the several convictions of the *Yugantar* had forced the hands of the Government for action of some kind only. We wish the Government had done it in a more judicial spirit. It should never, however, be forgotten that terrorising on one side evokes terrorising on the other till it becomes a sort of tug-of-war between the parties. The Government began this war by the prosecution of Bengali youths; the latter retaliated by defiance. The former resorted to still severer methods of repressions; the latter replied by bombs. The Government was thus bound to do something to put a stop to these defiant and terrible methods of retaliation, and they have taken the first step by passing an Explosive Substances Act and an absurdly vague Press Act at one sitting of the Legislature, and have already given notice that this is by no means all what they intend to do. Stringent Press legislation has been hanging over the head of the Indian Press, like the sword of Damocles, for sometime past, and only one edge of it has yet fallen on its intended victim. This time it is threatened that it will come down with a terrible thud. There is nothing extraordinary in all this. The Government would be consisting of angels and not of human beings if they were to do otherwise. It may be that some of them are sincerely sorry for having given occasion for it; but now that they are in, it is impossible for them, without a fatal loss of prestige and authority, to turn their back without teaching an exemplary lesson to the recalcitrant spirits who have raised the storm. These latter too have shown no inclination to submit. As to how they are likely to fare in the future no one can foretell. But if the history of other nations similarly situated can be accepted as a guide, it may safely be predicted that there is little chance of peace and order being completely re-established by these terroristic methods. The tussle is unequal, no doubt, but then neither party seems to be in a mood to give in. The future may be shrouded in dark to the ordinary observer, but the spectacle that presents itself to the eye of the careful reader of human nature is nothing if not awe-inspiring. We are face to face with a repetition of history. The Government, however, being the wiser of the two, should have acted more calmly and shown a better temper. There is no use, however, in shedding tears over spilt milk. The new Press Act is a fact, and must be accepted as such; nay, we should hold ourselves in readiness for another Press Act, the imperative necessity of which has been emphasised by His Excellency the Viceroy himself. What the threatened Legislation is likely to be no one need be in doubt about. So the Government have entered upon a whole-hearted policy of repression and suppression, and we await the resultswith bated breath."

## VII.—General Administration.

### (b).—Police.

The Police.

17. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 30th May 1908, remarks that the doings of the police are a matter of notoriety not only in Bengal, but throughout the whole of India. It is well known how the police incited some inexperienced and misguided youths to establish an anarchist society in Calcutta, and when the society killed one or two persons, how they discovered the conspiracy and obtained credit from Government for smartness. And now they are settling old scores with members of the higher classes of Bengal. After remarking how Babu Arbinda Ghosh and others have through the machinations of the Police been dragged into the case although there was no evidence to incriminate them, the Editor goes on to say that if it is true that the anarchist propaganda in Calcutta is of old standing and that many eminent persons are connected with it, it is also true that the police participated in the conspiracy with the object of obtaining a pretext for gagging the Bengalis, and they were helped in this nefarious design by some highly-placed officers. It is the police who have sown the wind, but it is innocent people who along with the wicked are reaping the whirlwind. Perhaps Government and the police believe that by resorting to these tactics they will frighten the people and eradicate from their minds all desire for political progress, but they must remember that such a thing is impossible and that the more Government resorts to repression the greater will be the awakening. The Editor concludes by urging the police to desist from their underhand practices.

The Secret Police.

18. The *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 29th May 1908, says that although the strength of the Secret Police has, of late, been considerably raised in the Punjab, yet 99 per cent. of the new recruits can be easily identified by the public. The same is true of the Calcutta Secret Police. They cannot deceive the people whether they are disguised as beggars, students or gentlemen. The Editor then asks, what the police are expected to discover? There is no feeling of disloyalty towards the Crown among the people. If they clamour for *Swaraj* it does not imply that they are going to expel the English from the country in a single day. There is nothing wrong in entertaining high ideals provided that Indians set out to attain them in the proper way. It is a well-known fact that a man who regards himself as a slave eventually becomes one, while he who aspires to become king is sure to raise himself by attempting to gain his object. The Indians, it is true, have of late set themselves to try to ameliorate their condition. But it does not mean that they are desirous of, or able to upset the Government. Besides, it is the rulers themselves who have created the difficulties in which they are at present involved. It was but natural that when people were ill-treated they should look about themselves and try to discover the means by which other nations have regained their freedom. If Government, therefore, perseveres in its present policy of repression, it will not only add to the unrest that has of late come so much to notice, but it will incite the people to attempt more practical measures in order to escape from their present difficulties. But as ill-luck will have it the authorities, instead of honestly trying to remedy the grievances of the people, put them off by flimsy excuses and false hopes. The people

however, are no longer going to be duped by the appointment of commissions, etc. They want substantial concessions and are detirmined to have them. The present harsh measures may stifle, but cannot extirpate the spirit of restlessness among the people, which, if pressed down, will reappear with greater force. An impression, adds the Editor, has gone abroad that after Government has settled its accounts with the Bengalis it will turn its attention to the Punjab and will institute a search of the houses of patriots. But if those who are suspected have anything to conceal they must be fools if they do not to make good use of the opportunity to get rid of any incriminating things. Government is following a wrong policy in Bengal, and what is still worse it appears to be bent on following the same course in the Punjab. If instead of this the English were to lay aside their arrogance, and treat the people with sympathy and mete out even justice in cases between Europeans and Natives, unrest would quickly disappear. But unfortunately so long as the Secret Police exist to fabricate imaginary stories and despotic rulers remain to act upon these stories, things will go on drifting from bad to worse.

### (*f*)—*Railways and Communications.*

19. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 4th June 1908, remarks that the provision of separate accommodation for European and Native passengers in 1st and 2nd Class compartments on Indian railways will undoubtedly lead to excellent results as it is calculated to remove several causes of friction between the two communities. It will, however, be grossly unjust on the part of the railway authorities to reserve new carriages, which are much more comfortable for Englishmen and to set aside the old carriages for the use of natives, thus making an invidious distinction between the two communities.

European and Native passengers in Indian railways.

20. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 9th June 1908 :—

A Railway grievance.

"The cruel and invidious distinction which has for some time past been to all intents and purposes maintained on the North-Western Railway was as such bound to create widespread dissatisfaction and pain in the minds of feeling and sensitive people, but we want to make it clear that the new practice, though it militates against the sense of self-respect and dignity of the pick of the Indian community is not objected to merely on the score of sentiment. As a matter of fact there is, as we have repeatedly said, a large body of public opinion which would hail with delight if separate provision is made for them, provided that similar carriages with the same comforts and conveniences are run for them as for Europeans. But even then we are not convinced that the grievance would be entirely or appreciably remedied until sufficient accommodation is forthcoming for Indian passengers. As matters stand, the most scandalous part of the affair is that however small the number of Europeans they would occupy their carriage to the exclusion of Indians, while the latter how large their number would, in all probability, have to rest content with and share between themselves whatever accommodation—and of whatever quality—the railway authorities may choose to place at their disposal."

21. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 10th June 1908 :—

A Railway grievance.

"The case of the Indian passengers in railway trains is a most uneviable one in all conscience. The grievances of the intermediate and third class passengers are perennial and now the privilege so long enjoyed by the first and second class Indian passengers has been withdrawn. They are relegated to dirty and dingy compartments—a complete

contrast to the commodious compartments, furnished with all modern appliances for comfort, which are provided for the European or Eurasian passengers. And all this invidious distinction is made although the same fare is charged from the Indian as the European passengers. We have discussed this subject threadbare within the past few days and are awaiting the decision of the railway authorities to put an end to this scandal. Meanwhile the standing grievances of the intermediate and third class passengers remain as acute as ever and loudly call for relief. It is true that there has been some improvement in the compartments for third class quite recently and the public are sincerly thankful for this small mercy, but there is no use providing the carriages with latrines unless the passengers are allowed sufficient sitting accommodation, as at present the third class and even the intermediate class carriages are often found to contain passengers beyond their specified seating accommodation. The Railway men merely shove in as many passengers as though they are insensible to all comforts, and this, particularly in the case of the intermediate class passengers, who constitute the bulk of the educated community is really most obnoxious."

22. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 13th June 1908 :—

A railway grievance.

"Day after day we have to revert to the painful and humiliating topic of the invidious and galling distinction which judging from all accounts has been maintained and enforced under the *ægis* of the North-Western Railway. Time and again we have had to invite urgent and immediate attention of the responsible authorities and the Government to the gross and keenly-felt scandal that has been perpetrated by shutting out Indian passengers from the improved type of first and second class carriages, in the name of providing separate accommodation for Europeans and Indians. Deep and widespread has been the feeling evoked among all classes and sections of the people, and we have not failed in our duty to the Government as well as the people in the matter of drawing prominent attention to an important grievance which is likely to produce bitter and unpleasant feelings and undesirable relations. We have again and again pressed home the many and grievous complaints that have reached us in the most legitimate and constitutional manner, and shall go on doing the same with all the persistence and persuasion that we can command, in the deep-seated belief that the grievance will sooner or later be removed, as, we cannot help observing once more, that the existing system is not only the most undesirable but also most inconvenient, and not only subjects the sons of the soil—and it is the pick of our aristocracy, and the highest representatives of our learning and culture, wealth and rank that travel in the first and second class carriages—to a bitter and humiliating restriction, but condemns them to frequent overcrowding and discomfort in wretched old carriages. And yet it is extremely disappointing to note that the crying grievance has not attracted the prompt and immediate attention it deserved, and so far nothing has come to light which may lead the public at large to think that the matter is under the consideration of the North-Western Railway authorities, the Railway Board or the Government. And this in the face of the fact that we have by no means taken up an unreasonable attitude in the matter. We have said again and again that what we decline to accept is the existing condition that while new and improved carriages with the latest conveniences and comforts are to be reserved for Europeans, the Indian passengers are to be relegated to the old, rusty, comfortless carriages. The Government is welcome to run separate carriages for Europeans and Indians, but the carriages must be of the same type, with the same comforts or discomforts, or allowed by turns to Indians and Europeans. But so long as the stock of new carriages is not sufficient the Government would do well to cancel the new arrangement, and revert to the old system, whereby every one who pays the fare can travel in the carriage of the class where he can find room. The Railway is hardly the place where invidious and galling distinction can be permitted to exist, and if the most orthodox of orthodox Brahmins has to travel by the side of the lowely sweeper, it is impossible to set the hands of the clock back by shutting out the highest and the most blue blooded of Indians from the up-to-date and improved carriages by labelling them for Europeans."

(h)—*Miscellaneous.*

The treatment of natives at the hands of Europeans.

23. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 30th May 1908, remarks that it is a pity that short-sighted Englishmen do not see that they are by their conduct creating a feeling of hatred in the minds of the people against Government. Nor is this all. They even go to the length of charging Indians with disloyalty. Since the advent of British rule in India hundreds of natives have been kicked to death and many have been crushed under motor cars. The courts, however, do not do justice in such cases, but show partiality towards Europeans and the latter are let off with a nominal punishment or merely with a fine. After reporting that one Ali, a *tumtum* driver, was so severly beaten by a Mr. Andrew, an English motorist, that he died from the effects of his injuries and that the Englishman was only sentenced to a fine of Rs. 15, the paper remarks that it is such conduct on the part of Europeans and such flagrant failure of justice in British Courts in India that increases the unrest in the country. Yet the English affect to be surprised that so much unrest exists in the country. It must not, however, be concluded that these cases are rare because they have of late become very frequent, and the belief is universal in the country that British Courts do not do justice in all cases in which Europeans are accused of maltreating Indians. How long will this state of affairs continue? Indians may suffer this ill-treatment in silence once or twice, but is it reasonable to suppose that they will submit to all sorts of ill-usage to which they may be subjected without feeling aggrieved? They are after all human beings and they cannot brook these insults any more. It therefore behoves the authorities to look into the matter and try to redress this grievance.

Fund in aid of Pindi Das.

24. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 30th May 1908, remarks that the fund which was started with a view to helpining Pindi Das now amounts to Rs. 250. Besides, Lala Sundar Das, B.O.L., late Editor of *Hindustan*, has contributed Rs. 2-12-0 and the Manager of the same paper is also said to have received Rs. 5-8-0 which will go to swell the fund. It has been decided in accordance with the wishes of the public that this money should at present be kept in trust and paid to Pindi Das as soon as that patriot and martyr is released from jail. Pindi Das' father and mother are in need of no help and they will therefore not be assisted from the fund. His wife is also at present in need of no help, but if she requires help later on she will receive it from the fund. The Editor concludes by requesting the public to say whether it is advisable to continue to receive contributions for the fund from the public so as to increase the amount to an extent sufficient to utilize it in helping all patriotic persons in trouble.

F. ISEMONGER,

*Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*

*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

SIMLA :
*The 14th June* 1908.

Punjab Government Branch Press, Simla.—29-6-08—99—97.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 25. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 20th June 1908.**

---

## CONTENTS.


Page.

I.—Politics.

(a)—*Foreign*—

*Nil.*

(b)—*Home*—

1. A dream (*Zamindar*) ... ... ... 351
2. The Proclamation of 1858 (*Hag Pasand*) ... ... 356
3. The Rulers and the Ruled (*Hitkari*) ... ... 357
4. A drama (*Amrit*) ... ... ... ... 358
5. Patriotism (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... ... 362

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

6. The Amir and the British Government (*Paisa Akhbar*) 363

III.—Native States.

*Nil.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

*Nil.*

V.—Native Societies and Religious matters.

*Nil.*

VI.—Legislation.

7. The Press Act (*Parkash*) ... ... ... 363
8. The Press Act (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... *ib.*
9. A cartoon (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... ... 364
10. The Explosives Act and the Newspaper Act (The *Khalsa Advocate*) ... ... ... *ib.*

Page.

VII.—General Administration.

(a)—*Judicial*—

11. The Jamalpur Damage Cases (*Tribune*) ... ... 365

(b)—*Police*—

*Nil.*

(c)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs*—

*Nil.*

(d)—*Education*—

*Nil.*

(e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land*—

12. Grant of land to Native Christians (*Zamindar*) ... 366

(f)—*Railways and Communications*—

13. Railway collisions (*Jain Ratan*) ... ... 366
14. Travelling on North-Western Railway (*Panjabee*) ... *ib.*

(g)—*Postal matters*—

*Nil.*

(h)—*Miscellaneous*—

*Nil.*

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 25. ]

# SELECTIONS
FROM THE
# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS
## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

**Received up to 20th June 1908.**

---

### I.—Politics.

### (*b*)—*Home.*

1. The *Zamindar* (Karamabad), of the 16th May 1908, publishes a communication in which the writer says that one night when he went to bed after thinking for a long time over the present situation in the country, he dreamt that he was standing at the gate of a magnificent palace which had four gigantic gates on its four sides and which were named the Himalayas, Sindh, Comorin and Burma. He went into the palace and found a raised platform on the north of the building on which was placed a beautiful and exquisitely carved throne occupied by a majestic person aged between 60 and 70 years. On one side of the throne was a crowd of Europeans consisting of the Viceroy and other official and non-official Europeans in India, and on the other side were Natives consisting of Rajas, Maharajas and ordinary Indians. The writer being a representative of the *Zamindars* was allotted a seat near the throne. He was wondering what was the meaning of this scene when the occupant of the throne in a majestic voice directed the representatives of the contending parties to be brought before him. Forthwith the representative of the black man—a Bengali wearing a *dhoti*, who was named Babu Swaraj Bose—appeared before the throne, while from the other side a European named Mr. Anglo-Indian appeared on behalf of the European community in India. On appearing before the throne the former complained that Indians are looked down upon with contempt; that they are regarded as a conquered people and are not allowed any share in the administration of the country; that illegal taxes are assessed from them and all their money is drained away to England, and that they are generally oppressed. The Anglo-Indian replied by saying that the English had come to India from a long distance; that they were serving the country with whole-hearted devotion and were laying down their lives for it, and that notwithstanding this Indians regarded them with feelings of enmity and did their utmost to degrade them in the eyes of the world, to kill them and to expel them from the country. The Emperor then directed Babu Swaraj Bose to open the case, and he accordingly delivered the following speech :—

A dream.

"The English claim that they have conquered India and that they are entitled to enjoy the rights of conquerors. They therefore demand that every Indian should in duty bound stand up and salute any European who passes on the road by bending low before him. If a European and a Native

should meet one another the Indian should never take his seat without first obtaining permission. On seeing a European every Indian who chances to have an umbrella open should at once close it as a mark of respect to the former. They should not enter any compartment in a Railway carriage which is occupied by Europeans. All appointments of a responsible nature in the Civil Service and in the Army are held by white men, while even as regards appointments of minor importance white men and Christians are considered te have a prior claim. White men may injure black men in any way and to any extent, but partiality is invariably shown to the former. All black men are stated to have enlarged spleens in order that in the event of a *gora* kicking a black man (and killing him) a plea may be made that his spleen was ruptured. A black man, however rich and exalted his position in society, is prohibited from keeping arms without a license, but *goras* and Christians, however degraded and poor, can keep arms without any restriction whatever. Indians deny that the white men conquered the country. They were summoned to India by the ancestors of the former, who paid them lavishly for their services. During the decline and fall of the Moghal Empire, when there was practically no settled Government, Indians selected the English to carry on the administration of the country and helped them to the best of their power to establish their position in the country, and when the English had secured their dominion thoroughly, they kept the government of the country for themselves to the exclusion of Natives."

In support of his assertion the Babu quoted from the History of India and remarked that the English had never conquered India in the true sense of the word, The English people came here as traders, established factories, obtainad certain privileges from Emperor Jehangir and paid tribute to Aurangzeb. It was in 1757 that Clive laid the foundation of British rule in India after defeating Nawab Saraj-ud-Dowla on the battlefield of Plassy. It may, however, be remembered that Clive gained his victory at Plassy with the help and through the treachery of Mir Jafar. Nor is this all. He extorted as much money as he could from Mir Jafar on the occasion of the latter's accession, and Mir Jafar's treasury was in consequence utterly exhausted. He not only obtained Rs. 4,00,66,250 for the East India Company, but also Rs. 2,80,000 for himself and simllar sums for Drake, Baker, Watson and others. Lord Clive, however, was so avaricious and unscrupulous that he dethroned his former patron Mir Jafar without any scruple and gave the throne to Mir Jafar's son-in-law, Mir Qasam, and mulcted huge sums of money from the latter just as he had done from Mir Jafar. But he was not satisfied with money alone, He obtained from Mir Qasam the districts of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagung as jagir, which were confiscated by the East India Company after his death. Mr. Burke has given a full detail of these transactions in his impeachment of Warren Hastings, This is the way in which the foundation of British rule was laid in India. After remarking how the Provinces of Oudh and Punjab were conquered by the British with the help of Indians, Babu Swaraj Bose continued as follows :—

"From the above it is clear that the English never came to the country as conquerors. As a matter of fact they came here as traders. Indians rendered them every possible help and assisted them with money and arms to consolidate the empire—nay they shed their own blood and that of their

brethern most lavishly for the English. Englishmen should therefore have remained grateful to Indians and should have regarded them as their equals, but they began to regard them as a conquered people and armed themselves with criminal powers in order to crush them. This was more than the Indians could stand. The English had been called in to manage the affairs of the country, and as soon as they had obtained a footing in the country with the help of Indians, they regarded themselves as conquerors. Imagine if some Indians were to go to England for purposes of education and trade, and were to obtain a foot-hold in that country with the help of some Englishmen, and then began to create dissensions in the country, and by means of these dissensions were to gain sovereign powers and then to regard themselves as conquerors. Would Englishmen tolerate them if these Indian adventurers accorded the same treatment to native Englishmen as the present day Anglo-Indians accord to Indians? In 1858 the late Empress Victoria issued a proclamation in which Her Majesty promised that the authorities would make no distinction between white men and black in the administration of the country. This proclamation, however, remains a dead-letter to this very day and Her Majesty's pledges are still unredeemed. The British people say that their Government is constitutional. It is, however, constitutional only in name, for the people have several times been deprived of the liberty of speech, and many Editors and public speakers have been sent to jail. The authorities say that they value public opinion. But public opinion was most flagrantly flouted when Lord Curzon effected the partition of Bengal, and Sir Charles Rivaz passed the Canal Colonies Act in the teeth of universal opposition. It is the duty of a civilised Government to provide for the education of the people, but Lord Curzon dealt a death-blow to education by passing the Universities Act. The authorities have done their utmost to destroy the arts and industries of the people, and by steadily increasing the land revenue have well-nigh ruined the agriculture of the country. The people have consequently become extremely poor and have fallen a prey to famine and starvation. That famines are now of more frequent occurrence is apparent from the fact that whereas there were four famines in the 25 years between 1800 and 1825, there have been as many as 22 famines during the 25 years between 1875 and 1900. This practically means that there was a famine every year. Consequently, millions of people died not only of starvation, but of plague and other diseases. The authorities say that they have extended irrigation in the country and in this way have encouraged agriculture. The truth, however, is that the agricultural classes have derived no benefit from the canals, for while the canal rates are steadily increasing the supply of water has greatly decreased. In fact when the harvest is ripe the supply of water is entirely stopped. But whether water is supplied or not, the zamindars are obliged to pay the water-rates. There can be no doubt that by the extension of irrigation the supply of food-grains has increased, but the people have not been benefited thereby because all the grain is exported to Europe by Ralli Brothers and other firms. If the export of grain was stopped the people would be able to obtain cheap food; but the export has not been stopped and the people received glass and worthless play-things in exchange for food-grains." After referring to various other causes which have brought about the ruin of zamindars, Babu Swaraj Bose went on to say that the agriculturists, who constitute the vast majority of

the population of India, have been reduced to such a wretched condition that they can with difficulty obtain enough to eat in spite of the fact that they labour hard from morning till night. The speaker concluded by remarking that the unrest that prevails at present in the country may be ascribed entirely to the treatment which the British people accord to the children of the soil and to the manner in which they are carrying on the administration of the country."

This article is continued in the issue of the 24th May as follows :—

After the speech of Babu Swaraj Bose the proceedings were adjourned. They were continued next day when Mr. Anglo-Indian made the following speech in defence :—

"Babu Swaraj Bose has complained that Indians are not treated well by the English ; that high appointments are reserved for the latter ; that the latter are not punished if they harass natives or commit any other offence, while natives are punished most severely if they are guilty of the least indiscretion in their dealings with Englishmen ; and that natives are prohibited from keeping arms without a license however rich they may be, while Europeans, Eurasians, and Native Christians are allowed to use arms without a license. Will my honourable friend say what kind of treatment the ancient Aryans accorded to the non-Aryan inhabitants of the country at the time when they first emigrated into this country ? It is a well-known fact that they drove the aboriginies into hills and forests, and harassed them in such a way that even although thousands of years have passed away the latter are still leading a nomadic life. They called the original inhabitants "*das*" or slaves and forced them to undertake most menial and degrading work. An Englishman who ill-treats a native can be prosecuted in the courts under the law, but the good old Aryans not only denied education and equal treatment to the conquered people, but declared it a heinous crime on the part of the latter to receive any education or claim equality with them. Even now Hindu Rajas and Maharajahs do not allow their Muhammadan subjects to call for prayers in their mosques, and even the meanest Hindu treats Muhammadans with contempt, however respectable, educated and clean he may be. In Hindu States all higher appointments are given to Hindus, and similarly in Muhammadan States all higher appointments are held by Muhammadans. In Kashmir, where the Muhammadan population constitutes 90 per cent. of the total population, they do not hold even 1 per cent. of the higher appointments ; even in Hindu States like Baroda and Mysore, which are considered the most just and enlightened States in the country, Muhammadans do not fare any better. In all offices where Hindus are Head Clerks, Mnhammadans cannot obtain appointments, and similarly where Muhammadans are Head Clerks, Hindus are accorded the same treatment. It is therefore difficult to understand why Babu Swaraj Bose charges Englishmen with shewing partiality towards their countrymen, especially considering that natives are extremely backward in education and nearly all lack administrative ability and capacity. As regards the allegation that Englishmen came as traders to India and that they were never the conquerors of India, it will be sufficient to say that when the descendants of persons like Tamarlane, Nadir Shah, Sevaji, Mohan Singh and others, who

belonged to families of very inferior position, can be considered conquerors and eminent rulers, why should not Englishmen be considered as conquerors whose ancestors were rich traders and were in possession of ironclads, guns, cannons and other munitions of war. In my opinion those traders who assumed the sovereignty of the country by means of tact and diplomacy are better fitted to rule than those robbers and free-booters who grossly plundered the country and committed bloodshed. It is quite true that the English people formerly paid tributes to the Emperors, but they never raised the standard of rebellion like Sevaji or made murderous attacks on the ruling race like the Bengalis. If they extorted money from Mir Jafar and Mir Qasam; they did so with a view to obtain a remuneration for the services they had rendered to those Nawabs. Even if it were admitted that they were selfish, their selfishness was based on wise statesmanship and foresight. Babu Swaraj Bose alleges that they obtained possession of the country by fraud and deception, and in support of his statement he refers to the annexation of Oudh and of the Punjab. It may, however, be remembered that after the decline and fall of the Moghul Empire the country was for more than a century involved in internecine feuds and bloodshed. At that time the English thought it expedient out of pure philanthropy to interfere in the affairs of the Provinces like Oudh and the Punjab, which were grossly mal-administered in order to evolve peace and order out of chaos. It should also be borne in mind that Oudh was annexed without bloodshed, and this shows the capacity of the English people to rule. If they practised fraud and deception their conduct was surely not so serious as that of Kuru's in dealing with Pandawas. They are charged with ingratitude because it is alleged that they ill-treat the natives who helped them in the consolidation of their Empire. There can be no denying the fact that natives helped the British, but they did so not out of love for Englishmen, but out of enmity with their own countrymen. From the days of Alexander's invasion up till now the natives always bowed before foreign invaders, and have done their utmost to degrade and ruin their own countrymen."

After stating that the cruel custom of *sati*, and infanticide have been abolished under the British rule, and after enumerating the various blessings conferred by British rule on the Indian people, Mr. Anglo-Indian endeavoured to refute the charges brought against the British Government in that it had failed to perform its duty to the people, and said that as regards the pledge given by the late Empress Victoria in 1858 that English and Indians should be accorded equal treatment, it is sufficient to say that the authorities of the present day do their utmost to treat white and black men equally, but in making appointments more regard is paid to ability than to colour. Moreover, seeing that these people do not feel the least scruple in injuring their own countrymen, what guarantee in there that they will deal with the English people fairly when they are appointed to such high and responsible posts as Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief? If by the Proclamation of 1858 they consider that they will be appointed to high posts without any regard being paid to their ability, they are quite mistaken. The speaker then ridiculed the idea that the authorities in India pay no regard to public opinion and said that in passing every law and measure the utmost publicity is given to these measures, public opinion is invited and representations of the public are carefully and duly considered. There can be no doubt that in effecting the partition

of Bengal public opinion was flouted; but it must be remembered that in all cases where public opinion is opposed to such measures as are considered desirable in the interests of Government, the authorities are obliged to run counter to public opinion. Public opinion at present considers that the English should leave India bag and baggage and make over the country to natives, but all sensible persons will agree that the British people can never do this in the interests of India itself because India is not yet fit for self-government. It is alleged that Lord Curzon has laid axe at the root of education in India, but as a matter of fact His Lordship improved the quality of education in the country. There is no doubt that he has made education dearer, but after all it is better to impart education to the higher classes than to give it to ordinary persons who are more injur ed than benefited by it. The speaker then denied that the people had become poor and thereby had fallen a prey to a series of famines, and remarked that the poverty of the people is ascribable to the increase of the population, a consequence of the peace and prosperity enjoyed by the people under British rule and also to the fact that the artisan classes have abandoned their trade and taken to service in consequence of becoming educated. The poverty is also ascribable to the carelessness on the part of the people in the development of indigenous arts and industries. After saying that the present deplorable condition of the agricultural classes is due to their own ignorance, the speaker stated that it was wrong to say that the wealth of India is drained to England, for this drain is inevitable, because the British must receive remuneration for their service in India and take home the money they make when they retire. Moreover the British take away money from the country by trade, but they do so not by any fraud or deception, but by selling their articles in open market. Indians can refuse to purchase their goods if they wish to do so. The land revenue which the British people demand from the agriculturists is less than the amount realised in Japan. They cannot reduce taxation without jeopardising the interests of Government. It is wrong to say that the English people adopted the policy of 'divide and rule'; they never did so, nor did they extirpate the indigenous *panchayat* system. The *panchayat* system was never popular in India, and it passed away simply because the people preferred British courts as they hoped to get better justice. The speaker then charged the Indian people with creating sedition in the country and remarked that they were always in the habit of rebelling against constituted authority. Fortunately at the present moment they have no arms and are disunited, and it is owing to this that their mischievous attempts to overthrow Government have entirely failed. Some of them tried to imitate the method of Anarchists and Nihilists, but without success. It is for this reason that their doings failed to impress the British people. The authorities do not want to abandon the Government of this country. What they want is to see the Indian people prosperous because in their prosperity lies the well-being of Englishmen. The Indian people must remember that they are not fit for self-government and that no foreign rule can be better than the British.

2. The *Haq Pasand* (Amritsar), of the 1st June 1908, publishes the text of the Royal Proclamation of 1858 and remarks that the manner in which the solemn pledges made to the people of India by the late Queen Empress

The Proclamation of 1858.

are being redeemed is so well known that it is quite unnecessary to enlarge upon the matter. Suffice it to say that it is a gross mistake on the part of the people of this country to beg for more rights from a people who have not so far granted those rights which they were pledged to give by the promise of their Sovereign. The people of India therefore should endeavour to be independent instead of relying on the charity of others. They should remember that it is quite impossible for them to get anything without tremuous exertions.

The rulers and the ruled.

3. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 1st June 1908, publishes a communication from Lala Hardial, M. A., who says that English statesmen are often heard finding fault with their countrymen for conducting the affairs of a large country like India without first becoming familiar with its religious and social institutions. It is true, adds the writer, that Englishmen know very little about India, but still they know enough of the country and its people to turn their knowledge to good account. For instance, they know that India has come down to them as a heritage and that its people are to be ruled for the benefit of Anglo-Indians. They regard the country as another *El Dorado* and look upon the Indian Civil Service as a foundation stone for future eminence and fame. The commercial relations existing between India and the mother-country are well known to every English boy, and the whole nation appears to be bent upon sucking the life-blood of India by killing her arts and industries. The word "Indian" is in their opinion synonymous with meanness, lying, cowardice, and shamelessness, and no wonder, for a conquered nation is respected nowhere. And the last, but not the least, thought of an Englishman is to retain India at any cost. The mere thought of losing it sets him on his mettle. He knows that England's greatness as a power in the world is mainly due to her possession of India, and consequently Englishmen are loth to give full liberty to the country. The writer then, referring to the Indian National Congress, remarks that the English public have but a faint idea of the aims of the Congress and warns his countrymen not to be deceived by the flattering remarks made by certain retired Civilians and Members of Parliament concerning the Congress, in that they would have the Indians to persevere in their mistaken policy. As to the newspaper *India*, which was started with the object of enlightening the British public, he wishes to point out that in the first place the circulation of this paper is not large enough to secure its object, and in the second the few statesmen who read it, instead of slackening their grasp on India try to tighten it. In the same way the various Indian deputations that of late visited England have failed to produce the effect they desired on English public opinion. The people of that country either totally disbelieve Indians who bring their grievances to their notice, or, if they believe their story, they despise them for meekly submitting to the alleged ill-treatment and not making a vigorous effort to get the grievances redressed of which they complain. And as it is opposed to human nature to sympathise with a people whom we despise, the Indian delegates even when they are believed fail to enlist the sympathies of the English public on their behalf. Reports of unrest and bomb outrages no doubt create an unusual feeling of unrest in England, but these too end in making the English more careful to lighten their hold on the country. Those on the spot, however, know that so long as the people have no arms they cannot make any successful resistance, and that their petty outbursts of restlessness can be easily crushed. In short, since the Mutiny of 1857, British

rule has been firmly established in the country and the Government is fully confident of its power. The writer concludes by remarking that the idea which Englishmen form of Indian character from those students who join English Universities is far from being creditable to the latter. They are surprised to find how these young men reconcile themselves to the idea of joining the educational institutions of their conquerors and how sadly they lack all sense of liberty. The result of all this is that they regard Indians as no better than Negroes or Zulus. If Indian students belie that impression by displaying intellectual excellence in University examinations, they find themselves surrounded by a certain set of Anglo-Indians, who have started several associations ostensibly for public and philanthropic objects, but in reality for ensuring these simple-minded Indian students by so working upon their feelings as to make them quite indifferent to the good of their country.

4. The *Amrit* (Hissar) for May 1908 publishes the following drama;—

A Drama.

ACT I.

SCENE—*A Rais's garden and a bungalow near the garden.*

(Enter Chet Ram, the proprietor of the garden, and his companion Daulat Ram.)

*Chet Ram.*—I have often noticed that certain red-faced persons who reside in the bungalow opposite us come here, shoot the pigeons and take them away. Now the garden is mine, the bungalow is mine and the four walls surrounding them also form part of my property. Yet these persons are so shameless that they do not hesitate to enter another person's house. If an Indian were to enter their bungalow he would surely be called to account, and if he were to fire a shot he would probably be sent to jail for seven years. It is quite true that a powerful man gets the upper hand in all cases. But how long will we tolerate it? We feed our pigeons every day, but these wicked persons shoot them and carry them away, thereby making us responsible for their sins. See, it is morning, a cool breeze is blowing, and the pigeons have left their nests and have begun to take their food.

*Daulat Ram.*—I have also heard a similar complaint. Some of your servants turned out a red-faced person some time ago.

(From behind the scene—Bang! Bang! Bang!)

*Chet Ram* (listening).—Listen, some one has again come to-day. I am in great trouble. If I forbid them to shoot the pigeons, I shall be running a great risk and it will be equally dangerous for me if I do not do so. (Both step forward.)

(Enter Mr., Mrs., and Miss Peacock and Mr. Forward with guns.)

(Mr. Forward takes aim with the gun and fires!)

*Chet Ram* (running up).—Sir, be careful. Do not shoot here. There are jungles for the purpose of *shikar*. These pigeons are tame. Do not shoot again.

(Mr. Forward paying no heed to Chet Ram, fires his gun again.)

*Chet Ram.*—Sir, do not shoot, kindly leave this place.

*Mr. Forward.*—Who are you? What do you want? Are you the owner of this garden? What do you mean by behaving impertinently towards me and this Sahib. (Turning to Mr. Peacock) May I teach him a lesson?

*Mr. Peacock.*—No, No, No. He is right.

*Mr. Forward* (facing Chet Ram).—You have behaved impertinently towards a Sahib. You should beg his pardon. The ladies also are displeased with you. You are very stupid.

(After speaking to Chet Ram for some time the gentlemen and ladies leap over the wall and go away. Chet Ram and Daulat Ram proceed from the bungalow to the garden.)

*Chet Ram.*—Did you see, my friend, what happened? I was called to account for no reason. Strictly they ought to have asked my pardon because they were guilty of committing tresspass and firing at the pigeons. However, they did no such thing. On the contrary, they called me impertinent and directed me to beg their pardon.

*Daulat Ram.*—It is quite true; "Might is Right." My brother, what are you—a poor man—when even big persons tremble before them? Can you not remember the old saw that the strong beat the weak and do not allow them even to cry?

(Enter Kishore Dutt.)

Well Kishore Dutt, why and wherefore have you come?

*Kishore Dutt.*—Will you not go home to-day?

*Chet Ram.*—Brother Daulat Ram, it is about noon and the heat is intense and my heart is palpitating. What will be the result of all this? Let us go home and have our dinner. I have lost my appetite and am feeling much distressed.

*Daulat Ram.*—Brother, why are you so anxious? Whatever is to happen will happen. You have not said anything improper.

*Chet Ram.*—I am afraid of Lala Makhan Lal. What will he say when he hears of this. He has become very timid now-a-days.

*Daulat Ram.*—Well, that does not matter. Let us go. It is noon and even the birds have returned to their nests to rest.

(They all leave.)

## ACT II.

SCENE—*Lala Makhan Lal's house.*

(Lala Makhan Lal is seen reclining on a couch and Kishore Dutt standing before him.)

*Makhan Lal.*—So you know only what you have told me. Where is Chet Ram? I told you to call him.

*Kishore Dutt.*—I told you all I knew. I have heard that when a Sahib asked the name of the proprietor of the garden, Chet Ram replied that it belonged to Lala Makhan Lal. I have already called Chet Ram and I believe he must be coming. You can hear the rest of the story from him.

*Makhan Lal.*—Very well, you may go.

(Kishore Dutt goes away.)

*Makhan Lal.*—(Soliloquises). The moment is critical. In Bengal the people are manufacturing bombs. The English are consequently prejudiced against all classes of the people. They trust nobody. We talk to them with great humility, but they think that we are only making an outward show. What trouble the doings of the Bengalis have wrought in the country. All persons are in fear of their lives. Last year we spent six months beginning from May in extreme anxiety and now another May has returned and we are face to face with new troubles. It is the rich and important who are exposed to trouble in various ways. May the faces of back-biters be blackened who from motives of envy bear tales to the English with all the exaggeration they can command. Two years ago the state of things was quite different. Apart from small matters, even murders were excused by the English, who regarded us with great respect. And what happened yesterday. Foolish Chet Ram forbade some Englishmen to shoot pigeons in the garden near his bungalow. Although the garden does not belong to me, yet the Sahib is angry with me. How regrettable it is that though I went to his house and begged his pardon, he gave me no reply. Nay, immediately he saw me he went into the room. Oh, what a change! Formerly we used to get many important things (done by the authorities) on the smallest recommendation, but matters have now reached such a pass as this! The people say that

Makhan Lal is a big personage and owns bungalows, gardens, landed property, factories and banks, and is very influential, but my position is peculiar. The richer a man becomes the more helpless he is. Ho, is there any one to fetch me a glass of water.

(Enter a servant with a glass of water and the Lala drinks it.)

*Servant.*—Lalaji; Lala Chet Ram has come.

*Makhan Lal.*—Very well. Bring a chair.

(Servant brings a chair and goes away with the empty glass.)

(Enter Chet Ram, who sits down.)

*Makhan Lal.*—Well Chet Ram, what have you done? Why have you needlessly displeased these Englishmen? Will they carry away loads of pigeons to their houses? What a world of difference is there between a pigeon and an Englishman.

(Enter Bidushak.)

*Bidushak.*—You told the Englishmen who entered our house to go away and not to shoot near our house. Is that what you call hospitality? After all, these Englishmen were kind, for any other Englishman would have shot you dead then and there. If you had prosecuted them in court they would have got off on the plea of provocation or self-defence. If the court had punished them at all, it would have fined them Rs. 15 at the most, while you would have lost your life.

*Makhan Lal.*—Oh you lunatic, you are joking, when I am frightened out of my wits. Well Chet Ram, whatever was to happen has happened. I have summoned you to act as follows. We will go to the Sahib's bungalow to-morrow morning and you will have to secure the Sahib's good-will by tendering an apology. The Sahib is very angry.

*Bidushak.*—Let both of you take me with you also. I will recommend you to the Sahib.

*Chet Ram* (paying no heed to Bidushak's remarks).—Very well. In reality I am guilty of no offence, but it does not matter; I will tender an apology. We are Banias and we can afford to be humble.

(Enter a servant.)

*Servant.*—Lalaji, it is evening and the carriage is waiting at the door.

*Makhan Lal.*—Very well, we are ready.

(They all get up and drive away.)

## ACT III.

SCENE—*The verandah of a Sahib's bangalow.*

(The Khansama is seen standing and Lala Makhan Lal and Chet Ram are sitting on chairs.)

*Khansama.*—The Sahib has gone out to shoot this morning, but will be coming back soon. You may wait here for some time longer, for it is not 9 o'clock yet.

*Chet Ram.*—My heart is beating. (Places his hand on his heart).

*Bidhushak* (Enters stealthily).—Let us see what is the matter with you.

*Makhan Lal.*—O you cruel men, why are you here?

(A sound of footsteps is heard All stand up. The Sahib enters with his wife.)

*Makhan Lal* (bends low and salaams).—Sir, I have brought Chet Ram to tender an apology to you. Kindly forgive him this time, and I will be responsible that he commits no offence in future.

*Bidushak* (aside).—There can be no pardon for a fault which has not been committed.

*Mr. Peacock.*—No, no, I will not grant pardon. He has shown disrespect to my wife.

*Mr. Peacock.*—The Sahib has written a letter to a Government officer to make enquiries into the matter. Nothing can be done until a reply is received.

*Mr. Peacock.*—Enough; I have no time to spare. Good-morning.

(Makhan Lal bends low and salaams. Mr. and Mrs. Peacock go away followed by the khansama).

*Makhan Lal* (in surprise).—What an aspect the matter has assumed? Enquiries have commenced.

*Bidushak.*—If you are so afraid at this early stage, what will happen next?

(They all go away.)

## ACT IV.

SCENE.—*The house of Mukammad Fazil, a Government officer.*

(Muhammad Fazil is reclining on a pillow and a munshi is reading official papers to him.)

*Muhammad Fazil.*—Munshi, I have to write a judgment in connection with a criminal case. Bring up the files quickly.

*Munshi.*—Very well, Sir. We have received a letter from the Sahib. May I read it first.

*The officer.*—Very well, read it first.

*Munshi* (reads the letter).—'Sir—Two days ago my wife and I went out for a walk. We entered a bungalow to shoot pigeons. The bungalow is situated at a distance from the city and is lying unoccupied. We were treated impertinently by some person there. On enquiry we found that the bungalow and the neighbouring garden belonged to Makhan Lal. Kindly summon him before you and hold an enquiry into the matter and then communicate a detailed account, giving the name and residence of the person who behaved impertinently towards us.

*The officer.*—O, you stupid fellows. Why have you detained this letter so long?

*Munshi.*—Sir, on my way from kutchery I met a person bringing this letter to you. He told me that the sahib wanted a reply, but as you were then taking your dinner I went home. Now that you have risen from your sleep I have brought the matter to your notice. I have summoned Makhan Lal also to your presence and he must have come by now because it is already afternoon.

*Chaprasi* (enters).—Lala Makhan Lal is waiting outside and asks permission to see you.

*The officer.*—Tell him to come at once.

(Chaprasi goes out and brings Makhan Lal in).

Welcome Lala Sahib, what has led you to displease the sahib.

*Makhan Lal* (repeats the whole story).—Now, Sir, I am entirely dependant on you. You know what kind of person I am, and it is quite unnecessary for me to dwell on the subject any longer. Let the matter be settled in any way you like so that the sahib may not be prejudiced against us.

*The officer.*—Very well, to-morrow morning I will go with you to the sahib's bungalow. The matter will be satisfactorily disposed of there. Do not be anxious.

When you speak to the Sahib be careful to use the word 'Hazur' many times.

*Makhan Lal.*—Good morning, Sir.

*The officer.*—Good morning.

(Makhan Lal goes away.)

## ACT V.

SCENE.—*Mr. Peacock's bungalow. (The Sahib is sitting on a chair. There is a screen in front of the door, and a servant is sitting near the screen.)*

*Mr. Peacock* (soliloquises).—Only a man who is tactful can keep their people under control. Of course, the administrative machinery should be kept in a state of efficiency as otherwise our prestige will be gone. Formerly the people were very simple and could be

managed without the least difficulty. They could not understand our policy and were extremely afraid of us. But Western education has opened their eyes and the success of Japan has created new aspirations in their minds. Moreover the newspapers and novels have made them acquainted with our weaknesses. The Bengalis are creating much trouble. Last year our incompetent spies well nigh brought about our ruin, and there is no knowing what will happen next. The real truth has not yet been disclosed and it is not known where the centre of sedition is. These people are making progress on all sides. They have opened factories of various kinds, and I have seen with my own eyes people in a small city like this quite competent to manufacture and repair guns and other weapons. The people say that Makhan Lal is a very cunning fellow. Most probably he is coming again to-day in connection with the shooting case. (Rings a bell.)

*Servant.*—Sir.

*Mr. Peacock.*—Bring two or three chairs here.

*Servant.*—Very well, Sir.

(Servant brings chairs. Lala Makhan Lal and Muhammad Fazil arrive outside the screen. The servant informs the Sahib of their arrived and takes both of them in).

*Mr. Peacock.*—Come in and sit down.

*Muhammad Fazil.*—I beg to salute you.

*Makhan Lal* (bends low).—I beg to salute you.

(Both of them take chairs).

*Muhammad Fazil.*—Sir, I enquired into the case which you sent to me. I find that Lala Makhan Lal is quite innocent. Chet Ram, who is the owner of the garden, is a careless person. If he has said anything inadvertently, please forgive him. He is now repentant.

*Bidushah* (standing outside the screen, speaks in a whisper).—"And gives you permission to go daily to his bungalow to shoot pigeons. He will never object and if he does I will be responsible.

*Makhan Lal.*—Sir, kindly banish from your mind the impression produced by this affair. You know what kind of person I am.

(Voice from behind the screen) Makhan Lal is a big personage and deserves to be pardoned because he does not appear in any way to be guilty.

*Mr. Peacock.*—Good morning.

(All go away)

End of the 5th Act.

*Manager.*—Sirs, this drama has come to an end. I am obliged to you for the patience with which you have heard it enacted. Forgive such faults as were apparent in the performance. A hint is quite sufficient for sensible persons. The times are such that some are burning with the fire of envy while others are glad to see the people prosper. The world is a stage where every person must play his part to the best of his ability and lead a useful life.

Patriotism.

5. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 6th June 1908, publishes a communication from Pandit Amar Nath Prachar, who deplores the helpless condition of the country and asks his fellow-countrymen to serve their mother Bharat as ardently as they serve their earthly mothers, who gave them birth. It appears from a study of history that no country is capable of making reforms unless it is free, and hence it is desirable that attempts should be made to tell the masses that it is difficult for Indians to live without the *Swaraj*, and that all Indians should make a regular agitation (*lit* struggle) in order to gain it.

## II.—Afghanistan and Trans-frontier.

The Amir of the British Government.

6. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 29th May 1908, publishes a communication from one Aziz Ahmad of Glasgow, who remarks that he entirely approves of the desire expressed by some Hindus that the subsidy paid to the Amir should be stopped. It will be better if instead of paying a subsidy to the Amir the whole territory on the north and west of the Indus be made over to the Amir, who should be required to maintain 30 lakhs of armed Afghans ready to fight Russia at any moment. But if the authorities stop the subsidy without any adequate compensation, the result will be that the Amir will be exasperated and make common cause with Russia. Those Hindus who advocate the stoppage of the subsidy on the ground that it is now unnecessary because all misunderstanding with Russia has been removed by the Anglo-Russian agreement are quite mistaken, for Russia can never be trusted because she is bitterly hostile to England because the latter helped her enemies. The writer then concludes by urging the desirability of the establishment of an Islamic League consisting of Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan against Russia.

## VI.—Legislation.

The Press Act.

7. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 9th June 1908, takes Government to task for its indecent haste in running through the Legislative Council the Explosive Substances and the Newspapers (incitement to offences) Bills. Abetment of murder was already punishable under the Indian Penal Code, and consequently the man who showed any murderous proclivities could have been punished under the existing law. The Government, however, adds the Editor, has hurried the Bill through the Council as though it was apprehensive of an attack from an enemy and that the delay of even a single day meant endless trouble. But seeing that no unusual commotion was discovered in the country for one whole month after the discovery of bomb factories, Government might very well have passed these laws in the usual way. And as to the stringent nature of the proposed laws, it should be remembered that the people instead of being intimidated will thereby be emboldened, a fact borne out by the recent history of Russian revolutionists. Indeed, the severity of the law can strike no terror in the mind of a man who is already bent upon laying down his life, as will appear from the case of the Bengali youths who are rotting in jail. The Editor would therefore advise the Government to conciliate and not provoke the people, so that there should be no occasion for the passing of such laws.

The Press Act.

8. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 9th June 1908, says that it is a matter for regret that Government has deemed it proper to pass the Explosives and Newspapers (incitement to murder and violence) Bills at an extraordinary meeting of the Legislative Council. After remarking that the expression of independent opinion on the part of the native press is essential for the welfare of both the rulers and the ruled, the Editor observes that the Bills in question confer undue power on local magistrates and place newspapers at their mercy. In conclusion, the Editor remarks that the provision in the Newspapers (incitement to murder and violence) Bill calling upon the proprietors

and Editors of the native press to furnish security is apt to lead to the extinction of the press, and that it would have been better if time had been given for the discussion of so important a measure as the one in question.

A cartoon.

9. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 9th June 1908, publishes a cartoon in which a European is represented striking an anvil with a hammer. The letter-press runs as follows :—

"On the 8th June the Legislative Council met to pass two new Bills *viz*, "The Explosives Bill" and "The Newspapers (incitement to murder and violence) Bill." Two hot pieces of iron have been forged on the legislative anvil with very little effort on the part of a European blacksmith."

The Explosives Act and the Newspaper Act.

10. The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of the 20th June 1908 :—

"The two Acts passed at a single sitting of the Viceregal Legislative Council at Simla on the 8th June last have been and will be the subject of criticism all over the Empire, where any interest in the affairs of this country is felt. Telegraphic messages sent by Reuter's agency have given the Indian public some idea of how the British Press has viewed the matter. The action of the Government of India is generally approved. In India, the Anglo-Indian newspapers cordially approve of what has been done, whilst there are some among them which think that the Government of India has not gone as far as it might have or even should have. The more sane among them, however, do not take this extreme view of the case. As regards the Indian newspapers, the more moderate and sober among them, whilst willing to give the authorities every possible help and assistance in the maintenance of law and order, have grave doubts about the wisdom of the legislation enacted with regard to the Press. They are not disposed to think that it will prove efficacious. Both Sir Harvey Adamson and Lord Minto maintained that circumstances of an extraordinary character had practically forced the hands of the Government, and that in dispensing with the usual rules of procedure relating to the enactment of fresh legislation, Government had only yielded to the unusual demands of a situation, extraordinarily grave and critical. They held that an evil of a serious kind had arisen, and it was absolutely necessary to nip it in the bud. They were further of opinion that the existing law was scarcely sufficient to enable the authorities to cope successfully with a most difficult situation. The Viceroy in his speech laid particular stress on the point that public opinion in India, on the whole, supported the action of the Government.

"There can be no two opinions about the advisability of the Act relating to explosive substances. Our countrymen of all classes have expressed their horror of the dastardly crime committed in Muzaffarpur and their indignation and disgust at the disclosures relating to anarchist designs made in Calcutta. Sikhs, Hindus and Muhammadans are unanimous in condemning the anarchist conspiracies, and the Hon'ble Tikka Sahib of Nabha voiced the sentiments of his countrymen of all classes and creeds when he gave expression in feeling terms of the horror with which the heinous crime committed at Muzaffarpur had been viewed all over the land. * * * * Whilst it may be conceded that any delay in passing the Act further to amend the law, relating to explosive substances, might have done more harm than good, we are not prepared to admit that it was equally necessary to carry through the legislation, relating to newspapers, in hot haste. The consideration of the latter measure should have been postponed to the winter session of the Council. The members had only a few hours to give any consideration to the Bills, whilst the public knew nothing about them until after they had become Acts, and had obtained the formal assent of the Governor-General in Council. We do not think there is much difference between passing Bills into law at one sitting of the Council and legislating by means of an Ordinance. In both cases the

measures are beyond the purview of public criticism until after they have been formally enacted. The Government of India would have been well advised if they had taken the public into their confidence with reference to both these Acts. * * * * *

"It may be noted that all the Indian members present at the Council meeting united in deprecating the haste with which the legislation relating to newspapers had been carried through. There are two points in the Viceroy's speech to which we should like to call public attention. His Excellency stated that it was quite possible that the Bills might not be strong enough and, in that case, he held that the Government of India would not fail to amend them. As regards further legislation, relating to the Press, the Viceroy's words are calculated to give rise to misgivings. His Excellency said that the Newspaper Bill in no way took the place of a General Press Act, and that it in no way tied the hands of the Government of India as to the future introduction of such an Act. Are we to understand then that a Press Act is still to come? Lord Minto is a man of the fewest possible words. We fear he fully meant what he said. In his opinion India is not ripe for complete freedom of the Press, and he maintains that no exaggerated respect for principles of English freedom, totally unadapted to Indian surroundings, can justify Government in allowing the poison contained in the newspapers to work its will. We shall not be at all surprised if a few months hence a Bill with the object of curtailing the little liberty at present enjoyed by newspapers in this country is brought forward. The articles in the Anglo-Indian newspapers had already prepared us for something of the kind, and the Viceroy's words may be quoted to support what they have urged with such force and emphasis."

## VII.—General Administration.

### (*a*)—*Judicial.*

11. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 21st June 1908 :—

Jamalpur damage cases.

"The judgment of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Fletcher in the damage suits brought by Babu Brojendra Kishore Roy Choudhari and his mother against Mr. Clarke, the District Magistrate of Mymensingh, and other high local officials, which will be found printed in our telegraphic columns, will be no doubt read with gratification all through the country. For a long time past the High Court of Calcutta has been looked upon as a palladium of British justice and Justice Fletcher's able and fearless adjudication of the case will certainly go to vindicate the reputation of the Calcutta High Court in this direction. Mr. Clarke, the District Magistrate, although given full credit for acting *bonâ fide* and without malice or any improper motive, is still adjudged by the highest tribunal in the land to have conducted the search in an unwarrantable manner and failed in exercising proper supervision and control over the search and is ordered to pay damages of Rs. 500 to the plaintiff. A similar order of damage was decreed in the case brought by the plaintiff's mother, who also suffered a good deal of prestige and pecuniary loss from the violent manner in which search was made. The other cases were dismissed. We do not here propose to go through the facts of the case. In fact, they were fully brought out in the detailed proceedings of the case which were printed in our columns. * * * * Mr. Justice Fletcher's judgment will, we trust, be a warning and an eye-opener to our executive officers, who sometimes allow themselves to be so carried by their executive zeal as to leave their own supervising duty to the custody of the Police. Not only the search of the kutcheries of the plaintiff was illegal in case of the Magistrate, but the judgment bears out fully the contention of the plaintiff that the search was done in a most violent and reckless manner. The local Police might not have been quite enamoured of Babu Brojendra Kishore, especially for his princely donation to the National College, but one should have believed that the presence of the District Magistrate would at least ensure that the search was conducted in a right and proper manner. This, the judgment says, was not done. The Magistrate surrendered his functions of supervision and control to the Police, who had apparently everything their own way * * *."

*(e)—Agriculture and questions affecting the land.*

12. The *Zamindar* (Karmabad), of the 8th June 1908, says that a rumour is current to the effect that Government land in the Bari Doab Ilaka will shortly be allotted to sweepers and *chamars* who have been converted to Christianity. If the rumour is well founded the allotment of this land (to Christians) in utter disregard of the claims of those residents of the Jullundur district whose lands have of late been washed away by the river will not only be unjust, but also impolitic, inasmuch as it will create an impression among agriculturists that Government is partial towards Christians.

Grant of land to Native Christians.

*(f)—Railways and Communications.*

13. The *Jain Rattan* (Ambala), of the 28th May 1908, writing about recent Railway accidents, says that the reason why these collisions are attended with much more loss of life to Indians than to Europeans is that the 1st and 2nd class carriages containing Europeans are always placed sufficiently far back from the engine (to ensure safety). The Editor has therefore hit upon a plan which, if followed, will prevent Indians from suffering so much loss of life. The plan is that either seven goods waggons should be attached next the engine, or if this is impracticable owing to its being considered that the train will become too heavy, these waggons should be replaced by 1st and 2nd class carriages, which seldom contain more than one or two passengers. These passengers, adds the Editor, are usually persons whose families would find no difficulty in maintaining themselves in the event of their death, because only those who have got spare money can afford to travel in 1st and 2nd class carriages. Moreover, no Indian would shed a tear at the death of any such people.

Railway collisions.

14. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 17th June 1908 :—

Travelling on the N.-W. Railway.

"The respectable people among the educated community, who are in the habit of travelling second class, have been of late exercised over an invidious practice recently started over the N.-W. Railway of labelling one of the second class compartments in a train for natives and the other for Europeans. The complaint is not against providing of separate second class accommodation to the Europeans and to the Indians, but against a sort of accommodation that is provided for one as distinguished from that which is reserved for the other. We know that the suggestion was made by Indians themselves for separate second class accommodation on the lines followed on the O. R. Railway. Europeans also had expressed a similar desire in the columns of the Anglo-Indian Press. The N.-W. Railway authorities had, however, till now, refused to accept the suggestions and would not adopt them. The recent unrest has probably made them more solicitious of the safety of travelling Europeans. We have no reason for saying so, but it would not be an altogether unjustifiable inference if one were to ascribe the starting of this new practice on the N.-W. Railway to the panic raised by the bomb outrage at Muzaffarpur and the discovery of a revolutionary organization at Calcutta. Whatever may be the reason or the motive which has actuated the N.-W. Railway authorities in keeping out Indians holding second class tickets from the use of the newly built and more comfortable bogey-carriages, we cannot help remarking that their conduct is hardly legal or just. Most of the Railway revenues come from the pockets of the Indians. Of the second class travelling public also the majority consists

of the Indians, and there can be absolutely no justification for such an invidious distinction being made to their detriment on the railway. But if railway travelling is becoming more dangerous every day, or if the railway management is getting callous of the comforts of the Indians while using them, it is chiefly the fault of the latter. Why would not they learn that this world is for the fittest, and people who cannot take care of their rights and interests must go to the wall? This, however, introduces a broader subject which we intend to take up in our next issue. In the meantime we suggest that the matter be taken up by the Indian Association and agitated upon in a systematic way."

F. ISEMONGER,

*Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*

*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

SIMLA :

*The 20th June* 1908.

Punjab Government Branch Press, Simla—23-6-08—100—97.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 26. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

Received up to 27th June 1908.

---

## CONTENTS.


Page.

I.—Politics.

(a)—*Foreign*—

*Nil.*

(b)—*Home*—

1. Calcutta Anarchists (*Hitkari*) ... ... 369
2. A Portrait (*Hitkari*) ... ... ... *ib.*
3. Government and the people (*Aftab*) ... ... *ib.*
4. Government and the people (*Haq Pasand*) ... 370
5. The present day Bengalis (*Hindustan*) ... ... 371
6. The recent press prosecutions and Government (*Aftab*) 372
7. The causes of the present unrest (*Watan*)... ... *ib.*
8. The causes of the present unrest (*Hindustan*) ... *ib.*
9. The causes of the present unrest (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... *ib.*

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

*Nil.*

III.—Native States.

*Nil.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

*Nil.*

V.—Native Societies and Religious matters.

*Nil.*

Page.

VI.—Legislation.

10. The Newspapers Act (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... 373
11. The Newspapers Act (*Hitkari*) ... ... 374

VII.—General Administration.

(a)—*Judicial*—

*Nil.*

(b)—*Police*—

*Nil.*

(c)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs*—

*Nil.*

(d)—*Education*—

*Nil.*

(e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land*—

*Nil.*

(f)—*Railways and Communications*—

*Nil.*

(g)—*Postal matters*—

*Nil.*

(h)—*Miscellaneous*—

*Nil.*

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 26. ]

# SELECTIONS
## FROM THE
# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS
## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 27th June 1908.**

---

### I.—Politics.

### (*b*)—*Home.*

Calcutta Anarchists.

1. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 15th June 1908, says that Parfulla has acted up to his motto, "Liberty or Death," for instead of surrendering himself to the Policemen who came to arrest him he shot himself. His soul has now flown to a higher tribunal where kings and beggars, revolutionists and their rulers stand on the same level and no distinction is made of their respective positions in the dispensation of justice. The Editor then remarks that the severing of Parfulla's head from his body has created a feeling of horror and consternation, and the public are at a loss to understand how such a cruel act became possible under British rule. If the head was required for the purpose of identification, that object could have been more easily gained by taking a photo of the dead man. The deed will be regarded with horror and pain by posterity and extort tears of compassion from the future readers of the history of these days.

A portrait.

2. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 15th June 1908, publishes a portrait of "the pride of his nation, Srijut Babu Arabindo Ghosh."

Government and the people.

3. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 7th June 1908, writes as follows:—

"Are the English blind? Can they not see that the whole country is complaining of poverty, plague, famine, new taxes, cruelty and oppression? The Anglo-Indian press, however, which pretends to be the friend of the authorities, oblivious of the state of the country, is advocating a policy of repression. But the English should remember that those who give such advice are their enemies and not friends. Is not this evident from the fact that Government sent Tilak to jail in order to stop his writing, and the result was that hundreds of Tilaks came into existence all over the country and the pen of the country began to write faster than before? Again, Government wished to suppress the newspaper *Kesari*, but a hundred more newspapers were born in its place. Government failed to profit by this lesson and persisted in its course of oppression, and the result was that the timid Madrasi boldly received the shower of bullets on their breasts and the *dhoti*-wearing Bengalis took to bomb throwing. If a mistaken policy had not been adopted in the beginning, and if Government instead of smiting the hungry and thirsty on the face had endeavoured to allay

the feeling of disaffection with kindness, affairs never would have come to the present pass. If, however, those in authority do not choose to believe us, they may continue their oppressive policy and see to what it leads. But have we not had enough of oppression when we hear that innocent people have been flogged in jail; that the educated have been made to grind corn like animals and have been yoked to Persian wheels and oil presses, and finally that respectable Indians have been deported without any trial. If the above has not taught the authorities a good lesson, let them erect a high scaffold in some conspicuous part of a big city and hang all patriotic Indians one by one and see what consequences ensue. The shameless *Times* congratulate the Bombay Government on prosecuting the Mahratta newspapers of Bombay, but why confine the congratulation to that Government? Are not the Governments of Calcutta, Madras and the Punjab equally deserving of praise? Indeed, is there any city in India whose tyrannical rulers are immune from the contagion (*lit.* are not possessed by the evil spirit of sedition)? If the Indian Government is to be congratulated on the feeling of unrest that prevails in the country, the Governments of England, Japan and America should feel ashamed of the quiet and peaceful conduct of their subjects. The wheat of India has disagreed with the stomach of the *Times* and the bacilli generated by indigestion have affected its brain. Even a baby can understand that peace reigns in England, Japan and America because the inhabitants thereof are not oppressed and their grievances are redressed. The *Times* appears to have lost its balance of mind at the news of bomb outrages in India, for instead of taking the Bombay Government to task for its prosecutions the *Thunderer* has the impudence to congratulate it. Indeed, if the Editor of the *Times* had any sense of love of liberty he should have felt ashamed of the doings of his countrymen in India."

Government and the people.

4. The *Haq Pasand* (Amritsar), of the 11th June 1908, says that the question generally discussed now-a-days is 'How to put an end to bombs' and that it is essentially necessary to solve this question since it is at the bottom of the unrest and conceals the secret that leads to the destruction of the noblest of God's creatures. The Editor is of opinion that instead of 'How to put an end to bombs' the problem should be 'why has the bomb come into play' and what are the causes which have put so dangerous a weapon into the hands of the most peace-loving and unarmed community on the face of the earth. It is desirable to remove these causes, which consist of the following as far as one can judge :—

(1) The action of the Courts in being influenced by the colour of the parties regardless of justice. There are numerous instances of this in the country.

(2) The partition of Bengal in defiance of public opinion.

(3) The open and secret suppressing of the *swadeshi* movement—a movement calculated to enrich the country.

(4) The abolition of competitive examinations and conferring of high offices in (various) departments on the recommendation of officers.

(5) The disregard paid to Queen Victoria's Proclamation which was issued after the Mutiny of 1857.

(6) The attention paid to colour in the matter of giving employment.

(7) The passing of severe sentences on Editors for slight offences.

(8) The location of punitive police posts in various districts, and the demand of the cost of their maintenance from the advocates of the *swadeshi* movement and not from the general public.

(9) The undue severity practised by the Universities and the improper regulations issued by them.

(10) The undue severities practised by the police and the failure of the authorities to put an end to the same.

(11) The deputation of detectives to dog the footsteps of public men (*lit.* leaders).

(12) The prohibition issued to Indians to emigrate to Canada, the Transvaal, and other countries, and the permission accorded to residents of those places to come to India without let or hindrance.

(13) The improper secret agreements undertaken by the authorities with Nawab Salim Ullah, leather and opium merchants.

(14) The grant of Home Rule to new colonies and the refusal of the same to Indians.

In short, so long as these causes exist it is as unreasonable to expect that bomb-throwing will cease as to hope that *ghee* will thicken if it is placed over a fire. Let these causes be removed and you will see that bombs will disappear as fast as four armed men would be compelled to fly before thirty unarmed men.

The present day Bengalis.

5. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 5th June 1908, remarks that those Bengali boys who manufactured bombs and threw them at some English men and women have undoubtedly committed a blunder and have afforded an opportunity to the authorities to adopt repressive measures, but they have achieved success in one thing and that is that they have succeeded in wiping off the stigma of cowardice cast on their fair name by Lord Macaulay. The English people have always considered the Bengalis to be cowards, but can they have the hardihood to say so now? Do not the words Babu and Zakka Khel convey the same idea to the English now? It is an unpardonable sin to defame a whole nation, and Lord Macaulay was guilty of that grievous sin. He abused the whole Bengali race and his abuse has been regarded as gospel truth by generations of Englishmen. Nature, however, was silently at work and has taken her fifty years to remedy the wrong. That nature has succeeded in wiping off the unjust insinuation is apparent from the scenes which are being enacted in the Courts of Bengal. Only two years ago the *Spectator* repeated the words of Macaulay and remarked that the authorities would never pay heed to the national grievances of the Bengalis because the latter were weak and timid. *Hindustan*, however, retorted that the Bengalis were about to become a manly nation and that they would soon give practical

evidence of their martial spirit. It was not in a prophetic vein that *Hindustan* made this retort, and time has shown that its remark was perfectly true. The Bengali boys have proved both by words and deeds that they are becoming a manly people. The more they are abused, the sooner will they develope manly qualities. The authorities may consider them a wicked lot and punish them and crush their new-born aspirations, and the titled aristocracy of India may express their detestation of the doings of these boys in order to flatter Government, but unfortunately the great majority of the people sympathise with them. All Indians, whether literate or illiterate, Hindu or Muhammadan, old or young, women or children, feel the most hearty sympathy with them, consider them to be in the right and bitterly weep for them. Those who denounce them are considered enemies of their country and nation. The people may not give expression to their feelings of sympathy openly through fear of Government, but in their heart of hearts they love the Bengali boys and regard them as martyrs. This is a feeling which Government will find difficult to eradicate from their minds. If anybody tries to remove this feeling from their minds they say that these boys courted death not for any selfish motive or private gain, but for the sake of delivering their nation from misery and disgrace. It is a pity that Government while punishing these boys does nothing to remove the evil which led to them sacrificing their lives. Does Government hope to remove discontent from the land by such means? It is greatly mistaken if it entertains any such idea. It is high time that Government realised the true condition of the country from the courageous deeds of these Bengali boys and by the sympathy which they extort from the general public. After referring to the attitude of cynical indifference shown by these boys in Court, the Editor goes on to say that the very fact that papers like the *Yugantar* command a large sale shows that there is considerable discontent among the people, who naturally feel a liking for the diatribes indulged in by such papers. *Hindustan* concludes by referring to certain recent incidents in order to show that the Bengalis are much dreaded by the English.

The recent press prosecutions and Government.

6. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 7th June 1908, says that recent prosecutions for sedition go to show that the English are afraid of the pen. If so, they are not fit to rule over a country which has never tolerated a weak ruler. Indeed, it is only the cowardly and treacherous who are frightened by the sword and the pen. Akbar never flinched at the sight of the sword, nor did his successors hesitate to hear the complaints of the people. The practice of placing the complainants in a lock-up is of modern growth.

The causes of the present unrest.

7. The *Watan* (Lahore), of the 29th May 1908, publishes a communication from one Karamat Ali, late Zilladar, who remarks that it is extremely foolish to ascribe the present unrest and agitation prevailing in the country to the repressive policy of Government. The agitation really owes its origin to the passing of the Alienation of Land Act, which was devised with a view to afford protection to the agriculturists from the exactions of the sahukars. This Act greatly offended the non-agriculturists and especially the sahukars, who waited for an opportunity to injure the agriculturists. In the meantime Sir Charles Rivaz's Government drafted the Colonization Bill with a view to

benefit the agriculturists and proposed some amendments to the Alienation of Land Act so as to deprive the non-agriculturists of any benefit which they might have gained from the old Act. This led an astute *Arain* pleader to make common cause with short-sighted Sikhs, who was absolutely ignorant of the interests of his community and was anxious to gain fame, and, having done this, he went to Lyallpur and by means of lectures induced some simple-minded colonists to believe that the proposed Colonization Bill was injurious to their interests. As a consequence, there was agitation among some colonists, and Government therefore dropped that useful measure. The shelving of the measure was regarded by the Lala's *confrères* as the first step towards the attainment of their goal. Their next attempt was the publication of an article in the *Panjabee* in which the entire blame of the agitation was laid at the door of the zamindars. After this, when it was found that the authorities were displeased with the agriculturists, every section of non-agricultural Hindus organized deputations and approached the Lieutenant-Governor and obtained certificates of loyalty from His Honour. It is therefore highly desirable that the zamindars should try to clear themselves of the charges which their enemies brought against them so as to safeguard their own rights. The writer while a zilladar in the colonies tried to induce some of his respectable zamindar friends to do this, but the latter were so ignorant that they were quite unminful of their own interests. It therefore behoves all zamindar leaders, and especially men like the Honourable Malik Umar Hayat Khan, C.I.E., Nawab Fateh Ali Khan, Kazalbash, the successors of Bava Khem Singh, Bedi, and others to approach the new Lieutenant-Governor and contradict the charges brought against their community by the Lala in connection with the late agitation and request His Honour to pass the Colonization Bill.

8. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 5th June 1908, commenting on the above, remarks that these are the tactics by which the so-called well-wishers of Government create discontent in the country. The paper, however, hopes that His Honour will not accept the suggestion as to the passing of the Colonization Bill is calculated to rekindle discontent in the minds of the zamindars.

The causes of the present unrest.

9. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 5th June 1908, also publishes the above letter.

The causes of the present unrest.

## VI.—Legislation.

10. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 10th June 1908, also condemns the Press Act and remarks that if the Pioneer's comments are well-founded, the Act is likely to strike a blow at the liberty of the press. After remarking that Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act was passed by a Conservative Government and repealed by a Liberal Government, the paper remarks that there is no likelihood of the present Act being repealed in the near future, because it has been passed by a Liberal Government. It then goes on to say that Government should bear in mind that all vernacular papers are not guilty of criticising the measures of Government in a captious spirit. Most of them are very moderate in their tone, and while they do not hesitate to expose the defects of Government, they do so not with a view to find fault with all the

The Newspapers Act.

measures of Government, but with a sincere desire of bringing the truth to the notice of the authorities. If the new Press Act is objectionable it is so in one respect, and that is that even well-meaning vernacular papers like those already referred to will be brought within its clutches along with seditious newspapers. Otherwise there is no sensible newspaper which considers it proper to espouse the cause of those of its contemporaries which try to bring the Government into trouble.

The Newspapers Act.

11. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 15th June 1908, commenting upon the Newspapers (incitement to offences) Act, remarks that it has been hurried through the Legislative Council in spite of the protests of the Indian Members. It arms the authorities with the power of confiscating the offending press, stopping the issue of the newspaper and sending the Proprietor to Jail, a power they formerly did not possess.

F. ISEMONGER,

*Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*
*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

SIMLA :
*The 27th June* 1908.

Punjab Government Branch Press, Simla.—3-7-08—119—97.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 27. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 4th July 1908.**

---

## CONTENTS.


Page.

I.—POLITICS.

(a)—*Foreign*—

1. Ill-treatment of Indians abroad (*Jhang Sial*) ... 381

(b)—*Home*—

2. Government and the people (*Hindustan*) ... 381
3. Government and the people (*Sanatan Dharm Gazette*) 382
4. A dream (*Zamindar*) ... ... ... 383
5. The future of India (*Aftab*) ... ... ... 386
6. Calcutta Anarchists (*Hindustan*) ... ... 387
7. Calcutta Anarchists (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 388
8. The Kakinara bomb outrage (*Panjabee*) ... ... *ib.*
9. The arrest of Tilak (*Panjabee*) ... ... 389
10. The incriminating article in the *Hind Swarjia* (*Rajput Gazette*) ... ... ... 390
11. The incriminating article in the *Hind Swarjia* (*Sanatan Dharm Gazette*) ... ... ... *ib.*

II.—AFGHANISTAN AND TRANS-FRONTIER.

12. Mohmand expedition (*Hindustan*) ... ... 391

III.—NATIVE STATES.

*Nil.*

IV.—KINE-KILLING.

*Nil.*

V.—NATIVE SOCIETIES AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

*Nil.*

Page.

VI.—LEGISLATION.

13. Newspapers Act (*Hindustan*) ... ... 391
14. Newspapers Act (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... *ib.*
15. Newspapers Act (*Aftab*) ... ... ... *ib.*
16. Newspapers Act (*Vakil*) ... ... ... 392
17. Newspapers Act (*Nasim-ul-Hind*) ... ... *ib.*

VII.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

(a)—*Judicial*—

*Nil.*

(b)—*Police*—

*Nil.*

(c)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs*—

*Nil.*

(d)—*Education*—

18. Khalsa College (*Hindustan*) ... ... ... 392
19. Khalsa College (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... ... 393
20. Khalsa College (*Hindustan*) ... ... ... *ib.*
21. Khalsa College (*Hindustan*) ... ... ... *ib.*

(e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land*—

22. Means of irrigation in British India (*Hindustan*) ... 393

(f)—*Railways and Communications*—

*Nil.*

(g)—*Postal matters*—

*Nil.*

(h)—*Miscellaneous*—

23. Natives and Government service (*Hitkari*) ... 394
24. The Dehli Tramway Company (*Aftab*) ... ... 395

# LIST OF NEWSPAPERS RECEIVED DURING THE QUARTER ENDING 30TH JUNE 1908.

| No. | Name. | Locality. | Name of Publisher. | Circulation. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **ENGLISH.** | | | |
| | **DAILY.** | | | |
| 1 | Tribune ... | Lahore .. | Mul Chand ... | 1,700 copies. |
| | **BI-WEEKLY.** | | | |
| 2 | Observer ... | Lahore ... | Abdul Rashid ... | 1,000 „ |
| 3 | Panjabee ... | Do. ... | Jaswant Rai, M. A. ... | 3,700 „ |
| 4 | Punjab Times and Frontier News | Rawalpindi ... | Jiwa Ram, Thaper ... | 300 „ |
| | **WEEKLY.** | | | |
| 5 | Arya Messenger ... | Lahore ... | Arya Samaj, Anarkali ... | 700 „ |
| 6 | Khalsa Advocate ... | Amritsar ... | Bhai Ralla Singh ... | 1,000 „ |
| | **URDU.** | | | |
| | **DAILY.** | | | |
| 7 | Akhbar-i-'Am ... | Lahore ... | Govind Sahai ... | 2,000 „ |
| 8 | Paisa Akhbar ... | Do. ... | Mahbub Alam ... | 700 „ |
| | **BI-WEEKLY.** | | | |
| 9 | Hakam ... | Kadian, Gurdaspur district. | Yakub Ali ... | 900 „ |
| 10 | Punjab Samachar ... | Lahore ... | Hira Lal ... | 2,000 „ |
| 11 | Vakil ... | Amritsar ... | Ghulam Muhammad ... | 1,150 „ |
| | **WEEKLY.** | | | |
| 12 | Aftab ... | Delhi ... | Ram Chand ... | 500 „ |
| 13 | Aftab-i-Hind ... | Jullundur ... | Haji Barkat Ali ... | 200 „ |
| 14 | Ahluwalia Gazette ... | Amritsar ... | Lehna Singh ... | 500 „ |
| 15 | Army News ... | Ludhiana ... | Hira Lal & Co. ... | 1,300 „ |
| 16 | Arya Gazette ... | Lahore ... | Bhowani Das ... | 550 „ |
| 17 | Civil and Military News ... | Ludhiana ... | Saiyid Muhammad ... | 1,325 „ |
| 18 | Civil and Military Organ ... | Do. ... | Shah Din ... | |
| 19 | Curzon Gazette ... | Delhi ... | Mirza Hairat ... | 4,000 „ |
| 20 | Dost-i-Hind ... | Bhera, district Shahpur | Ram Labhaya ... | 200 „ |
| 21 | Hardil Asis ... | Delhi ... | Khadim-ul-Islam Press ... | 200 „ |

## LIST OF NEWSPAPERS RECEIVED DURING THE QUARTER ENDING 30TH JUNE 1908—CONTINUED.

| No. | Name. | Locality. | Name of Publisher. | Circulation. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | URDU—CONTINUED. | | | |
| | WEEKLY—*continued.* | | | |
| 22 | Haq Pasand ... | Amritsar ... | Ram Nath ... | 300 copies |
| 23 | Hindustan ... | Lahore ... | Ramsarn Dat ... | 1,300 „ |
| 24 | Hitkari ... | Do. ... | Sham Das ... | 850 „ |
| 25 | Jhang Sial ... | Jhang ... | Parabh Dial ... | 700 „ |
| 26 | Kapurthala Akhbar ... | Kapurthala ... | Hamid Husain ... | 155 „ |
| 27 | Khair Khah-i-Alam ... | Delhi ... | Mir Hassan ... | 110 „ |
| 28 | Khair Khah-i-Hind ... | Do. ... | Maha Narain ... | 50 „ |
| 29 | Koh-i-Nur ... | Lahore ... | "Master" Atma Ram ... | |
| 30 | Mr. Gazette ... | Do. ... | Ali Bakhsh ... | 150 „ |
| 31 | Nasim-ul-Hind ... | Do. ... | Nazim Husain Khan ... | 200 „ |
| 32 | Nur Afshan ... | Ludhiana ... | Revd. Dr. E. M. Wherry | 500 „ |
| 33 | Paisa Akhbar ... | Lahore ... | Mahbub Alam ... | 13,500 „ |
| 34 | Parkash ... | Do. ... | Soma Deva ... | 700 „ |
| 35 | Punjab Organ ... | Sialkot ... | Brij Lal ... | 300 „ |
| 36 | Rajput Gazette ... | Lahore ... | Thakur Sukhram Das ... | 650 „ |
| 37 | Municipal Gazette and Sada-i-Hind. | Do. ... | Din Muhammad ... | 500 „ |
| 38 | Sadiq-ul-Akhbar ... | Bahawalpur ... | Maulvi Ata Ulla ... | 392 „ |
| 39 | Ditto .. | Rewari ... | Saidar Husain ... | 200 „ |
| 40 | Sanatan Dharm Gazette ... | Lahore ... | Pandit Hari Kishan ... | 600 „ |
| 41 | Sher-i-Babar ... | Do. ... | Bishan Sahai ... | 500 „ |
| 42 | Sialkot Paper ... | Sialkot ... | Todar Mal ... | 500 „ |
| 43 | Siraj-ul-Akhbar ... | Jhelum ... | Maulvi Fakir Muhammad | 450 „ |
| 44 | Tahsib-ul-Niswan ... | Lahore ... | Mrs. Mumtaz Ali ... | 240 „ |
| 45 | Vakil-i-Hind ... | Delhi ... | Ahmad Mirza Khan ... | 2,416 „ |
| 46 | Victoria Paper ... | Sialkot ... | Gian Chand ... | 400 „ |

## LIST OF NEWSPAPERS RECEIVED DURING THE QUARTER ENDING 30TH JUNE 1908—CONCLUDED.

| No. | Name. | Locality. | Name of Publisher. | Circulation. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **URDU—CONCLUDED.** | | | |
| | **WEEKLY—*concluded.*** | | | |
| 47 | Wafadar ... | Lahore ... | Fazal-ud-din ... | 600 copies. |
| 48 | Watan ... | Do. ... | Muhammad Insha Alla... | 1,800 „ |
| 49 | Zamindar ... | Karmabad, Gujranwala district. | Siraj-ud-din Ahmad ... | 750 „ |
| | **FORTNIGHTLY.** | | | |
| 50 | Anwar-ul-Islam ... | Sialkot ... | Karim Bakhsh ... | 900 „ |
| 51 | Jain Ratan ... | Ambala ... | P. Rishi Kesh Shashtri... | 400 „ |
| 52 | Mohyal Gazette ... | Kala, Jhelum district ... | Mehta Sham Dass ... | 100 „ |
| | **MONTHLY.** | | | |
| 53 | Amrit ... | Hissar ... | Ganeshi Lal, B. A. ... | 200 „ |
| 54 | Arya Musafir ... | Jullundur ... | Wazir Chand ... | 1,300 „ |
| 55 | Azad ... | Lahore ... | Bishan Sahai ... | 500 „ |
| 56 | Indar ... | Do. ... | Dharm Pal ... | 700 „ |
| 57 | Ishayat-ul-Quran ... | Do. ... | Muhammad Chittu ... | 500 „ |
| 58 | Kakezai Social Reformer ... | Do. ... | Fazal-ud-din ... | 500 „ |
| 59 | Makhzan ... | Delhi ... | Abdul Kadir ... | 1,050 „ |
| 60 | Sadhu ... | Lahore ... | Shivrat Lal, M. A. ... | 500 „ |
| 61 | Sewak ... | Hansi ... | Kishori Lal, B.A. ... | 200 „ |
| | **HINDI.** | | | |
| | **WEEKLY.** | | | |
| 62 | Sat Dharm Parcharak ... | Jullundur ... | Munshi Ram ... | 1,670 „ |
| | **PUNJABI.** | | | |
| | **MONTHLY.** | | | |
| 63 | Raghbir Patrika ... | Jhang ... | Prab Dial ... | 500 „ |

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 27. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

**Received up to 4th July 1908.**

---

### I.—Politics.

#### (*a*)—*Foreign.*

Ill-treatment of Indians abroad.

1. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 13th June 1908, says that it is but natural for a man to feel proud of his country and resent his ill-treatment by foreigners. When he is ill-treated abroad he cannot help feeling that he would not have been so dealt with in his own country. The case of Indians, however, is an exception to the general rule. Indians residing in South Africa, Canada and Australia are being grossly ill-treated, insulted and oppressed by the colonists, but they have to bear all this patiently, knowing as they do that they can be no better off even in their motherland. The Editor then refers to some of the grievances of natives and wishes his countrymen to clearly understand that as long as they are not respected in their own land they have no right to complain of ill-treatment abroad. Indeed, a people destitute of all sense of self-respect can never command respect from others. Indians have therefore to thank themselves alone for their present disgraceful condition. Their trade, houses, lands and even their very souls have passed into the hands of foreigners, and the result is that they are no better than strangers in their own country and have no voice in its government. The paper then tells them that if they wish to better their condition they should acquire a strong will, improve indigenous arts and industries, boycott foreign goods and prove to the world that they also possess a sense of self-respect.

#### (*b*)—*Home.*

Government and the people.

2. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 12th June 1908, remarks that although the English have been enjoying the liberty of speech and writing for centuries past, and owe their present greatness and advancement to this freedom, they have been enacting laws to muzzle the native press and tell the people that it is better for the latter to be gagged. If they are asked why they themselves shed blood in order to obtain this liberty for themselves they merely reply that England is not India. It therefore comes to this, that what is beneficial for England is injurious for India and that which is a virtue in the Englishman is a heinous crime in Indians. The truth is being brought home to natives by means of imprisonment, hanging and repression. The paper then ironically remarks that liberty is beneficial for the English, but is highly injurious for the people of this country. The former, who were savages only two centuries ago, know how to rule men, but the latter, who relinquished the

reins of Government only fifty years ago and still govern one-third of the country, are no better than donkeys. Again, in the case of Englishmen patriotism is a spiritual passion (*ruhani jazba*), but in the case of Indians it is regarded as a criminal, wicked and seditious thing. In short, it would seem that God has ruled that nothing good is beneficial for natives and only such things are beneficial for them which are so regarded by the authorities. Anyone who thinks otherwise commits heresy, and it is therefore the religious duty of the authorities to forcibly convert to their view those who may differ with them. After remarking that such coercive methods proved ineffectual in England, the Editor dwells on the futility of the constitutional methods of agitation in the case of India and says that the prevailing unrest is ascribable to the failure of Indians to obtain justice from Government. When, he adds, the people discovered that Government was bent on repression and paid no heed to their legitimate grievances, they abandoned all hope of obtaining justice from it. The result was that some hot-blooded young men in Bengal, who could no longer put up with their degraded condition, took to bomb-throwing. The authorities prohibited public meetings, and this has led to the establishment of secret societies and the manufacture of bombs. It is now well nigh impossible to put down those evils. The more the authorities resort to repression the deeper will the feeling of revenge among the people become. Bombs will continue to be manufactured in spite of the Explosives Act, inasmuch as more than one person knows the art of making them and many discontented rich men are willing to finance the Anarchist movement. The passing of the Newspapers Act has rendered the situation all the more grave, and it will not surprise the Editor if there is a serious commotion in the country in a short time hence, because all Indians, including women and children, have been prejudiced against British rule. The authorities should remember that the fire which is burning in the hearts of Indians is likely to lead to serious consequences. The people have begun to realise their national disgrace and to distinguish between justice and injustice. It has been brought home to them that in these days the word "policy" means deception, loyalty disloyalty, patriotism sedition, rewards punishment and hanging martyrdom. Those therefore who advise Government to follow a policy of repression, to hang natives, to destroy Indian arts, industries and trade, to gag the native press and to disgrace the people are its worst enemies and desire the overthrow of British rule in their heart of hearts, because they cannot but know that these are the sure means to goad Indians into rebellion. The Editor concludes by condemning the Newspapers Act as a useless and pernicious piece of legislation.

Government and the people.

3. The *Sanatan Dharm Gazette* (Lahore), of the 10th June 1908, deplores the prevalence of sedition in the country, and says that the rulers and the ruled should combine to remove the causes which have brought about this sad state of affairs. The exigencies of the time demand that the King Emperor should have direct relations with his Indian subjects and should try to put down unrest by taking the latter into his confidence. The Editor then emphasises the desirability of Government adopting a conciliatory policy towards the people, and remarks that sedition will continue to exist in the country as long as the King Emperor does not look into the doings of his Anglo-Indian servants and does not redress the grievances of his native subjects.

A Dream.

4. The *Zamindar* (Karmabad), of the 16th June 1908, publishes the following in continuation of its previous dream (*vide* paragraph 1 of Selections No. 25) :—

"On the third day a huge concourse of people began to pour in before the appointed hour. This time the audience was far larger than the gathering during the first two sittings. His Majesty's arrival being delayed, the spectators began to express their thoughts as follows :

'*The feelings of natives* (lit *blackmen*).'

*Kali Prasanno Kumar.*—Well, Mahendro Babu, did you hear Mr. Anglo-Indian's speech in reply to Swaraj Babu's ?

*Mahendro Babu.*—Yes, I have heard everything. The Feringhee did his best, but I can conscientiously say that Swaraj Babu's speech was very powerful.

*Jogindro Nath Bose.*—O my father, remember that although Swaraj Babu may be perfectly right, the decision to be pronounced rests with the White King. All these *Topiwalas* are one. There is no hope of justice being done.

*Nagindro Sen Ghosh.*—Hear me, Babu. If they do not do justice, how will the bomb factories cease to exist ?

*Jotindro Nath Sen.*—These *salas* (*lit* brother-in-law, hence a term of abuse) called us cowards, wearers of *dhotis* and eaters of fish and boiled rice. Well, they have seen some fun now.

*Mohindro Babu.*—What is meant by the word *Bazdil* (coward) ?

*Jotindro Nath Sen*—(These) *salas* liken us to goats.

*Gopi Nath Sarkar.*—The *salas* will wake when the goats' horns enter their bellies. We will become national martyrs. All the Englishmen (in India) will run away. The Muhammadan *salas* have not joined us else we would have gained victory long ago.

*Mohindro Babu.*—What can they do ? We are 25 crores, while they number only 6 crores. They are, besides, low caste people.

*Kali Prasanno Kumar.*—King Edward is undoubtedly related to these white *salas*, but the bombs used by Mahasoy Khudi Ram Bose and Dhanesh Babu have done useful work. All Englishmen are now afraid and bleat like sheep.

*Moti Lal Ghosh.*—How do you make that out ? They passed two laws on the 8th to deal with bomb-making and newspapers. Adamson says that newspapers are more dangerous than bombs. There is now an end to bombs and newspapers.

*Mohindro Babu.*—But I think all of them are afraid in their hearts. (Outwardly) they are resorting to threats like jackals, but in their hearts they feel fear like sheep.

*Gopi Nath Sarkar.*—Oh ! Oh ! Traitorous Musalman *Salas* are born in India, breathe Indian air and live on the water and grain of India, but all of

them are unworthy of their salt. If they had joined us we could have obtained whatever we liked to ask for. They are on all fours with Englishmen. We will be able to settle with them after we have done with the English.

*Moti Lal Ghosh.*—First the English and then the Muhammadans. There will then be *Swadeshi and Swaraj* all over India. Everything will be ours. Golden India ! Golden India !!

*Islam-ud-Din.*—What are you talking about, Babu Sahib ?

*Gopi Nath Sarkar.*—Friend, we say 'You are our brothers, our fathers. You and we are one. (We both have) the same blood, the same country and the same forefathers. You rank first and we come next. We know that you bend before (the authorities) through fear, but that both of us are of the same mind. When the English go away you will be rulers to us and we will be as subjects to you.'

*Abdur Rahman.*—(*Whispers to Islam-ud-Din*) I overheard their talk. They said that after settling with the English they would smite Muhammadans. At the sight of you, however, they have begun to speak in quite a different strain.

While the Bengalis were holding this conversation on one side a few Muhammadans were gossiping to one another as follows :—

*Abdul Haq.*—I wonder how those cowardly Bengalis, who wear *dhotis* and eat fish and boiled rice, have become so courageous that they do not care even for their lives.

*Khudadad Khan.*—And the strange thing is that although Muhammadans also live in Bengal not the least enthusiasm is visible among them.

*Ghulam Rasul.*—How can they be enthusiastic ? Their rule in India was overthrown before the establishment of British rule in the country. Unfortunately for them the English were misled to think that they were still possessed of vitality and that it was from them that they had obtained the sceptre of India. Naturally, therefore, the policy of the new rulers was to crush the Muhammadans in order that they might not lift up their heads again. Rightly or wrongly the entire blame for the Mutiny of 1857 was also laid at their door, and those members of the ruling race who were unacquainted with the real facts and the intentions of Musalmans continued to wreak vengence on the Prophet's followers. Hindus also profitted by the opportunity to avenge themselves on Muhammadans for their treatment of them while they ruled. They, too, tried to humble Musalmans as much as they could. It was owing to this that all feeling of national enthusiasm among Muhammadans was killed. As regards their ignorance and shortsightedness, which occasionally stands them in good stead, this is the outcome of the teachings of their religion. Our Prophet has enjoined upon his followers to obey a just King, even if he be a black Ethiopian. But it so happens that they are ruled by white Sovereign who is just, the King Emperor. Why should they not be obedient to His Majesty ? It is owing to the teachings of their religion that Muhammadans are rarely guilty of rebellion not only under British rule, but also under other Governments and in other countries. They have kept aloof from the agitation in Bengal just as they avoid sedition in Russia, Bulgaria,

Servia, Macedonia, Austria and France. You have never heard the name of a Muhammadan who was an Anarchist and Nihilist in Europe. But the terrible picture of us which bigoted Christian Missionaries and religious fanatics of Europe have painted for their fellow-countrymen was bound to create suspicion against us.

*Ghulam-us-Saqlain.*—But the kind of excitement which prevails among the Bengalis in these days is condemned by every religion.

*Ghulam Rasul.*—The followers of other faiths do not obey religion as strictly as Muhammadans do. Christ has ordered his followers to turn the right cheek to the smiter of the left, but no Christian Government acts up to this injunction, nay it invents diverse pretexts in order to satisfy its hunger for land.

*Zafarulla Khan.*—By God, if I were to become the ruler of a country I would turn out all persons who did not belong to my religion and nation just as Omar rid Arabia of Christians and Jews and ordered all of them to go to Syria.

*Ghulam Murtaza.*—But the Jews and Christians expelled by Omar from Arabia were aliens. The Caliph did not turn out a single child of the soil, nor can any ruler so treat the natives of a country.

*Habibulla.*—Stop this useless talk, friends, and tell me how it will effect Muhammadans if His Majesty decides in favour of the people of India.

*Zafarulla Khan.*—I do not care for consequences. Mahmud, Baber and other (Muhammadans) conquerors of India used to subdue and rule the country and carry away booty worth crores with the aid only of small armies. Will now we Muhammadans, who number six crores, not be able even to live in peace here and take care of ourselves ?

*Ghulam Murtaza.*—But those days have passed away. The people of India are no longer such that Mahmuds and Babers could come and do whatever they liked. You used to call the Bengalis cowards, wearers of *dhotis*, and so on, but they have become so courageous now and are so devoted to their country and nation that even the British Government has begun to fear them. They moved heaven and earth to have the partition of Bengal cancelled, but there was no stir at the time of the division of the Punjab, which is inhabited chiefly by Muhammadans, although stringent laws are in force in the Frontier Province, the population of which consists entirely of Musalmans.

*Ghulam Rasul.*—I am of opinion that if the English were to leave India Muhammadans also would either have to emigrate or bid farewell to their liberty, honour and religion.

*The conversation among the white men.*

While the Indians were thus conversing on one side the white men were also talking on the other.

*Mr. James Wakefield.*—Mr. Anglo-Indian's speech was so strong that the petition filed by natives is certain to be rejected.

*Mr. Donald Stewart.*—I do not share this opinion. Our King and Ministers have been so frightened at the bomb outrages that they apprehend the overthrow of this Empire. If Indians do not achieve complete success they will assuredly gain something.

*Mr. John Bull.*—If they succeed in spite of these acts of wickedness, and in spite of rebellion and bloodshed, the English will find it impossible to remain here.

*Mr. James Wakefield.*—I apprehend no danger. Six or seven crores of Muhammadans will be on our side.

*Mr. O'Brien.*—There can be no trusting Muhammadans. They and the Hindus are chips of the same block. Nay, in my opinion, they are more dangerous than Hindus. They are braver and more courageous, and they have been looking back with regret at the overthrow of their rule in India. Further, they have the kingdoms of Afghanistan, Persia and Turkey at their back.

*Mr. James Wakefield.*—Afghanistan is not a civilised country. Persia suffers from internal troubles, and Turkey is so far distant that she cannot render the least help to the Muhammadans of India. They are entirely at our mercy.

*Mr. O'Brien.*—I for one apprehend more danger from them. They also are Indians and descended from Hindus. The same blood flows in the viens of Hindus and Muhammadans. Both have the same complexion and mode of living. Muhammadans have greater social intercourse with Hindus than with us. Even if they receive no help from Afghanistan and Persia, they are closer in ties to Hindus than to us.

*Mr. James Wakefield.*—But Indians, be they Hindus or Muhammadans, have had their minds filled with feelings of discord and disunion by nature. They can neither unite nor injure us in any way.

*Mr. Wiseman.*—You are building castles in the air. I apprehend danger from Japan alone. Japan is a powerful Kingdom in Asia and professes Budhism, which has much in common with the Hindu religion. Nay, the founder of the faith who is revered in Japan was an Indian. The Indians have become highly elated since the defeat of Russia at the hands of the Japanese. A peculiar sympathy exists between Indians and Japanese, and I am of opinion that it is at the instance of Japan alone that the Bengalis have been carrying on their agitation.

*Postponement of the meeting.*

While the various groups were still talking in this strain, Lord Chamberlain appeared and announced that the King Emperor could not come that day, that the meeting was dissolved, and that all parties should attend the following day.

**The future of India.**

5. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 14th June 1908, remarks that it should not surprise any one if Indians, who are in the hands of slavery, are regarded with contempt by the independent nations of the world. Such nations

cannot but look upon Indians as devoid of shame since they have been unable to protect their own country and honour against "the enemy." Do thirty crores of Indians deserve to be called human beings when they have bid goodbye to their sense of shame, their courage, bravery and patriotism and their regard for religion? Free people say: "the English only number five crores and yet they rule the whole world. The Japanese are five crores in number and still they inflicted defeat after defeat on Russia. The Americans numbered only four crores, but they drove the English out of their country. Portugal and Italy freed themselves from the yoke of Spain and France. Greece throw off the yoke of Turkey, and Brazil that of Portugal. Paraguay, Uruguay, Peru, Chili, Equador, Columbia, Mexico and Panama freed themselves from the clutches of tyrannical Europe. Why go far (for such instances)? Afghanistan, which is a sparsely inhabited (*lit.* an uninhabited) mountainous country and contains a population of only 50 or 60 lakhs, has never become a slave of Europe up to the present day. Fie on Indians, who have tarnished the pages of the history of the world by their black deeds and the stories of their cowardice and unmanliness. They are human beings, but they resemble lustreless pearls. All this, adds the Editor, is true, but foreign nations should wait and see what Indians can accomplish. Indians also possess a sense of shame and are brave, intrepid and courageous. They have a liking (*lit.* a smell) for liberty." The paper concludes as follows:—"Have patience, you who have been taunting us. We also are going to gird up our loins and show the strength of our arms. We also are about to join in the race for liberty. You will see that we also will become free. You will see the sun of our greatness and glory shine once more. You will see us again become famous in all four quarters of the globe. We also are not mean beings. It was only for the moment that we became apathetic."

Calcutta Anarchists.

6. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of 12th June 1908, quotes an extract from the *Pioneer*, dated the 29th August 1906, justifying the doings of Russian bomb-throwers. In the quotation it is said that troops can achieve nothing against the bomb and that a ruler cannot govern his subjects with the sword. Now, however, says the Editor, when the bomb-thrower has appeared in India the Allahabad Anglo-Indian daily advises Government to pass a Press Act and shoot ten innocent Indians with every revolutionist. Has it now come to believe that it is possible to rule with the sword and that troops can prove of use against bomb-throwers? Again, is it unaware that more than half the army in India is made up of native soldiers, whose interests are identical with those of the revolutionists? Will vengeance, moreover, extinguish the fire and will the English be able to preserve their despotic rule in India? After enquiring what one should think of the inconsistency of the *Pioneer*, the Editor asks whether all Englishmen are unreliable, untruthful, hypocritical and grossly selfish. He is not prepared to think so, and cannot, without further experience, condemn a whole nation because of a few hypocritical, selfish, tyrannical and mischievous individuals who belong to it. He adds that if there are defects in British rule it can also boast of several good points. Likewise, if there are Englishmen who are mischievous, wicked, hard-hearted and extremely tyrannical, some of their fellow-countrymen are veritable angels who deserve to be respected and loved. Natives wish to remove the defects (in British rule) and to make bad men

give up their reprehensible habits. So far they have been disappointed in their efforts and their disappointment has made them angry. If Government deepens their disappointment, it will add to their anger still further. It should not blink, but should face the situation.

Calcutta Anarchists.

7. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 13th June 1908, says that the even-handed justice for which British rule was noted once has become a thing of the past, and consequently unrest prevails throughout the country. The paper adds that a school boy who was recently arrested on the charge of having been concerned in the Midnapur bomb case has been confined in a cell in Jail and is being treated in an undesirably shocking manner in order to squeeze information from him. If, however, he is acquitted subsequently, or dies in Jail from the effects of the ill-treatment, who will be responsible for his sufferings. The Editor then refers to the alleged torture in Alipur Jail of the Anarchists who are now on their trial at Calcutta, and remarks that Government will be wholly justified in imprisoning or even hanging them if they are found guilty. It, however, smacks of Russian methods to torture them in the manner alleged and bodes ill to Government, because their ill-treatment is likely to prejudice the people against Government.

The Kankinara bomb outrage.

8. The following is from the *Punjabee* (Lahore) of the 1st July 1908 :—

"Public opinion in Bengal is not inclined to attach any political significance to the Kakinara bomb outrage. The fact is some European assistants in the Bengal jute mills, belonging as they do a certain well-known species of John Bull, are generally not on good terms with the 'native' operatives in the mills. Time was when the latter silently submitted to the frequent assaults of the former; but for some time past the old order has been changing, and the pugilistic propensities of the white 'Nabobs' have been receiving frequent checks from retaliating hands. It is more than probable that in the present instance the bomb has only taken the place of shuttle or rove-bobbin. We are glad to observe that 'Max' also is of the same opinion. 'No one can defend,' he says, 'the use of shuttles and bobbins and bombs under any circumstances, but neither can any one defend the striking of a worker even under provocation. There are now at least from five to six hundred jute mill assistants in the mills on the Hooghly, and I am proud to say that by far the overwhelming majority of them (my own countrymen) are men of character who neither strike their workers nor get drunk at any time. But there is still a small residuum of which that cannot be said. And it is these, small though their number may be, who are a standing menace to the peace and well-being of the mills with which they happen to be connected.' Indeed, on the arrivals of the late trains at their destinations nearest to the jute mills on Saturday and Sunday evenings, some of the aforementioned gentlemen 'present scenes of a very humiliating description.' 'Max' would have such creatures 'fired out at all hazards as being a curse to the mills with which they are connected.' Everything points to the bomb outrage at Kakinara having been prompted by motives other than political. Indeed, some of the spikes extracted from the bodies of the victims have appeared to have belonged to the mills. Poor Mr. Campsie, however, is known to be a good fellow; and it is just possible that, in tracking his victim or victims, the avenger made the same mistake as Khudiram did at Muzaffarpur. It is among the possibilities of the world that the bomb has come to stay in this country as a weapon whose use is no longer to be confined to motives purely political. But that makes a situation still more critical and dangerous. However, whatever be the motives, there can be no justification for this new-fangled mode of revenge in the spiritual atmosphere of India. This at any rate ought to open the eyes of our countrymen to the fact that the material civilization of the West is not an unmixed blessing to be adopted wholesale.

9. The following is from the *Punjabee* (Lahore) of the 1st July 1908 :—

The arrest of Tilak.

"The news of Mr. Tilak's arrest has aroused wide-spread indignation, accompanied by a sense of consternation and helplessness such as has never been felt before by the generations that are living. Mr. Tilak's name is one of those that are looked upon as the gods of Modern India. He is very deservedly held in very high estimation by all classes of people throughout the length and breadth of this Continent. Even those who are not well disposed towards him or who differ from him in his politics or in his methods cannot help admitting that the man is, every inch of him, a unique personality. His motives stand high and his patriotism ranks second to none. His life has been a standing record of earnestness and sacrifices, and the nerve that he displays in hours of difficulty lifts him head and shoulders above his contemporaries. However people may criticise the impolicy of his conduct at Surat, those who saw the scenes at the adjourned sitting of the Congress on the 27th of December can never forget the brave figures which he cut, when with crossed arms he stood a solitary figure among his opponents on the dais, maintaining his point and refusing to leave his place unless physically removed. Immediately after the events at Surat he had to pass through an ordeal of fire, when from all sides a storm burst over his devoted head, giving him all sorts of bad names, calling him the enemy of his country, as having stabbed the Mother at the heart, and so on. Any other man would have been swept away by the fury of the hurricane that passed over his head; any other man would have lost his position in the country irretrievably without any chance of redemption. What he lost by his impolicy at Surat in the first three months of this memorable year, if he lost at all, is going to be restored to him with more than compound interest by the favours of a Governor whom everybody thought to be possessed of those rare and statesmanlike virtues which win over the enemies even. Whatever may be Mr. Tilak's foibles, there can be no mistaking his fearless patriotism. He is the one man among the Indian journalists who has raised the profession to the rank of an apostolate carried on with the purest of motives and in the highest of interests. Such a man stands to-day at the bar of an Anglo-Indian Court, accused of the crime of sedition under Section 124 A of Indian Penal Code for the second time in his life. His first conviction was the occasion for a marked departure in the Indian law of sedition. The strained construction that had to be put on the existing law by Mr. Justice Strachey, in order to convict him and shut him up for 18 months, furnished the occasion for a more amplified codification of the law of sedition and seditious libels. The working of this law within the last four or five years has conclusively established how unsafe and precarious the so-called liberty of the Press in this country is. While the Anglo-Indian Press defies it with impunity in almost every issue of its daily organs, even the smallest pretext is seized of to run down the Indian journalist who has courage enough to criticise adversely the action of the ruling beauracracy. The article in question upon which the present prosecution is based, a translation of which has been supplied by the *Pioneer*, and is reproduced by us in another column, is hardly of that nature which could justly form the subject of a sedition trial in any European country. It is in no way very different in tone or in its nature from the numerous articles that have appeared on the subject in the Indian or the English Press. The article expressly condemns the action of the bomb-throwers and makes an earnest appeal to the Government for such reforms in the administration as are likely to root out the causes which have given birth to the cult of the Bomb. On the perusal of the article one cannot help feeling that that cannot be the only basis of such a serious step against such a man. There must be something behind it which must have influenced the decision of the Government for prosecuting Mr. Tilak on such a charge. Evidently, the Government having entered on a crusade of extermination against the Nationalist Press in India; they thought their campaign was not likely to bear its fruit so long as the great Marhatta leader enjoyed his personal freedom to checkmate the various moves of the Government. All what we can say is that we are sorry for the Government as well as for ourselves, because we do not believe the conviction of Mr. Tilak is likely to improve the relations between the rulers and the ruled in this country.

"There is no use of sermonising on the duty of the Government in this crisis. The Governors are not in a mood to take their duty from us. The simultaneous prosecutions started in all the Provinces against Nationalist organs are indications of a settled policy and a determined campaign. Whether this policy would succeed in rooting out Nationlism from India, or in improving the confidence of the people in British justice, it is difficult to say. It is unfortunate that events should develop so fast as to add to the volume of dissatisfaction that undoubtedly exists. The Indian journalism and the Indian patriotism are both on their trial. . We are no admirer of rowdyism or hooligansim in the Press or on the Platform, nor are we particularly enamoured of the use of unrestrained language in the performance of our unpleasant task, but we feel that this is no time for temporising. If the Government thinks they owe it to themselves to maintain peace and order even at the sacrifice of some of the noblest traits of British character, the Indian journalist and the Indian patriot owe it to themselves to continue to plead the cause of their country regardless of personal danger or loss. The best part of the Indian Press believe that the highest interests of patriotism require an outspoken criticism of Government measures and of Government policy. If in the performance of this duty they have at times used strong language, it is because constant failures to get justice and satisfaction put out even the most disciplined mind. There are moments in the life of every human being when it becomes difficult for him to control his passions and to keep his temper. The Indian journalist is no exception to this rule, nor are the members of the ruling beauracracy. As human beings both are on the same level, the only distinction being that the men invested with vast powers and authority over their fellow beings are expected to be more considerate and disciplined in their treatment of the people over whom they are put in authority. If, however, the former are as helpless to control themselves and their temper in times of excitement as the latter, they lose all justification for the superiority of the position which they enjoy and become directly responsible for the complications that are the outcome of their loss of temper. We do not believe there is any Indian who possesses a head over his shoulders who in his sane moments believes that the Government is not powerful enough to suppress sedition or to punish those who show the least disposition to defy their authority, but we wonder if the Statesmen responsible for the Government of India honestly believe that their present policy of unmixed repression will eventually root out all discontent from the country. The very fact that there are so many sedition trials going on at one and the same time in almost all parts of India so distantly situated from one another as Madras and the United Provinces, and as Bengal and Bombay, is sufficient evidence that the existing malady is neither spasmodic nor the artificial creation of a few malcontents. If it is deeply rooted it is not likely to be successfully met by this symbolic treatment. The causes of the disease will have to be sifted and removed. To our own countrymen we can not but repeat the advice which we have so often given on occasions like these, *viz.*, to be calm and steady, to try to keep their temper and to continue in their struggle for their political status with the manliness and perseverance worthy of the cause. Great objects are not to be gained without great risks. Mr. Tilak and his fellow-workers will not have suffered in vain if their sufferings result in instilling a spirit of righteous love of liberty in the minds of their countrymen. Only we wish that the temple of liberty would be kept undefiled by any such acts as are, according to the ethical standard we believe in, unrighteous and sinful.

The incriminating article in the *Hind Swaraj*.

10. The *Rajput Gazette* (Lahore), of the 8th June 1908, reprints from the *Parkash* an Urdu translation of the article for publishing which in its issue dated the 14th April last *Hind Swaraj* is being prosecuted.

The incriminating article in the *Hind Swaraj*.

11. The *Sanatan Dharm Gazette* (Lahore), of the 10th June 1908, reprints from the *Army News* a translation of the same article.

## II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

Mohmand expedition.

12. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 12th June 1908, says that Rs. 30,00,000 has been spent on the Mohmand expedition. The British forces have succeeded in utterly vanquishing the enemy and have like generous victors proposed the following terms of peace of their own accord;—"For God's sake pay some fine and hand over three or four unserviceable rifles." After remarking that the foolhardy Mohmands did not accept even these terms, the Editor ironically observes that the terms offered them were very harsh, and that in its efforts to secure the friendship of a brave people Government should not mind the loss of 30 lakhs and of about a score of English lives. Government should bring the Mohmands round to its views by paying them something, so that it may be their constant effort to make the English visit them once more and make more payments to them. Such things cannot detract from British prestige at all, for that can only be lowered by Government's redressing the grievances of its subjects.

## VI.—Legislation.

Newspapers Act.

13. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 12th June 1908, writing about the Newspapers Act, remarks that the more the authorities resort to repression the better it will be for the country. A number of Viceroys ruled India before Lord Curzon, but it was His Lordship's treatment of her which awakened her—albeit rudely—from her sleep. After remarking that Lord Minto also has placed her under obligation, the Editor says that the Act will undoubtedly prove effective in muzzling the press, but that it will also drive discontent, which has come to be called sedition, underground. Presses, he adds, will be worked in secret and pamphlets will be distributed in the same manner, the object of which it will be impossible to neutralize.

Newspapers Act.

14. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 15th June 1908, takes exception to the inclusion in the Newspapers Act of the words incitement to acts of violence as conferring too large powers on the authorities. It adds that the word "incitement" will have the effect of deterring even moderate newspapers from publishing what it would be necessary for Government to know. In other words, the new law will not only extinguish extremist journals, but will also render their moderate contemporaries of no service to Government and the people. After remarking that the silence of the papers will prove as harmful to Government as the insolent writings of the *Yugantar*, the Editor says that journalism was already a dangerous profession in India, but that the new Act has made it a ruinous occupation.

Newspapers Act.

15. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 14th June 1908, writing on the same subject, remarks that only those newspapers will be punished under the new Act which are guilty of inciting the people to rebel or to murder Europeans. The *Aftab* has always detested acts of violence and has never incited the people to rebel against or to kill their English rulers. Still if the authorities desire its suppression they can construe any word in it as signifying incitement to violence. A condemnation of the doings of some Anglo-Indian officers is

also likely to be similarly construed. Again, the courts are presided over by foreigners thirsting for the blood of Indians, and such judicial officers cannot be expected to do justice in cases under the Act. The Editor is therefore prepared for the worst. He has, however, hit upon a plan. It needs only two presses to print the *Aftab*, and he has set up this number of presses in separate houses in the name of certain Englishmen. If presses now used for printing the paper are confiscated and the printer and the publisher are sent to Jail and no other person is allowed to print and publish the journal, the Editor will start another periodical called by a different name. It will be supplied to all subscribers of the *Aftab* as usual. In conclusion, the Editor says that he does not disapprove of the Newspaper Act because he is strongly opposed to the use of violence.

Newspapers Act.

16. The *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 13th June 1908, remarks that, having regard to the circumstances under which the Act has been passed, no sensible person can oppose the measure. The necessity for the new law had been long felt. It will not interfere with the liberty of the press and will only deal a death-blow to those papers whose mission consists in preaching the gospel of murder and violence.

Newspapers Act.

17. The *Nazim-ul-Hind* (Lahore), of the 13th June 1908, says that the immoderate writings of certain newspapers are responsible for the new law. It is, however, equally true that it is unbecoming for a powerful Government like the British to have passed such a strong measure. It is to be feared besides that the Act will have the effect of adding to the number of secret societies in the country and making it still more difficult for Government to obtain correct information about the people. In conclusion, the paper says that it is very easy for Government to deal with the present situation in the country and that it should not punish the innocent along with the guilty.

## VII—General Administration.

### (*d*)—*Education.*

Khalsa College.

18. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 12th June 1908, publishes a communication from Ajit Singh, who says that although the Secretary of the Khalsa College Committee will continue to be appointed from among the Sikhs, the election will invariably be made by Government. Again, a highly-placed English officer will henceforth be the President of the Committee. The College can therefore prove of no use to the Sikh community. The writer cannot say what truth there is in the assertion that Government considers it to its interest to keep the Sikhs in a state of ignorance. He is, however, of opinion that his co-religionists should cease to lean on others and should learn to stand on their own legs. It should be no difficult task for them to establish Colleges of their own which should impart instruction in consonance with the teachings of Sikhism and should be wholly free from interference by Government. There are lakhs of Sikhs in the Punjab, and if each one of them were to contribute one rupee they could establish a University, let alone a College. Fifty or sixty years ago the Gurus' followers were able to administer a kingdom. Have they come to fall so low that they connot manage a College now? Ajit Singh next suggests that some educated young Sikhs should beg for funds in every

village, town and city and that they should establish a College at a very early date. They should not feel discouraged at the thought that the *alumnæ* of the institution will not be given employment under Government. Service is worse than slavery. Their is, besides, much other work in the country for them to do, and more is being provided daily. In conclusion, the writer offers to go about begging for funds for the suggested College.

Khalsa College.

19. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 20th June 1908, also publishes the above.

The Khalsa College.

20. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 12th June 1908, accuses the authorities of having followed a policy of "Divide and rule" in order to separate the Sikhs from Hindus and of having encouraged the Neo-Sikhs to remove idols from the precincts of the Golden Temple in spite of protests and threats from the Raja of Nabha. It adds that the Neo-Sikhs went even the length of declaring that they had more in common with Muhammadans than with the followers of Hinduism. They took their cue from the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and tried to curry favour with the authorities by separating themselves from Hindus. There is, however, one great difference between the deceased Knight of Aligarh and these Sikhs, and this is that while the former advocated the necessity for self-help in the matter of national progress, the latter are wholly incapable of acting up to that principle. They cannot manage even their own religious affairs, which is evident from the fact that even the management of their Golden Temple is in the hands of the Deputy Commissioner. The paper then goes on to say that Government has come to realise that the prevailing agitation and unrest is due entirely to education. It is therefore anxious to protect the Sikhs from the evil efforts of education. And now that the Khalsa College has come entirely under its control only such books will be taught at the institution as are calculated to keep the Sikhs loyal to the throne. All this will, however, be of no avail. It is impossible for Government to go against the will of God, for the loyalty of the people cannot be retained by such tactics. Indians can remain loyal only if they are treated with kindness and justice. After remarking that so far they merely feel exasperated and have not turned disloyal, the Editor says that there is yet time for Government to conciliate them.

Khalsa College.

21. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 12th June 1908, contends that the new constitution of the Khalsa College Committee clashes with the "fundamental rules" of the institution. The provision that the Secretary will be appointed and removed by Government has been received with downright disapproval by the Sikhs. Again, the changes have been adopted without the Sikh community having been given an opportunity of expressing their opinion on the same. The paper adds that Government should leave the management of the Khalsa College in the hands of the Sikhs, just as it allows the Muhammadans to manage the Aligarh College.

### (e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land.*

Means of irrigation in British India.

22. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 12th June 1908, remarks that the achievements which Mysore and Baroda have been making lead one to fear lest Government should try to ruin these States under the impression that by doing

great things they have been exciting their subjects against it. The reason for entertaining such a fear is that for the last 150 years Government has been of the opinion that the more indolent and worthless Native Chiefs are the better, and that their subjects should be far worse off than the residents of British India, so that State subjects may always long for British rule. The paper then goes on to say that the Maharaja of Mysore has had constructed an artificial lake 34 square miles in area for the storage of water. It will irrigate lakhs of bighas of land and mitigate the severity of famine in the State. Government constructed canals, but it sells water so dear that the proceeds from the sale of the resultant extra produce barely suffice for the payment of water-rates, and the zamindar continues as poor as he was before the construction of canals. Again, the rivers which feed the canals used to irrigate in the rainy season land to the distance of several miles from either bank. They can, however, no longer do so now, with the result that the lands along their banks have deteriorated and yield only scanty produce. The Editor then suggests that Government should construct artificial lakes and store water in them for use in times of drought. It receives lakhs of rupees annually in aid of the famine fund, which is, however, always spent on railways and frontier wars, and should not grudge spending 40 or 50 lakhs on the construction of such lakes. The paper then regrets that Government should spend enormous sums of money on the army and on prosecuting Editors and speakers, but that it should do nothing to put down famine and pestilence in the country. The authorities should remember that if the people have the wherewithal to satisfy their hunger much of the prevailing unrest will cease to exist.

### (*h*)—*Miscellaneous*

Natives and Government service.

23. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 15th June 1908, publishes a communication from Lala Hardial, who says that of the various problems which of late have been agitating the public in India that of the public service is the most important, as the national existence of natives depends entirely upon a correct solution of it. The first consideration, he adds, that suggests itself in this connection is whether the policy of Government in recruiting public servants from among the children of the soil is dictated by love or fear. The second is whether the preference given by it to Hindus over other communities, *e.g.*, Native Christians or Eurasians, is due to considerations of economy? It may be pointed out in this connection that it is foolish to think that Government prefers Hindus because it can get them cheaper than persons of other nationalities. After remarking that if Government were so minded it could recruit all its servants, who form a very small percentage of the population, entirely from Native Christians or Eurasians, the writer says that the participation of Indians in the administration of the country does not fit them for self-government, but helps only to strengthen the hold of Government over the country. Those who feel proud of their country and nation are cured of this pride by accepting service under Government, while those who would have used their gifts and abilities in rousing their countrymen find their whole time taken up in writing judgments or doing other Government work. Another object of the authorities in giving Indians employment is to pose before the public at large as their benefactors. And when it has intelligent

and educated natives in its service Government can easily lead the whole population whether it likes. The writer concludes by promising to revert to the subject at some future time.

The Delhi Tramway Company.

24. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 14th June 1908, remarks that scarcely was Delhi rescued from the jaws of famine than it was attacked by European leeches. Europeans are always on the look out for opportunities to bleed natives, and the tramway constructed by them at Delhi will be certain to prove the ruin of the city. The line was opened by the Deputy Commissioner and may be relied upon to drain away the wealth of Delhi. The Tramway Company is composed of the enemies of India and the profits realised by it will go to swell the wealth of those who are engaged in killing natives. The Editor finds it difficult to say why the local *raises* should have taken part in the opening ceremony. The conduct of Mr. Humphreys in opening the line is quite explicable, seeing that he is paid for sucking the life-blood of the people for the benefit of his fellow-countrymen. The latter will fatten on the blood of Indians sucked through the tramway, but what will the *raises* of Delhi gain ? They know that their fellow-countrymen will be fleeced, but a regard for their personal honour makes them shut their eyes to this. The public should thoroughly understand that these *Raises* are the enemies of each and every citizen of Delhi. If they were told by the English that the titles of Rai Bahadur and Khan Bahadur could only be obtained by presenting the heads of a few Indians to the Deputy Commissioner, in all probability every one of them would cut off the heads of 100 of his countrymen and lay them at the feet of the blood-thirsty Deputy Commissioner. If a foreign company had constructed a tramway in a civilised country it is difficult to guess how it would have been treated by the people. After stating that, according to Macaulay, Englishmen and English women wearing dresses made of Indian cloth used to be roughly handled by the populace, the paper exhorts the Swadeshists to lecture in the streets of Delhi to urge the local public to boycott the tramway.

F. ISEMONGER,

*Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*
*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

SIMLA :
*The 4th July* 1908.

Punjab Government Branch Press, Simla.—15-7-08—145—97.

RECEIVED
4 AUG 1908
INDIA OFFICE.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 28. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

**Received up to 11th July 1908.**

---

## CONTENTS.


Page.

I.—POLITICS.

(a)—*Foreign*—

1. East and West. The treatment of Indians in South Africa (*Panjabee*) ... ... ... 399
2. A Persian paper on the doings of the British Government in Asia (*Aftab*) ... ... ... 400

(b)—*Home*—

3. Lord Morley's reform scheme (*Hitkari*) ... ... 401
4. Rulers and the ruled (*Hitkari*) ... ... 404
5. Rulers and the ruled (*Hindustan*) ... ... 406
6. Rulers and the ruled (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 407
7. Government and the people (*Panjabee*) ... *ib.*
8. A Political drama (*Haq Pasand*) ... ... 409
9. Government service and natives (*Hitkari*) ... 411
10. The Anglo-Indian newspapers and the present situation (*Hindustan*) ... ... ... ... 412
11. Sedition in India (*Panjabee*) ... ... ... 413
12. Calcutta Anarchists (*Hindustan*) ... ... *ib.*
13. Prosecutions for sedition (*Hindustan*) ... ... *ib.*
14. The Tinnevelly Riot case (*Panjabee*) ... ... 414
15. The *Yugantar* (*Hitkari*) ... ... ... 415

II.—AFGHANISTAN AND TRANS-FRONTIER.

*Nil.*

III.—NATIVE STATES.

*Nil.*

IV.—KINE-KILLING.

16. A complaint (*Hitkari*) ... ... ... 415
17. A complaint (*Hindustan*) ... ... ... *ib.*

Page.

V.—NATIVE SOCIETIES AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

18. The Hindus and Muhammedans of Kathu Nangal, Amritsar district (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 415

VI.—LEGISLATION.

19. The Explosive substances and the Newspapers Acts (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... ... ... 416
20. The Explosive Substances Act (*Aftab*) ... ... *ib.*
21. The Newspapers Act (*Hindustan*) ... ... 418

VII.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

(a)—*Judicial*—

22. Mr. Tilak's application for Bail (*Panjabee*) ... 418

(b)—*Police*—

*Nil.*

(c)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs*—

*Nil.*

(d)—*Education*—

23. The educational policy of Government (*Hindustan*) ... 418
24. The education of Indians (*Hitkari*) ... ... 419
25. The Khalsa College (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 420
26. Disastrous results of the recent Examination of the Punjab University (*Hindustan*) ... ... *ib.*

(e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land*—

*Nil.*

(f)—*Railways and Communications*—

27. Railway accidents (*Tribune*) ... ... ... 420

(g)—*Postal matters*—

*Nil.*

(h)—*Miscellaneous*—

28. An argument against social intercourse between Europeans and Indians (*Punjab Times and Frontier News*) ... ... ... ... 421

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 28. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

**Received up to 11th July 1908.**

---

### I.—Politics.

#### (a)—*Foreign.*

1. The following is from the *Punjabee* (Lahore), of the 11th July 1908 :—

East and West. The treatment of Indians in South Africa.

"The fundamental difference in the respective temperaments of the Asiatic and the European is so great that one is almost inclined to accept the poet's axiom—'East is East and West is West, the twain shall never meet!' Utility—stern, rigid, uncompromising utility—is the standard of European morality. Sentiment detached from utility is too fine for his coarser fibre. That fine feeling, that exquisite sensibility which takes no account of earthly gain or loss in mutual dealings—between man and man or man and beast—is peculiar to the spiritual soil of Asia, and it is not understood by the European. Sentiment for the sake of sentiment is not comprehended by him. Utility, cold, calculating utility is a standard in his ethics or politics. Even Jesus Christ—the characteristic product of Asia, whose religion, by the purest accident, he has come to profess, if not follow—has been turned to profitable account!

"Take for instance the sentiment of benevolence. The European temperament is thoroughly capable of responding to it, but in its own characteristic way. For example, his favourite bitch has given birth to four puppies. If he wants to keep one puppy, as a general rule he will put the remaining ones in a sack and drown them in the nearest pond. Because if their mother has to feed all the puppies, the one he wants to keep will not get sufficient nourishment to answer fully to the requirements of its breed. This is utility. Then the other puppies, not getting their mother's milk in sufficient quantity, can hardly be expected to do full justice to their breed, and can accordingly be turned to no profitable account or use. Therefore, without condemning them to a useless, and possibly miserable, existence, the best thing for them would be to kill them. This is benevolence. In India a domestic animal, when no longer of any use, is not abandoned to its fate, and is not less affectionately treated during the remaining days of its existence. A European will spare no pains to make a domestic animal comfortable and happy so long as it is useful. When it is not, it will be disposed of to make room for a new and more useful one. Sentiment detached from utility has no place in the ethics of the West.

"A glaring instance of this characteristic standard of Western morality is furnished by the treatment which is being accorded to our countrymen in South Africa. More than one British colonist in that inhospitable land has testified in eloquent terms to the immense, almost invaluable, services which Indian emigrants have rendered to the 'white' colonist there. Much of the present prosperity of the land is due to their exertions. Indeed, the country has been made habitable by the sole exertions of our poorer countrymen there, and vast primitive forests—warrens of wild beasts and venomous reptiles—have been converted into smiling fields by their tireless labours and ceaseless endeavours. As long as they were useful, they were treated like human beings. But when the work was done, and they were no longer of use, that is, to the 'white'

colonists—rather appeared to be 'in the way'—the time was declared to have come for them to depart! If there are still Indians in South Africa, it is certainly not due to the gratitude of the 'white' colonists for their past 'services. England's war against the Boers was sought to be justified by the Boer treatment of Indians. How pathetically sincere was the gratitude of the latter, and how eagerly and manfully did they repay on the field of battle the debt of gratitude which they felt they owed to the British for taking up the cudgel on their behalf! The Boers were crushed, the British flag was hoisted over the Transvaal, but the millennium has not come, and there is no sign that it will ever come. Indeed, one wonders if the Indians could have fared worse under Boer rule! The dodge that was played in January last has failed, and our countrymen in that inhospitable Colony are this time determined to see things brought to a definite issue, come what may. In a recent meeting, our readers are aware, they adopted a resolution deciding on passive resistance to the un-British attitude of the Transvaal Government and demanding the return of all applications for registration. The struggle has begun in all the grim silence of deadly earnestness."

A Persian paper on the doings of the British Government in Asia.

2. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 14th June 1908, remarks that a recent issue of the *Majlis*, a newspaper published at Teheran (Persia), contains a communication dealing with Indian affairs. The paper refers to facts of which neither Hindus nor Muhammadans seem to be cognisant, and the *Aftab*, therefore, publishes a translation of it for the benefit of the public. The writer begins by saying that in June 1905 some Englishmen, who were specially appointed for the purpose by the British Government, went to Mecca in disguise *viâ* Koweit, Zoliar, Najab, Syria and Aleppo, concluded secret agreements with savage and ignorant Arabs, who know nothing of the political morality of European Governments, regarding the conquest of Mecca and bribed them and have since been bribing them with money. Mr.——who has served in the Persian gulf for a number of years, went to Baghdad the same month, managed to win the friendship of a certain young man, asked the latter to make thorough enquiries about the roads to Mecca, other places of pilgrimage and the requirements of pilgrims and the morals of the people concerned, and in return promised to secure for him an unusually highly paid appointment in the Gulf. The young man was taken in, made the necessary enquiries, embodied the results in a pamphlet and handed over the same to Mr.——without demanding anything in return. When the Sahib had gained his object he did not allow his tool even to approach his house, and left for England soon after. The writer then goes on to say that the British Government in India has placed Maulvi Leakut Husain under arrest for the offence of having tried to induce Muhammadans to shake hands with Hindus. He adds that it has also resorted to threats in order to make the paper *Bande Mataram* desist from exposing the vices and tyrannical doings of the English, while it has stopped the publication of the *Yugantar* and imprisoned its Editor, Bhupendro Nath Bhose. This had the effect of creating unusual excitement among thoughtful Bengalis, and one of them, who is connected with the Ripon College, lost no time in issuing another paper under the name of *Yugantar*. This journal was also suppressed by the Government of India on the ground that the word *Yugantar* was calculated to inflame the Bengalis and decreed there should be no periodical of that name. A free fight followed between the Police and those connected with the newspaper Proprietors. Bengalis had never beaten (*lit.* punished) British members of the Police force (*lit.* the British national Police), but the writer saw them do so with his own eyes. In their enthusiasm they started secret societies and delivered fiery speeches. At last a venerable old Bengali,

whose name need not be mentioned, stood up and enquired of the audience whether India was not for Indians and Bengal for the Bengalis, and whether the sceptre of Bengal should go to the family of Surendro Nath Banerjee. The audience replied in the affirmative, upon which the speaker remarked that the object in view was impossible of attainment without a union between Hindus and Muhammadans, that the English stood in the way of this union, and that the Prophet's followers must be savages to be wholly ignorant of national honour and sufferings. He also enquired of his hearers whether the Bengalis (*lit.* we) could put up with British oppression any longer, and on being asked to name a remedy he said that his fellow-countrymen should conclude secret agreements with Portugal and France, for they owned possessions in India, and also with Germany and Japan, for they were feared by all. This brought the meeting to a close, and it remains to be seen what the Bengalis will do next. The writer then goes on to say that it is incumbent on Muhammadans to devise means to ensure the safety of Mecca. He adds that a great rising which even a Nadir will be powerless to suppress is imminent in India and Burma. The British have been given word to leave India quietly as soon as natives become united and are ready to rule the country themselves. 25 crores of Hindus are now sick of British rule and trade, while 60, nay 70, per cent of Muhammadans also are of the same mind. Moreover, the English have been treating natives in such a way that, with the exception of a few worthless and poor persons, they have no friends among the children of the soil. The condition of India and Burma is such that people know that these countries are about to pass out of the hands of the English. If this really comes to pass England will become one of the weak powers of the world.

(*b*)—*Home.*

Lord Morley's Reform Scheme.

3. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 29th June 1908, publishes the following :—

"They are going to lock the stable after the horse has been stolen. The Congress has been crying for 20 years that a great change has taken place in the thoughts of Indians, but no one would listen to it till those whose conduct was typical of the precept laid down in the couplet, directing that 'If the King calls day night' one should reply 'Here are the moon and stars,' and who only knew how to say 'yes, Sir,' and considered it an act of blasphemy to utter a single word against their temporary rulers, had to put up in silence with repeated blows from those in authority.

"Then the time came when the people began to whisper to one another, 'the power for which we have conquered country after country at the cost of our lives is busy compassing our ruin. We have faith in its word, but it does not trust us even for a single minute.' The very first thing which the English did on coming here was to disarm natives. The latter (who knew) that quarrels were of daily occurrence and that thousands of murders were committed (in the country) thought that they had got rid of all this disorder; that they would thenceforth have no fear of dacoits and robbers; and that Government would afford them protection, in return for which they would only have to pay a paltry sum of money to pay chowkidars. The people, however, discovered their mistake very soon. They began to realise that they had been disarmed not for their benefit, but in order to make them cowardly and unmanly, nay,

in order of keep them a nation of slaves till the day of judgment, nay, in order that Government might, under a pretext, destroy the forces opposed to it. The sole object in view was to weaken all the resources of Indians, so that in times of opposition they might not easily overthrow the English, for the latter knew their natural instincts and their habit of not keeping their word. They knew that a wolf could not masquerade in sheep's clothing for long. This was the reason why they deprived (natives) of (their) arms. The Indians also were tired of wilding the sword and wanted rest after (the activity of) hundreds of years. They had come to regard civil wars with disgust: the brave men who had been engaged in war for a very long time were impatient for rest. They had sheathed their swords as there was not the least vestige of an enemy in the country. All were desirous of coming under the British flag. The English made some promises and the generous-hearted Indians made over their arms to them. The sword which can be wrested by a display of swordmanship alone fell into the hands of the English without a blow. The English began to profit by the simplicity of natives and refused to fulfil their promises. The people began to agitate. In the first instance, they remonstrated with the English mildly (saying) 'Do not oppress (us). Fill our stomachs (and) then take away what is left. No one will interfere with you.' But the Feringhees were conceited (enough to think) that no one could injure them and that their disarmed subjects could do them no harm. When soft words proved of no avail the people made efforts to gain their end by the use of strong language. But how could words avail with a people who had come to think that they had conquered India with the sword and in whose rotten brains the idea had taken root that they would maintain their rule with the same weapon. The people began to grow more and more discontented, while Government, instead of conciliating the discontented, held itself aloof from them more and more. The people became anxious for their progress (but) the authorities decided to increase the army. They behaved in an extremely short-sighted manner. The exigencies of the time demanded that the people should be conciliated, but not the least heed was paid to their wishes, nay, on the contrary, they were treated with increasing rigour. The people, who were already discontented, became disappointed and in their despair grew sick of life and began to study the history of the world. They, however, found no clue to guide them. Treatment only made their disease worse.

"At last, the explosion of the bomb has stunned all to-day. Those who used to behave like Pharoah have admitted the existence of God. They ask (the people) to shake hands with them and restore (*lit.* establish) peace and order in the country (adding) that they will not fail to carry out their reform proposals. They advise us not to lead the people astray. For our part, we have always preached peace and will continue to do so. A native who by word or deed tries to involve his countrymen in danger does not deserve to be called a well-wisher of the country. The general public, however, are fully cognisant of the acts of severity committed by you (the English). Although you desire to effect the restoration of peace by reforming the present methods of administration, we wish to ask you whether the proposed reform scheme, which you have been belauding to the skies, will prove a success. Will it conciliate the discontented people? Will the appointment of one or two Indians to the Provincial Councils help you to gain the end which you are endeavouring to achieve. (The next sentence is unintelligible?) Is it

true that the appointment of three or four natives to higher posts will fill the stomachs of their starving countrymen? Will we be spared the disgrace to which we are subjected in foreign countries owing to our being under your protection? Will the invidious distinction which is now made between white men and black cease in future? Will you refuse to punish an Englishman for murdering a native? Will the police continue to harass the general public? Will respectable natives cease to be appointed special constables in future? Will any heed be paid to the wishes of the people? Will high-paid appointments cease to be reserved for whites? Just as the recent capture of an Englishman by the Moors prompted all the Powers of Europe to turn Morocco topsy-turvy. *Sic.*

"Only a few days ago the Natal Government turned several hundreds of our (*sic.*) loyal Indian subjects into jail for a mere trifle. This was the Government which put thousands of your young men to the sword, and which shed so much blood only a few years ago, that you used to weep bitterly at hearing the appeals of English women and the wailing of orphans. It was in this country that so many of your stalwart officers were killed, and whose loss caused the late Queen Empress, who was the personification of mercy, to ask you to end the war with the people of Natal, saying that they were a very blood-thirsty people—the people whose eyes once used to become blood-shot at mere sight of you, but to whom you taught a lesson which must still be fresh in their minds and whose cities you devastated, cutting down all, both young and old, who came across your path.

"Yet you, did nothing (*lit.* kept silent) beyond saying that according to their laws they could treat others as they liked in their (*lit.* a) self-governing country. Has any provision been made in the reform scheme to remedy this thing? Will you prevent foreigners, who have been draining away the wealth of India to their own countries (from doing so), or will you prevent the poor Indians from crying out? Will you desist from spreading famine in the country in the name of free trade? Will you stop the export of grain? Will you ever do anything for voiceless and destitute Indians, just as you are making provision for old men in England? In your country women are trying to rival men, but here you are trying to emasculate men. Will you not pass new laws every day to restrict the liberty of speech and writing? Will you begin to trust natives? Remember that if all these things are not done even a thousand reform schemes, let alone one, will avail you nothing. These schemes will not conciliate discontented people.

"Suppose you appoint one native to your Council, what will this lead to? Will you attach the least value to his opinions? We cannot imagine how (the opinion of) one Indian will prevail against the opinion of twenty other Members. Only recently we have seen that nearly all Indian Members opposed the Newspapers Bill, but that their opinion was not regarded. Will your nature undergo a change now or will some Indian descend from Heaven who will be able to make you adopt his views? When no weight is attached to the opinion of the present Members, how is it possible to imagine that you will listen to this solitary Indian?

"Even if these impossibilities are not considered to be so, we can confidently say that such shams will not satisfy the general public. The reforms, the necessity for which you have acknowledged, should have been introduced

twenty years ago. Now when political agitation is in full swing there remain no hopes of reconciliation. You have disgraced to your heart's content all the leader whom the people used to honour and for whom they considered it an ordinary thing to lay down their lives. So far from lowering them in the public estimation this rigour on your part has made those martyrs still more popular. Do not, by pouring the oil of rigour on it, still further spread (*lit.* brighten) the fire of enmity which you have kindled and which now burns in all parts of India. Extinguish it by pouring the water of leniency on it. Do not hope to achieve success by introducing the proposed (*lit.* present) nominal (*lit.* ordinary) reforms. If you desire the maintenance of peace in the country give Indians a share in the administration equal to your own. Trust them and make those officers who are widening the gulf of enmity (between the rulers and the ruled) desist from their efforts. Treat (the people) righteously.

Rulers and ruled.

4. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 22nd June 1908, publishes the following article headed 'The National Euclid' axioms :—

(1) A mother loves her child.

(2) A large number of articles are imported into India from England in these days.

PROPOSITION I.—*Enunciation. The expansion of Indian trade is injurious for England.*

As diverse goods are imported into India from England (Axiom 2) their manufacture in India would stop their export from England and thereby injure the trade of the English.

PROPOSITION II.—*The appointment of Indians to high posts under Government is calculated to injure the English.*

As high posts are now held by Englishmen the conferring of the same on Indians would result either in the expulsion of the present incumbents or in Englishmen being forbidden to hold them in future. The step would injure the English either way.

PROPOSITION III.—*The British Government will do its utmost not to give Indians their rights.*

The commercial prosperity of India is calculated to injure England (Proposition I).

The conferring of high posts on Indians is injurious to Englishmen (Proposition II).

As a grant of their rights to Indians will imply both an improvement of Indian trade and the holding of high appointments by Indians, Government will never grant them their rights.

PROPOSITION IV.—*The British Government has no sympathy with Indians.*

A mother loves her child (Axiom I), and as the English are the "national children" of the British Government they are loved by it (Propositions I and II).

∵ The prosperity of Indians would injure the English (and) the British Government loves the English.

∴ The British Government does not sympathise with Indians.

PROPOSITION V.—*Government servants do not sympathise with the country.*

∵ The British Government does not greatly sympathise with Indians (Proposition IV).

∴ The works done by it will not be characterised by sympathy for the country.

∴ Those who help in the performance of such works cannot be in great sympathy with the country. (They may sympathise with it in their hearts, but cannot do so openly without having to suffer for this.)

PROPOSITION VI.—*Teachers employed in Government schools have very little sympathy with the country.*

∵ Government servants do not sympathise with the country (Proposition V).

Teachers in Government schools help in producing Government servants.

∴ Teachers in Government schools have very little sympathy with the country.

PROPOSITION VII.—*The moderates are not of use to the country.*

∵ The moderates wish to obtain rights from Government by begging. But the Government (of India) will not give the people their rights (Proposition II).

∴ The moderates are not of use to the country.

PROPOSITION VIII.—*Government grants rights out of fear, lest otherwise it should injure its own interests.*

∵ Government derives political and commercial benefits from India (Proposition B).

∴ Government wishes to retain its hold upon the country.

But it is difficult for it to rule the people without showing some sympathy with them.

∴ Government grants some rights to the people with a view to showing that it has some sympathy with them.

PROPOSITION IX.—*He who thwarts the practising of oppression performs a meritorious deed.*

The tyrant oppresses—practising oppression is a reprehensible habit. This habit injures both the oppressed and the soul of the oppressor. To prevent the tyrant, therefore, from practising oppression is good for both the oppressor and the oppressed. Wherefore he who thwarts the practising of oppression performs a meritorious act.

PROPOSITION X.—*The British Government will place obstacles in the way of the country's progress.*

The prosperity of India is injurious to the English (Proposition I—II).

∵ The British Government sympathises with the English.

∴ The Government is anxious to retard the progress of Indians.

PROPOSITION XI.—*Government wishes to see the country disunited.*

∵ Government does not like natives to advance.

∴ It likes the means which retard the progress of the country.

∵ Disunion is a great obstacle in the way of the country's progress.

∴ Government likes disunion.

PROPOSITION XII.—*Government will not approve of Moral Societies.*

∵ Government likes to see the country disunited. Moral societies remove discord (Proposition VII).

∴ Government will not like moral societies.

NOTE.—This is the reason why moral societies cannot flourish in this country. Their usefulness is marred by spies.

PROPOSITION XIII.—*Government will place hindrances in the way of religious and higher education.*

Government wishes to place obstacles in the way of national progress (Proposition X).

Religious and higher education is conducive to this progress.

∴ Government will place obstacles in its way.

NOTE.—The object of Government in maintaining one or two Colleges is that it may show the public that it sympathises with them and wishes to educate them. As a matter of fact, however, it places obstacles in the way of education, otherwise where was the necessity for passing a law requiring the possession of a large building and specified funds to have the right to teach; one should either ascend to the sky or fall down into a well. Why should restrictions about large buildings and libraries be imposed if the people can receive instruction under the *pipal* trees and a little money can be made to go a long way? Simply to make natives patronise Government Colleges, the students of which aspire only to becoming Government servants.

Rulers and ruled.

5. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 26th June 1908, publishes the substance of a conversation between a European Military servant and an Indian Editor, who compares British rule with Moghul rule, and gives the palm to the latter. The Muhammadan rulers, like Aurangzeb, he says, maintained peace at a time when there were neither railways nor telegraphs nor post offices, but now that the Government possesses vastly improved means of communication and highly destructive implements of war, it is afraid to trust the people even with a knife for cutting vegetables. Again, under the Moghul Emperors Native States were permitted to have forts, guns, and armies. The case is, however, quite different now, for the English do not suffer them even to repair their old forts, to say nothing of keeping an army or munitions of war. The policy of Muslim rulers was to strengthen their friends, and the result was that their rule lasted for about 750 years; but the English, in spite of their boasted strength, have not been able to maintain their prestige among the people, although they have been ruling the

country for 150 years and have completely disarmed Indians. Aurangzeb, the Indian Editor says, may have been a bigot or a tyrant, but his bigotry and tyranny were based upon honest motives. He wanted his Hindu subjects to embrace Islam, because he sincerely believed that it was for their good and when they became Musalmans they could eat with the Emperor and marry into his family. The English, however not only despise native converts to Christianity but also Eurasians, who claim to have a share of English blood in their veins. There is peace no doubt, he adds, under English rule, but it has been bought at a very high price. Besides, it is not true bravery to maintain peace by disarming a people. And what charms can this peace have for Indians who have no food to eat? They formerly stood in terror of robbers, but now-a-days robber's work is done by the Police, who are greatly feared by all respectable natives. The Muhammadan rulers of India became popular with the lapse of time, for they mixed with the people; but the English, on the contrary, are gradually losing popularity and strength as their rule in the country is growing older. Up to the year 1870, although the people possessed a warlike spirit and had arms, there was no sedition in the country and the Government felt no need of arming itself with the Maxim guns of section 124 A., the revolvers of section 153, Indian Penal Code, and the cartridges of section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code. But during the last 50 years, during which period, plague, famine and cholera have killed millions of people, and Indians have become weak and spiritless, some English officers have been heard to acknowledge their inability to keep them under control and asking for a grant of unlimited powers to hang or imprison the people according to their sweet will. But how is it, asks the Editor, that while during the 27 years that intervened between the passing of section 124 A. and its amendment the prestige of Government was high, yet ever since 1897, when that section was amended and Government armed itself with more drastic powers, its prestige has been shaken to the foundation? What reasons can the authorities give for having passed these laws? If they say that up to 1897 there was no sedition in the country, which, like plague, has been imported from abroad, they would be admitting the worthlessness of their administration. If, on the contrary, they aver that sedition has grown up in the country and has not been imported, they may be asked how and why has it come into existence? There must be some reason for the prevalence of disaffection among the people, for it cannot be believed for a moment that the blame rests entirely with the people and the rulers are quite innocent. The paper concludes by remarking that the replies had the effect of convincing the Military officer, and that he admitted that if Government acted in accordance with its laws it would prove a great blessing. But unfortunately Government's actions do not correspond with its professions and the people have come to know this.

Rulers and ruled.

6. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of 27th June 1908, says that once upon a time there lived a snake in a jungle. It bit several persons with fatal results and was so greately feared in the neighbourhood that the people discontinued frequenting the jungle. It so happened that a *jogi* passed that way and advised the reptile to leave off biting people. The snake took the advice to heart, but the result was that those who formerly stood in mortal dread of it began to ill-use it in different ways. Happening to meet the *jogi* again it

complained to him of the treatment which it had been receiving at the hands of his fellow-men, and was told in reply that it had been advised to abstain from biting and not to discontinue hissing also. The Editor then goes on to say that the story can serve as an illustration of the present condition of his fellow-countrymen. There was a time when Indians were feared throughout the world, but they have now fallen very low. Does not the reason for this lie in their having, like the snake, ceased to "hiss" and having become a lifeless people. The lifeless and weak are subject to attack from all sides, but even a live ant will face its tormentor. Are Indians worse than ants? It can not be gainsaid that they are treated by white men worse than dogs. Europeans are not, however, to blame for this. They know that a dog possesses life, but that natives are lifeless people. Since this is the case is it possible for natives to preserve their existence? No, never. History bears testimony to the fact that nations which left off "hissing" were swept off the face of the earth. The people of India are loyal to the Crown and Government and never hesitate to obey the local authorities. But it does not follow that they should put up with oppression in silence and allow themselves to be kicked to death by proud white men, for this can only mean death to them. Is there any animal in the world which does not possess the instinct of self-preservation? Self-defence is no offence: every living creature does its utmost to defend its life. The means of self-preservation employed by Indians have of late come to be designated as seditious. Will the people, however, let this frighten them into inaction? If so, thay are a dead race already. They should remember that it is far better to die in the effort to live in the true sense of the word than to lead a death-like life.

Government and the people.

7. The following is from the *Punjabee* (Lahore), of the 11th July 1908:—.

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS OF ANGLO-INDIA.

(*Being the sermon of a section of Anglo-Indians addressed to the heathen millions of India.*)

1. Our rule is the best rule which brought thee out of chaos and confusion, from the house of bondage.

2. Thou shalt have none other forms of government—neither Swaraj nor home rule—before us.

3. Thou shall not make thee any parliament or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the waters beneath the earth.

4. Thou shall not bow down thyself unto Congresses and conferences nor serve them; for our rule is a jealous rule, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate us.

5. Thou shalt not take the name of our Raj in vain; for the Raj will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain.

6. Keep the empire day to sanctify it and to celebrate it.

7. Honour thy protectors and guardians that thy days may be prolonged and that thy land may enjoy everlasting peace.

8. Thou shalt not move from "Honest Swadeshi" to boycott.

9. Neither shalt thou commit patriotism.

10. Neither shalt thou progress.

11. Neither shalt thou bear disloyalty or want of affection towards Anglo-India.

12. Neither shalt thou desire England's form of rule, neither shalt thou court the Western methods of administration, their constitution or their houses of Parliament, their forms of trial or anything that is theirs.

A Political Drama.

8. The *Haq Pasand* (Amritsar), of the 21st June 1908, publishes the following continuation of "A Political Drama; a British Officer's Darbar, or the miserable condition of Mother Bharat."

## ACT I.

### Scene 4.—*A jungle.*

*Mother Bharat.*—My Guru, pray that I may die and leave this world of disgrace!

*Guru.*—Have patience, mother, have patience. Patience results in good. It is a mistake to die the death of a suicide.

*Mother Bharat.*—My Guru, how can I have patience? How can I do violence to my feelings? When I see my children in trouble I am rendered savage and go mad. I can no longer see them suffer.

*Guru.*—Well, go away now. God will be kind to thee and grant thy wishes.

(Exeunt Mother Bharat and the *Sadhus*).

### Scene 5.—*A house.*

(Enter Ul-jalul's wife singing).

**Song.**

May I remain a servant of my country!
This is my constant cry.
May I find foreign articles somewhere
(And make short work of them forthwith!
It is in this work that I find satisfaction.
I spread agitation in every house I visit.
This is my employment.
May I remain a servant of my country!

(Enter Ul-jalul singing.)

**Song.**

Hear, hear, my love;
I relate to you what befell me to-day.
As I went out alone to-day
I was insulted by the Police
(And) my blood turned to water.
Hear, hear, etc.
Leave off clamouring about *Swadeshism*, my wife,
Discard the use of no foreign made articles,
Or it will go hard with you.
Hear, hear, etc.

[ Mrs. Ul-jalul next sings a few verses bemoaning the lack of devotion in her husband to the cause of the country, as also the absence of hatred in him towards foreigners and imported goods. The husband also sings a few verses, offering to buy country-made *saris*, etc., for her, and continues:— ]

Hear, hear, my wife. Thou hast wholly lost thy head and clamourest about *Swadeshism* at all times and in every house. The matter has, however, assumed a serious aspect now and thou formest the subject of talk in every street. Dost thou understand ?

*Wife.*—Husband, to the blind the whole of mankind is sightless. Similarly madmen like yourself suspect every one of being mad. The truth, however, is that a man reaps whatever he sows. Do you understand ?

*Ul-jalul.*—Well, I see that thy days are numbered. This is why thou feelest not the least fear in thrusting thy hand in the snake's hole. It has been truly said that when fortune is about to desert a person his judgment becomes warped. Doest thou understand ?

*Mrs. Ul-jalul.*—This is true. The ruin of India dates from the time when men like you appeared in it, shameless creatures who cost the country its honour. You broke the heads of your countrymen in order to enjoy being shoe-beaten by foreigners. It is no wonder then that you should feel frightened out of your life at the very mention of *Swadeshism.* Do you understand ?

*Ul-jalul.*—It is not necessary for me to support *Swadeshism* at the present juncture, for the reason that Government for the time being is opposed to the movement. Whoever therefore commits the mistake of supporting the agitation will be given a short shift. Doest thou understand ?

*Mrs. Ul-jalul.*—So far from being opposed to *Swadeshism*, Government is favourably disposed towards the movement and co-operates with the people in making the country advance. Even if it is granted, however, that Government is opposed to the movement why should we complain of this ? The Government is a foreign Government and favours foreign-goods. If it were to love our manufactures it would be put to shame by persons of its own nationality. Do you understand ?

*Ul-jalul.*—But even if the *Swadeshi* movement takes on will this make the country free ?

*Mrs. Ul-jalul.*—Will it ruin the country ? Hear me, husband, *Swadeshism* is a source of great blessings. It adds to the wealth and greatness of a country and banishes poverty and famine from it. Do you understand ?

*Ul-jalul.*—I am afraid lest you should take a *Swadeshi* husband.

*Mrs. Ul-jalul.*—And are you a *bideshi* husband ?

*Ul-jalul.*—Yes, it is so.

*Mrs. Ul-jalul.*—How ?

*Ul-jalul.*—A friend of one's enemy is also one's enemy.

*Mrs. Ul-jalul.*—Well, I understand you. Are you then loyal to Government ?

*Ul-jalul.*—Yes. Do you understand ?

*Mrs. Ul-jalul.*—Then I shall have your loyalty put to the test this very day. I shall report at the police station that my husband manufactures bombs for use against Englishmen.

*Ul-jalul.*—May ruin overtake thee, my wife! What dost thou say? Thou art planning my death. Bombs! Thou wilt have me arrested and sentenced to death like Khudi Ram.

*Mrs. Ul-jalul.*—This is the fate which befalls those who play their countrymen false. Those who hate *Swadeshism* suffer the same fate. You also had better take the right path or you will lose your life. Do you understand?

(*To be continued*).

Government service and natives.

9. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 22nd June 1908, publishes a communication from Lala Har Dyal, who in continuation of his previous remarks says that it is greatly to the interest of Government that Indians should be willing to enter its service. It is but natural that Government should be anxious to propitiate noblemen and young natives who are educated by taking them into public service, for by doing so it not only adds to the stability of the administration, but also provides against the dangers to which a foreign Government is always exposed. The position of alien rulers in their conquered possessions is always very insecure, and they have not only to look after internal peace, but should also be in constant readiness to repel invasions from outside. They should therefore be brave and fearless, as also resourceful enough to meet all possible contingencies. This being so Government acts very wisely in taking Indians of the above classes in the public service. It would however be a great mistake to suppose that the participation of Indians in the administration is beneficial to themselves also, and that by serving Government they pave the way for the country to obtain self-government. Far from this being the case they are indefinitely postponing the acquisition of self-government by the country. The writer then goes on to say that it is strange that what is an axiomatic truth to every European boy, *viz.*, that it is a great sin to serve under foreign rule, should be so very difficult for the Indian mind to grasp. Having regard, however, to the moral and intellectual degradation of natives, one should not feel surprised at their slowness in taking in this simple truth. Lala Har Dyal next endeavours to prove that Government service injuriously affects the national morality of the people and that it cannot go hand in hand with patriotism. It is also synonymous with selfishness, and it is the opinion of all thoughtful men that as long as Indians are selfish they should not aspire after *Swaraj*. On the other hand, adds the writer, it is the unanimous verdict of Congress leaders that the present policy of Government is responsible for many of the evils from which the country has been suffering; but, on the other, a distinguished member of the Congress like Mr. Dutt used to serve Government and lend it his help in carrying out a policy disapproved of by him. Such double dealing on the part of her sons can never help forward the cause of India. Is it not disgraceful that those very persons who denounce Government's policy in their writings should be willing to offer their services to carry out the same, for it is Government servants who translate that policy into action? After remarking that those who co-operate with Government in giving effect to measures calculated to injure the people must share the responsibility for the undesirable results to the country, the writer concludes by saying that Europeans are far superior to

Indians in this respect, and that a public servant in England would rather resign his post then help forward a policy of which he disapproves. It is therefore clear that a service which is calculated to make its members selfish and unpatriotic can never be helpful in the acquisition of *Swaraj*.

The Anglo-Indian newspapers and the present situation.

10. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 19th June 1908, remarks that the way in which the recent bomb outrages have affected some Anglo-Indian newspapers makes one pity them. These papers see bombs everywhere and look upon everyone, whether friend or foe, as a maker of bombs and belonging to secret societies. This is perhaps due to their being under the delusion that Indians have come to know of the cowardice of the English and that the bomb has destroyed the enchanted castle in which the people of this country have been shut. The paper then goes on to say that natives have known for the past fifty years that the Englishmen in India—civilians, soldiers, merchants, &c.,—do not exceed 1½ lakhs in number. They have also been aware that recruits for the army are very scarce in England and that the English love ease and pleasure to excess. It has been further known to them that no people or Government in the world is pleased with the English and that the Native Chiefs in India are sick of their treatment by Government. They have never wished and can never wish to drive the British Government out of India. It is the sense of justice of the British which binds them to the former, prompted them to make over their country to its present rulers and induces them to help in the preservation of British rule in it. It must, however, be added that their faith in the sense of justice of the British is weakening day by day, and a large number of them have come to be filled with despair. If a knowledge of this and of the fact that natives have come to realize the nature of the policy followed by Government towards them have stunned the authorities and newspapers like the *Pioneer*, the *Englishman*, the *Civil and Military Gazette* and the *Times*, they are perfectly justified in experiencing feelings of bewilderment. They may, however, rest assured that the present troubles will disappear at once if the authorities abandon their policy of repression in favour of one of conciliation. The situation has not yet become actually serious and Government has still time to conciliate the people. It is wrong to say, as was remarked by the Viceroy at the time of the passing of the Newspaper Act, that Indians receive help from abroad. Perhaps the story has been invented to enable the authorities to evade confessing and removing the real causes of the prevailing unrest. The paper further remarks that although promises hitherto made to them by Government have not been fulfilled, natives are still so guileless that they can be won over by being shown the smallest kindness. If the authorities cannot conciliate such a simple-minded people they must be wanting in true statesmanship. After remarking that Indians serve in the Police and Military departments on very small salaries, it says that the rulers of the Feudatory States know that if two or three of them were to combine they could greatly harass Government, but that they still obey their Presidents like slaves. It is the height of folly to alienate a people like Indians and to do nothing to conciliate them. English and Anglo-Indian newspapers, however, distrust native troops and educated Indians, regarding even Indian Princes with suspicion. In conclusion, the Editor finds fault with these newspapers for trying to influence the English against his fellow-countrymen.

11. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 4th July 1908 :—

Sedition in India.

WHAT IS NOT SEDITION?

*(From our Telegraphic Correspondent.)*

In view of the extensive operations of a vigorous seditious compaign in all parts of the country, it has become necessary that people should know not so much about what is sedition as about what is not sedition. For in these days every form of criticism, even *bonâ fide* criticism, may be construed and interpreted as amounting to sedition.

Our telegraphic correspondent sends us the following as *not* amounting to sedition :—

(1) To salaam Anglo-Indian sahibs at a respectable distance.

(2) To sing Hallelujahs to the bureaucratic Government.

(3) To praise the glories of British rule in India and offer thanksgivings to Police reign.

(4) To abstain from singing the burden of Indian poverty and of India's ills.

(5) To save the official "prestige" and the fair name of the heaven-born service,

(6) To yield unquestioning obedience to all the acts of the administration.

(7) To cease to criticise both in the press and on the platform any administrative measure or any official doings.

(8) To play the part of innocent babes and be content with the things that their fathers provide them with and thus remain in blissful ignorance.

(9) To refrain from taking any part in any political agitation.

(10) To know and realize that you are but subjects and not citizens.

(11) To free yourselves from all India's cares and anxieties and leave them severely alone.

(12) To remain for ever and ever absolutely faithful and loyal to officialdom.

12. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of 26th June 1908, observes that the English rulers of India believe that natives are a lying people. After enquiring whether this belief is well-founded the paper says that the *Civil and Military Gazette* reports that when the sentence of death was pronounced upon him, Khudi Ram Bhose was greatly upset and turned pale. According to Calcutta newspapers, however, he showed no signs of fear and his face beamed like that of a martyr. The Editor then enquires which party one should believe, the Anglo-Indian daily of Lahore, which is published at a distance of 1,000 miles from Calcutta, or the metropolitan newspapers. He adds that the *Civil and Military Gazette* also reports that Khudi Ram wanted to say something to the Court and that his demeanour gave one the impression that he wished to beg for mercy. As a matter of fact, however, he wanted to tell the people present how to make bombs. But the court ordered him to be taken away and it was undoubtedly well-advised in doing so. Nevertheless, it is difficult to believe that the art of manufacturing bombs is known only to a few people in the country.

Calcutta Anarchists.

13. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of 26th June 1908, remarks that just as it is impossible for a European to be punished for killing a native, no outspoken native journalists who falls into the clutches of the authorities can escape unscathed. A native Editor prosecuted on any charge whatever should

Prosecutions for sedition.

therefore never hope to escape punishment. After referring to the recent prosecutions for sedition in Bombay and Bengal, the paper remarks that the contagion must spread to the Punjab also. Indeed, one genuine and another doubtful case of this plague has already occurred at Dera Ismail Khan and Jhang respectively. The patients are still hovering between life and death, and it remains to be seen when the troubles of the poor men will come to an end. After remarking that if the disease breaks out in the Punjab it will assuredly spread to all parts of the province, the paper says that the Editors prosecuted by Government are pre-judged by the Courts. The considerate treatment recently accorded to the Editor of the *Frontier Advocate* is known to all. It is now the turn of the *Jhang Sial*, and the public are anxious to know in what trouble its boldness and plain-speaking will land it. Translation upon translation of writings appearing in that paper has been made of late. *Hindustan* then goes on to say that when the Editor of the *Kal* applied for his release on bail the Magistrate rejected the application, saying that the incriminating article was such that a conviction was a matter of certainty. The Judge (of the High Court) also, to whom the accused applied for bail, agreed with the Magistrate, which means that the accused has been plainly told that he is to be sent to jail. If all officers were as truthful as the Magistrate and the Judge referred to things would become very easy for natives, who would learn to go to Court with winding sheets on. Indeed, the Judge being also the prosecutor it is nothing short of foolishness for an accused native to try to escape punishment. Have not natives realized yet that when justice is murdered in cases between them and Europeans there can be absolutely no hope of justice when the Judge himself turns prosecutor ?

The Tinnevelly Riot case.

14. The following is from the *Punjabee* (Lahore), of the 11th July 1908 :—

"The long-pending Tinnevelly sedition cases have come to an end. The *learned* Sessions Judge has sentenced Sj. Chidambram Pillay to two terms of transportation for life and Sj. Shiva to 10 years' transportation. The sentences have immensely shocked the public mind, but we confess there is no reason to be surprised at them. The bureaucracy is in despair, and a desperate man is always dangerous. Our heartfelt sympathy goes to the convicted patriots in the calamity that has befallen them and that in spite of the Tinnevelly Judge's *dictum* that to sympathise with a man convicted of sedition is sedition itself. We are not prepared to accept our law at the hands of a Judge who cannot keep his balance of mind in exercising his judicial functions and whose executive bias is apparent from every line of his judgment. The law as laid down by the Tinnevelly Sessions Judge loses all claims on the respectful attention of law-abiding citizens. A sentence like the one under notice fails to serve its purpose and creates an amount of sympathy for the convicted man which a milder sentence could hardly have evoked. However, the bureaucracy have made up their mind and anyone who crosses their will must be prepared for the worst. But sentences like these are calculated to demoralise both the ruled and the rulers. Demoralisation leads to the subversion of intellect, and woe to people who lose their judgment in critical times like these!

To our people we would beg to remind that the race eventually belongs to him who can keep his temper even in adversity. It is in adversity that the best in man comes out. It therefore behoves our people who are engaged in a holy struggle to keep their temper and to continue their work in a spirit of determination. Excesses and violence are generally the result of excitement. We grant that there are moments when it is impossible to keep down passions, and the wisest of men lose their balance and commit excesses which are in no way necessary for the furtherance of the cause which they have at heart. * * * But there is a difference between a man who does a thing under excitement and one who does it with judicial deliberation. If the latter fails to keep

his temper he makes himself more liable to condemnation than the former. This, however, ought not to demoralise those whose cause cannot be won by fits of temper, but by a deliberate and determined struggle carried on with all the decorum of orderly minds. For the latter it will not do to be excited or lose their temper and be deprived of the opportunities of doing sustained work which alone can pay in the long run. When men are punished for their loss of temper, they take their punishment in the right spirit and try to avoid a repetition of the same in future. But when they are punished not for the excesses committed in moments of excitement only, but for their convictions, they become martyrs and the memory of their sufferings creates a halo of glory round their names which is a constant source of inspiration to those who have been left behind to continue the work so abruptly taken off the hands of the former. The punishment for convictions loses its deterrent effect. It might cause a temporary demoralisation, but can make no permanent impression. We are, however, anxious to avoid even temporary demoralisation. We are no advocates of violence nor do we approve of excesses. What we want is persistent, never-failing, well-regulated work. Let not our countrymen forget that the path of liberty is not a path of roses. It is full of dangers to those who take to it. It will not do to try the path with a failing heart. Once on it, there is no turning back. Some people may have to pay dearly if they lose their temper and make unnecessary fuss. Others may have to sacrifice themselves for the mere daring to go on it. While avoiding all unnecessary fuss we should never be faltering in our convictions."

The *Yugantar*.

15. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 22nd June 1908, says that the lion-hearted *Yugantar* re-appeared on the 30th May last after an absence of several weeks. It was eagerly bought by Bengalis, who read it in the streets and made it over to their women on reaching their homes. After remarking that Bengali women regard the *Yugantar* with feelings of deep love and read it with avidity, the Editor publishes a list of the contents of the issue referred to, and quotes a few extracts exhorting the people to take up arms, loot public treasuries, kill traitors, &c.

## IV.—Kine-Killing.

A complaint.

16. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 29th June 1908, remarks that there is an institution at Kasur known by the name of Lagarkhana where oxen are given nothing to eat and drink for a number of days. After this their mouths are filled with sand and they are so severely beaten with a stout stick that their skin become swollen. The animals are next flayed alive, the hides thus obtained being thick and costly. After remarking that Government is paid something for each ox thus killed, the Editor asks whether the authorities will take no step to put an end to these heartless doings. He concludes by calling upon the Deputy Commissioner, Lahore, to look into the matter.

A complaint.

17. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 26th June 1908, writes to a similar effect.

## V.—Native Societies and Religious matters.

The Hindus and Muhammadans of Kathu Nangal, Amritsar district.

18. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 20th June 1908, says that Kathu Nangal, a village in the Amritsar tahsil, is owned almost entirely by Hindu zamindars. A certain Christian Mission has recently acquired some land there and its Principal, assisted by a Mussalman Police Sergeant, has set the local Mussalmans against their Hindu neighbours. Things have now come to such a pass that the Muhammadans have not only been insulting Hindu women, but

have also been using hatchets, &c., against the Hindus. This state of affairs has already led to the institution of several cases, and the Prophet's followers have so far turned a deaf ear to the Deputy Commissioner's advice to them to live in peace with the Hindus. After remarking that he had hitherto refrained from writing on the subject, the Editor says that the recent murderous attack by a weaver on the son of the Lambardar has obliged him to break his silence. He requests the Mussalmans not to turn Kathu Nangal into a Barisal. He also asks his co-religionists to defend themselves manfully and tells them that it is at the instance of their secret supporters that the Muhammadans have been ill-treating them.

## VI.—Legislation.

The Explosive Substances and the Newspaper Acts.

19. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 20th June 1908, says that the people had long been waiting for Government to descend to the low tactics which the majority of Governments adopt under circumstances like those now prevailing in India. The waiting is at an end now and Government has passed two new laws, one relating to Explosive Substances and the other to Newspapers. The Editor does not think it necessary to criticise the former law at length, but will content himself by asking whether any law has also been passed to deal with the causes which have called bomb-throwers into being in the country. The Act can serve no useful purpose, for it does not go to the root of the evil which it is intended to eradicate. As regards the Newspapers Act, he says that it will hang over the native press like the sword of Damocles. Native newspapers are charged with having created anarchists by publishing strong writings, but no one has cared to enquire who is responsible for the appearance of writers who favour strong language. Again, those who preach murder and violence are not likely to be deterred from doing so because of this Act or scores of other similar laws. Those who do not heed imprisonment or death will not leave off preaching the lessons they have been teaching for so long. Moreover, formerly it was easy for Government to arrest the Editors, Printers and Proprietors of newspapers, but when printing presses are confiscated and secret presses are set up the task will become very difficult. A printer will then cause a conflagration at Calcutta to-day and raise a commotion at Lahore to-morrow.

The Explosive Substances Act.

20. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 21st June 1908, says that all men—whether white or black—are equal in the eyes of God. But Satan also has a hand in the affairs of this world. Whoever can do so places others under his rule, while a subject people punish their oppressor whenever they have the opportunity. It is said that the world has been progressing, but the Editor is of opinion that mankind cannot be said to have advanced while even our King is left on the face of the earth. As it is it is necessary for the preservation of order in the world that the laws promulgated by the existing Governments should be obeyed. After remarking that a law should be passed only if the majority of the people concerned approve of it and that this principle is followed in every civilised country, he says that Indians are an unfortunate race. They are being crushed under the heavy weight of adversity and oppression, and no one listens to their cries and entreaties. The Government of India has recently passed two laws; it was the wish of the Editor also that

some such laws should be enacted. Would it, however, have mattered much, if Government had obtained the opinion of the people on these laws before placing the same on the Statute book? Would British rule in India have come to an end if the Acts had been passed on the 8th of July instead of on the 8th June? Would the Englishmen in the country have been burnt alive and swept off the earth's surface in the interval? Would their bodies have been cut into pieces and thrown to kites and crows for food? Would the British navy have been drowned and would native troops have rebelled against their masters? The English persist in committing mistakes and do not profit by experience. They partitioned Bengal against the wishes of the Bengalis and have been suffering for the mistake. Two English lives have already been sacrificed, and it is not known how many will be injured in the future. The English are a very obstinate people and, in their pride of power, care for no one. Natives, whom the laws in question affect, were not consulted before they were passed, which is an unheard-of proceeding. And still the English say that they value (the opinions) of the people of this country. They should not deceive natives, but should always be plain-spoken. The tyrants should not scourge the latter and sprinkle salt and pepper into their wounds. Indians are an afflicted, heart-broken and grief-stricken people, and the English should not provoke curses from them by wounding their feelings, lest their glory and splendour should come to naught. The paper next enquires why the people were not consulted about the laws referred to, and says that they have the right to fight with the English over the matter. It was remarked by Sir Harvey Adamson that as the law then in force was not sufficient to deal with the Calcutta bomb-throwers the Explosive Substances Act should be passed very soon. But were not the accused already in the lock-up and has not the Arms Act rendered natives even more effeminate and spiritless than women? Again, did not the old law place sufficient obstacles in the way of the people buying explosive substances? It was further stated by Sir Harvey that in England a similar law had been enacted in a hurry. As a matter of fact, however, that piece of legislature was before Parliament for four days, while the Members of the Viceroy's Council received copies of the Explosive Substances Bill only one day before the law was placed on the Statute book after a discussion lasting for only one hour. The Editor next endeavours to controvert Sir Harvey Adamson's statement that the law was as sorely needed in India as a similar law was once needed in England, adding that this country is a prison-house and that explosive substances and the like are not to be had in it. The Act, he says, contains a strange provision to the effect that if a person has any explosive substance in his possession and is suspected of keeping the same for some unlawful purpose he shall be placed under arrest and kept in custody till he proves that he wished to use the substance for a lawful object. This is a strange law: the English can do whatever they like. The provision will put money into the pockets of the police. Muhammadans (*lit.* the people) make potash bombs in the month in which the Sab-i-barat festival falls, and fire-works are let off on the occasion in every house. The police may be relied upon to take advantage of this to arrest any one with whom they are not on good terms. There are fire-works then in every house and the police could add a bomb to the same. The guardians of the public peace in India are past-masters in performing such tricks. Let the *Swadeshist* at Delhi beware! The day on which they make a great noise will witness their deportation, and

only one bomb will suffice to bring about that result. The Editor then goes on to say that under the section in question a person can be punished with transportation on the mere suspicion of possessing an explosive substance, unless he can show that it was meant for use for a lawful object. After remarking that such a law does not perhaps exist in any other country, he says that the provision means that every native is to be presumed to be a *badmash* of the worst type unless he can show that he is respectable person. If some such law were enforced in India the country would be turned into a paradise. The Explosive Substances Act is such a law on a small scale.

The Newspapers Act.

21. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 19th June 1908, complains of the hurry in which the Newspapers Act has been passed and says that an ordinary Sub-Inspector of Police will henceforth have the power to confiscate a printing press. It adds that the speech made by the Viceroy at the time of the passing of the Act shows that His Excellency was very impatient to place the new law on the Statute book. He seemed to be panic-stricken, and God alone knows how greatly things had been exaggerated to him by the Secret Police, Anglo-Indian newspapers and his advisers. After remarking that Lord Minto could not conceal the feelings of his heart, the paper quotes an extract from His Lordship's speech and contends that the agitation prevailing in the country is due, not to wire-pulling from abroad, but to the oppression (practised on the people by Government).

## VII—General Administration.

### (*a*)—*Judicial.*

Mr. Tilak's application for bail.

22. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 4th July 1908 :—

"Our readers will know from our telegraphic columns that Mr. Tilak's application for bail has been rejected by the High Court. The order was passed by Mr. Justice Davar, an Indian Judge, who only the other day allowed bail to Mr. Paranjpe, the Editor of the *Kal*. The Judge while rejecting the application remarked that personally he would have liked to release Mr. Tilak on bail, but reading the affidavits filed by the prosecution he considered that it was in the interests of the defence that the bail application be rejected without any further argument. We do not believe for a moment that the result would have been different if the presiding Judge had been a European. In fact, to tell the truth, we had never entertained any hope of Mr. Tilak's application for bail being granted. However we may deplore the vindictive attitude of the Government there can be no mistaking the latter. The Government is determined to have its pound of flesh, and it will have it. It is no use crying over it. People whose misfortune it is to stand in opposition to mighty despotisms like that of the British ought to be prepared to suffer for their convictions. We do not believe that the Government will gain in prestige by this vindictiveness, but they are apparently in no mood to consider these *small* matters. It is no wonder because the Government, after all, consists of human beings, and it is only human to err."

### (*d*)—*Education.*

The Educational policy of Government.

23. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 19th June 1908, publishes a communication from Lala Hardial, M. A., who, in continuation of his previous remarks, says that a people can only learn patriotism by studying their

national history. It is this study which prompts young men to sacrifice themselves to preserve the honour of their ancestors and binds together the different races inhabiting a country. They forget their petty differences, purge their minds of avarice and cowardice, and become ani mated by feelings of love for the nation. Native young men, however, who do not read their national history till the age of twenty and have never felt the wholesome influence of the saying of the great men of their country, can never realise their duty towards their nation or the meaning of the word "patriotism." And if they are also prevented from hearing or seeing the great leaders of the country they must always feel dispirited. A boy who cannot shout *Bande Mataram* with a whole heart can never become fit to serve his nation. Those students who suppress their natural inclinations through fear of their teachers ruin their souls. Young men in free countries entertain high aspirations and try to realise the same on growing to man's estate. A nation the young men of which do not dream of serving it must come to grief. How can native boys achieve any moral progress if they are prevented from hearing their statesmen ? He adds that native M. A's. and B. A's. trained under the system of education obtaining in the country lack a sense of national honour, as also patriotism and strength of will. Nor is this all. They are taught such books which teach them flattery and make them disloyal to their own nation. As an instance in point, Lala Hardial says that Lee-Warner's book (The Citizen of India) taught in the schools in the United Provinces bestows fulsome praises on Government and speaks of the Mahratta Peshwas and the Sikh Rajas as tyrannical and ignorant rulers. It also endeavours to show that India was a veritable hell on earth before the advent of the English to the country. It is a great sin for Hindus to read or teach this grossly lying book. Besides, what can Hindu boys gain by being taught to abuse their forefathers ? The schools maintained by Government teach lying, cunning and flattery to their students. Another great defect of the prevailing system of education is that it makes students irreligious, nay, Government intended it to uproot Hindusim. The writer then quotes from Elphinstone, Duff, Treveleyan, Halliday, Hunter and other writers in support of his assertion, and remarks that the system of education in vogue constitutes a danger for the Hindu religion and is calculated to promote the cause of Christianity in the country. This is why it has always been approved of by Christian Missionaries, who were also connected by Government in framing its educational policy. These preachers of the Bible still wield great influence in University Senates and Syndicates, which should convince Hindus that their religion is in great danger.

The education of Indians.

24. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 29th June 1908, remarks that there can be no denying the fact that as long as Indians do not take the education of their children into their own hands there can be no education worthy the name in the country. The reason for this is that Government has been making education dearer from day to day, with the result that just as it has become wellnigh impossible for the people to obtain justice from Government the doors of education have been shut in the face of poor natives. It is therefore high time that Indians made arrangements for imparting cheap and efficient education to their children by establishing national schools and colleges and severing all connection with Government Universities.

25. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 20th June 1908, deplores that the management of the Khalsa College should have passed into the hands of Government officials, and regrets that the parents of young students should feel no scruple in allowing their boys to take the wrong path in the hope that they would secure comfortable berths. The Khalsa College was a Khalsa institution so long as it was in the hand of the Khalsa Bahadurs, but is no longer entitled to be called a national institution of the Sikhs, inasmuch as the authorities have taken by various tactics the management of the College into their own hands. Can such a College impart education likely to benefit the Khalsa community? The Government has by its act shown that it is not a supporter of education and that it is strongly opposed to any education calculated to develope a sense of self-respect in the minds of natives. There are undoubtedly a few Khalsas on the Managing Committee, but they will never have the courage to say anything in opposition to the English President. If the Khalsas desire to live they should prevent the Government from interfering with the affairs of the College and allow it to be disaffiliated from the Government University. If they cannot do so they should raise subscriptions among themselves and start another College where education could be imparted on national lines. It is easy to raise a large fund for the purpose if even one or two rupees be paid by each Sikh towards the fund.

The Khalsa College.

26. *Hindustan* (Lahore), in the issue dated 26th June 1908, says that it has received complaints from several students about the disastrous results of the various examinations of the Punjab University held this year. The writers should, however, know that the authorities are not favourably disposed towards education, on the ground that it has opened the eyes of the people and prompted them to demand their rights from Government. On the contrary, the people are of opinion that it is English education which has proved their undoing and that, but for it, they would have obtained their liberty long ago. They also hold that the wretched system of education in vogue in the country has alienated them from their religion and courage. The Pathans may not be educated and enlightened, but they are a free people nevertheless. As to the enlightement of natives, it is nothing short of a curse to them, seeing that it has been dragging them lower and lower every day. This being so, the Editor wishes that Indian Universities would cease to exist, so that young native men may not always hanker to obtain Government service and become deteriorated in physique. He is therefore very glad at the massacre of the innocents at the recent examinations of the Punjab University.

Disastrous results of the recent examination of the Punjab University.

### (*f*)—*Railways and Communications.*

27. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 12th July 1908 :—

Railway accidents.

"The series of railway collisions and accidents which have of late occurred in such startling frequency and breathless succession have attracted widespread attention, and it is to be hoped that the Government will take the matter up in right earnest and appoint an open and independent Commission to go into the real or contributory causes of the serious state of things. Such a Commission would be expected to go into and overhaul the whole question of the signalling arrangements, the number, efficiency and duties of the station and running staff, and suggest to Government what measures

have to be adopted, and what precautions have to be taken to ensure that general immunity and safety which the passengers on Indian railways have, as a rule, learnt to associate with travelling by rail. But curiously enough the occasion indirectly suggests to our Allahabad Anglo-Indian contemporary the reactionary step of doing away with fast express trains for third class passengers that are run on the E. I. Railway. Fast express trains for 3rd class or other local fast passengers came into existence to lessen the overcrowding on the mail trains, and to discontinue them would be most unfortunate. That the staff requires to be improved and strengthened, and the pressure of work removed from men working in position of responsibility for the lives and safety of railway passengers, and that signalling and other arrangements should be so improved and brought up-to-date and rendered efficient as to reduce the risk of accidents to the minimum, is what we have strongly insisted upon and emphasized upon in these columns, and here the *Pioneer* is no longer on debatable ground.

### (*h*)—*Miscellaneous*

28. The following is from the *Punjab Times and Frontier News* (Rawalpindi), of the 4th July 1908 :—

An argument against social intercourse between Europeans and Indians.

"We are not among those who have suddenly turned round and discovered that it would be a very good thing for India if the rulers and the ruled lived together in peace and harmony. We have always advocated it, but did our best in every way to promote the good feeling we wished to see. The past files of our paper are sufficient proof of this.

"And when we see the columns of some of our contemporaries now full of empty gush and hollow bunkum, about a good feeling between the native and the European in India, we know the exact value to place on it. It is only from the lips outwards: nothing more.

"We cannot be suspected of anything but the most hearty and respectful feelings for our European fellow-subject; and this is why we have no hesitation in speaking out boldly and freely, in such a manner that no other newspaper in India has dared to speak, on a subject about which every body thinks. We Indians should be delighted beyond measure to see a good feeling between the classes; and not only a good feeling, but a thorough interchange of social amenities and the pleasures of unfettered social intercourse. The Europeans, however, say, "you would wish to enter our circle, but you will not allow us to enter your circle." This we do not for a moment deny. And we have very good reasons for our exclusive conduct.

"Let us ask our European friends a straight question, and let our European friends, if they can, give us a straight answer.

"Would you, dear friends, wish to see our wives, the mothers of our children, join in your principal social functions, dances for instance, and go and sit about in dark corners with your men, to be watched, and not only watched, but despised, by our lowest classes of servants, our syces and our sweepers? Why do you have what you call *kala jagahs* at your principal social functions? If what you do is right and blameless, why do it in darkness, and why have places made dark for the special purpose of doing it there? This requires an answer; and we whom you invite to share in your social life have a right to demand an answer before we go a step further in this direction.

"You, oh dear and respected friends, you have no idea what our very lowest classes, who have been watching you, say of you when you emerge from one of your fashionable *kala jagahs*. There is not a *bunnia* whom you despise, or profess to despise, whose blood would not boil in his veins if he heard his wife spoken of all through what you call your "Season." And the worst of it is that it is your *married women* who patronise most energetically these dark holes. Yes, your *married women* and your young unmarried men. We defy contradiction. And now, we ask, since you set us this example, how do you think we can possibly bring ourselves to follow it?

"You talk about a Western Code of Morals and an Eastern Code. We acknowledge that our Eastern Code is by no means faultless; but are you teaching us any better? Is the *kala jagah* an improvement on our *Zenana*? Ask your syces, sweepers. Are your married women as honest and as virtuous as the mothers of our children? If they are, why do they go into dark places with men who are not their husbands? Will you tell us that they do it for the purpose of prayer, devotion, or morality? Your women go to the *kala jagahs* on Saturday nights and to your churches on Sundays; how do they manage to do justice to both? Which are they trying to cheat? Your God or your Devil? They cheat neither: they only end by cheating their husbands.

"We are willing to learn: you have taught us a great many useful and good things; but, for goodness' sake, do not expect us to make our wives follow your example in *kala jagahs*.

"You say that some of us think the very worst of your ladies. How can we help it? Have we not eyes and ears as you have? And even if we do not see, cannot we hear? And we hear more than we wish, and much more than is good for you and us.

"And until you can show us that our wives and daughters will be anything the better for your dances and *kala jagahs*, do not expect any of that social intercourse you are so fond of talking about."

F. ISEMONGER,

*Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*
*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

SIMLA:
*The 11th July* 1908.

Punjab Government Branch Press, Simla.—22-7-08—165—97.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 29. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 18th July 1908.**

---

## CONTENTS.


Page.

I.—Politics.

(a)—*Foreign*—

1. England and Japan (*Hindustan*) ... ... 423

(b)—*Home*—

2. A dream (*Zamindar*) ... ... ... *ib.*
3. A dream (*Zamindar*) ... ... ... 424
4. Lord Morley's reform scheme (*Jhang Sial*) ... 427
5. Rulers and the ruled (*Aftab*) ... ... *ib.*
6. The situation in India (*Observer*) ... ... 429
7. Unrest in Bengal (*Aftab*) ... ... ... 430
8. Calcutta Anarchists (*Hitkari*) ... ... *ib.*
9. Mr. Hyndman on the appearance of bomb throwers in India (*Haq Pasand*) ... ... ... 432
10. An exhortation to natives (*Raghbir Patrika*) ... *ib.*
11. Advice to natives (*Raghbir Patrika*) ... ... 433
12. Prosecution of the Editor of the *Urdu-i-Mualla* (*Aftab*) ... ... ... ... *ib.*

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

13. The Amir's attitude towards the British Government (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... ... ... 434

III.—Native States.

*Nil.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

*Nil.*

Page.

V.—Native Societies and Religious matters.

*Nil.*

VI.—Legislation.

14. The Newspapers Act (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 434

VII.—General Administration.

(a)—*Judicial*—

*Nil.*

(b)—*Police*—

*Nil.*

(c)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs*—

*Nil.*

(d)—*Education*—

15. The educational policy of Government (*Zamindar*) ... 434
16. Lala Har Dial on English Education (*Hindustan*) ... 435
17. The Khalsa College (*Sher-i-Babar*) ... ... *ib.*

(e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land*—

18. Government and famine (*Hindustan*) ... ... *ib.*
19. Government and famine (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 436

(f)—*Railways and Communications*—

20. Railway grievance (*Panjabee*) ... ... *ib.*
21. G. I. P. Railway. A grievance (*Tribune*) ... *ib.*

(g)—*Postal matters*—

*Nil.*

(h)—*Miscellaneous*—

22. The anomalies of the world (*Panjabee*) ... 437

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 29. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 18th July 1908.**

---

### I.—Politics.

#### (*a*)—*Foreign.*

1. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 3rd July 1908, says that the object of the British Government in entering into treaty relations with Japan was to thwart Russian designs on India and to weaken the Muscovites for some time to come. It also regarded the Russo-Japanese War with equanimity, under the impression that while the Island would exhaust its resources in the unequal contest, the Czar's Government would have too much work in the Far East to think of invading India. But things did not turn out quite to its liking. The fear of a Russian invasion of the country has undoubtedly been very much diminished, but at the same time Japan's victories have opened the eyes of Asiatics who no longer regard Europeans with feelings of awe. After remarking that Indians also have been roused from their mesmeric sleep, the Editor goes on to say that Government has now begun to apprehend danger to its rule in India from within. He adds that Japan's activities in all directions have also frightened the English, who used to praise her till quite recently, and have made them doubt their wisdom in concluding a treaty with her and enter into an alliance with Russia, their old enemy. Does all this, he asks, mean that the British Government wishes to go to war with Japan. If so, it will be a mistake on its part to commence hostilities with the Island Kingdom at a time when a wave of discontent is passing over this country. Just now the discontent is being driven underground, but it is not impossible that a war may lead to its breaking out.

England and Japan.

#### (*b*)—*Home.*

2. The *Zamindar* (Karmabad), of the 24th June 1908, publishes in continuation of its previous remarks (*vide* paragraph 4 of Selections No. 27) the fourth instalment of "a political dream," which runs as follows :—

A dream.

On the fourth day at about noon His Majesty took his seat on the throne amid vehement cheers. Babu Swaraj Bose and Mr. Anglo-Indian appeared before His Majesty, who, taking the papers regarding the case in his hands, remarked that these papers concerned a country which was about 2,000 miles in length and breadth and which was inhabited by 30 crores of people and whose annual income was 100 crores of rupees; that it was therefore, illegal and contrary to the laws of India that the papers should bear

no court fee stamps. Babu Swaraj Bose contended that the revenue and taxes which the Indians paid should have been used for their internal and external protection, as well as for the settlement of their disputes, but the authorities (in India) realised stamps and court fees over and above these taxes, which in the opinion of his clients, bore very heavily upon them. The Counsel expressed regret that His Majesty should also demand court fees from them and remarked that Indians were too poor to pay them. Mr. Anglo-Indian, however, protested that His Majesty could not act in contravention to the laws of the country and that the plaintiffs' claims could not be heard unless they paid the court fees in full. To this Babu Swaraj Bose replied that if His Majesty was bound to act in accordance with the (Court Fees) Act he would ask His Majesty's permission to submit his petition *in formâ pauperis*. Mr. Anglo-Indian demanded proof in support of the contention that the plaintiffs were paupers. Babu Swaraj Bose asked what better evidence could there be of the poverty of the people than the fact that although there were about 20 crores of agriculturists in India yet their only newspaper, the *Zamindar*, was in a wretched condition for want of support. Mr. Anglo-Indian was unable to accept the force of this contention, and attributed the want of interest shown by agriculturists towards their newspaper, to their ignorance, imprudence, shortsightedness and ignorance of the necessities of the time, and remarked that when such a large section of the people was so ignorant and imprudent it was apparent that the country was not yet fit either for self-government or to take part in the administration of the country. The Counsel then referred to the extravagant habits of the people on occasions of marriages and other ceremonies and stated that in Bengal certain newspapers had a circulation of 50,000 and that a single copy of the *Yugantar* was recently sold at one rupee. His Majesty, however, did not care to prolong the discussion and ordered that the plaintiffs should pay something on account for the court fees and that the *Zamindar* must be provided with subscribers at the rate of one subscriber from every village, town and city, and that every subscriber should secure at least one new subscriber for the paper.

A dream.

3. The *Zamindar* (Karmabad), of the 8th July 1908, in continuation of the previous article says that on the fifth day when the King Emperor took his seat the Lord Chamberlain announced that in obedience to His Majesty's orders of the previous day Chaudhri Karam Ilahi Khan, a Zaildar and Honorary Magistrate, had paid Rs. 6 for a year's subscription to the *Zamindar*; that Maulvi Fateh Din, a Pleader at Jullundur, had procured one subscriber and that Khadim-ul-Mulk had promised to obey His Majesty's orders. Babu Swaraj Bose then stood up and said that he had already stated that his clients were exceedingly poor. The dependants had plundered them and involved them in poverty of set purpose. Besides, owing to drought and the diminution of water in the rivers there had been a continuous failure of crops during the last three or four years. His clients were therefore quite unable to pay any court fees. Mr. Anglo-Indian remarked in reply that the plea was false. Indians wasted crores of rupees in litigation and lakhs more on dancing and other things on the occasion of marriages. Again, while some 20,000 or 50,000 people subscribed to newspapers which were engaged in spreading sedition and preaching disorder, they refused to help the *Zamindar* simply because it favoured moderation and was extremely loyal to Government

because it considered British rule to be a blessing to the country. The present wretched condition of that paper was not due therefore to the poverty of the plaintiffs, but to their rebellious feelings. It was perhaps also ascribable to the fact that the paper was supported by zamindars, who were exceedingly poor owing to their failure to advance with the times. The King Emperor spoke next and declared that out of regard for the three persons who had helped or promised to help the *Zamindar* he would pardon the indifference shown by Indians to his orders. His Majesty then delivered the following judgment :—

The people of India, through Babu Swaraj Bose—*Plaintiffs*

*versus*

The English people, through Mr. Anglo-Indian—*Defendants.*

Claim for *Swaraj* or self-government under section 1 of the Law of Common Sense, and section 2 of the Civilisation Code.

*Judgment :*

The plaintiffs state that the English came (to India) as traders in 1615 and remained in that character till 1707, *i.e.*, for nearly a century. After the death of Aurangzeb the Nawabs and Rajas in the country grew selfish and there was confusion in the land. The English profitted by the opportunity and began to take possession of the country, the task having been completed in 1851 on the deposition of Wajid Ali Shah, the King of Oudh. The plaintiffs bring the following charges against the defendants : —

(1) That the defendants are traders and not conquerors.

(2) That in the beginning they used to obey the (Mughal) rulers of India, but that, profitting by their opportunities, they took possession of the latter's dominions.

(3) That they obtained the sceptre of India by fraud.

(4) That they are devoid of all feeling of gratitude.

(5) That they prefer Englishmen to natives (*lit.* black men) under all circumstances.

(6) That they have not discharged their duties as conquerors.

(7) That Akbar's rule was better than British rule.

(8) That they have not acted up to the terms of the late Queen Victoria's proclamation.

(9) That they pay no regard to native public opinion.

(10) That Lord Curzon's Universities Act has sapped the foundation of education.

(11) That the average daily income of Indians has been reduced under British rule.

(12) That agriculturists have become involved in debt under the present *régime.*

(13) That land revenue and *abiana* are recovered at high rates.

(14) That India has been deprived of the blessings of village panchayats.

(15) That the British Government has not put down the evil of realising compound interest (on debts incurred by zamindars).

(16) That the wealth of India is being drained away to England.

(17) That the defendants themselves are responsible for the present unrest.

It will be tedious to recapitulate the arguments based on the evidence of the facts and history and the prevailing law advanced by the Counsels on both sides in the presence of their clients in support of their claims and complaints with much precision, ability and patience. We cannot, however, refrain from remarking that only the learned Counsel on both sides could have laid before us the points at issue with the eloquence displayed by them. While acknowledging their profound ability and vast information, we express joy and satisfaction at the fact that our Indian Empire has also produced able men who feel no hesitation and fear in pleading their cause in opposition to the ruling race. The high and general principle of our Government is to teach our subjects to know their rights and to explain what is meant by rights and who are entitled to get their rights. And if Indians have learnt their rights, as appears from the case now under trial, this is due to our Government having followed the principle to which I have referred above.

Of all the points to which the Counsel on both sides have drawn our attention and which they have tried to impress on us the one which has struck us most and requires to be disposed of first of all is that one party have styled themselves "black men" while the other call themselves "white men." We are, however, of opinion that a white or a black skin cannot under any circumstances be a source of pride or contempt. In the first place religious books tell us that all men—whether white or black—are descended from the same ancestor (Adam); while, in the second, history and scientific research show that the English, Indians, Arabs, Turks and many European nations came from the same place, *i.e.* Central Asia. These people who belonged to the same stock eventually dispersed—some south, some west and some north. Some settled in hot climates and others in the cold regions of the world. Climatic changes and the lapse of time wrought a change in their complexion. From a medical standpoint also a difference in colour does not confer any superiority or speciality on a person. If the English were to live in India for a few generations their complexions also would assume the colour of that of Indians. Since this is so, we are extremely sorry that Englishmen who go out to India should treat Indians in a haughty manner simply on account their white skin. On the other hand, if Asiatics had claimed superiority for themselves they would have been justified in doing so, since all spiritual guides and religious leaders were born in Asia Minor, Arabia and India. Our own Jesus of Nazareth, who is our Saviour and Spiritual Guide, was born in Asia, and for this reason we are the disciples of Asia. Nay, it is Asia which exercises religious sway over Europe and America. In India also, which forms part of Asia, no value has ever been attached to the transient distinction of colour owing to the vast spiritual advancement made by the country. On the contrary, Europe is more materialistic; and as Europeans have had very little share of spiritual blessings, they love materialism most. On this consideration then Indians are not inferior to Europeans, but are on the contrary superior to them.

The Englishmen whom we send out to rule India are selected not because of their white skin, but because of their ability and literary knowledge and their successes at prescribed examinations. A consideration of the claims

put forward and the arguments advanced by both sides show that the main cause of the present dispute is this question of colour. To the best of our belief the English alone are responsible for the question having been raised and for the consequences that ensued. We can, however, confidently say that the defect is not innate in the national character of the English, but that it is ascribable to the curious system of examination which was introduced in England some time ago and according to which common persons, ignorant of the methods of rule, are sent out to India after passing the prescribed literary tests. They are of very low morals and hold no social position. Their ability merely consists in learning books by heart. These defects are now realised, not only by our Indian subjects, but also in England, and have found their way to this country also. The only way to remove them is that both Englishmen and natives should be selected to rule in India and that those selected—

(1) Should be members of noble and respectable families.

(2) Their ancestors should not have been in a lowly condition.

(3) The test of their ability should not consist merely in passing examinations.

If this had previously been done there would assuredly have been no unrest and discontent in the country.

Lord Morley's reform scheme.

4. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 4th July 1908, remarks that Lord Morley had better shelve his reform scheme. It can neither conciliate the people nor allay the unrest that prevails in the country. If Government wishes to achieve this result it should prevent foreigners from draining away India's wealth. It should also redress the grievances of the people, prevent the creation of famines in the country in the name of free trade, and abstain from suppressing the liberty of speech and writing.

Rulers and ruled.

5. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 21st June 1908, publishes an article headed as follows :—

"The day of Judgment.

"Where ? In India !"

The Editor begins by saying that in these days India is a veritable hell on earth. Crores of its inhabitants have been dying from starvation and lakhs more are in the grip of abject poverty. Again, thousands of respectable persons find it extremely difficult to procure bread, while hundreds—lion-hearted men—have the pride of living in the sacred buildings of jails. The authorities wish to preserve British rule in India by means of oppression, but the people will no longer be oppressed and are determined to rise. This conduct is unpalatable to the British and they consequently resort to oppression in order to prevent an awakening in the country. After remarking that the alleged existence of revolutionary Hindu propaganda in New York has had the effect of stunning the London *Times*, the *Aftab* observes that whenever wretched natives speak of their nation and country the English are upset forthwith. What offence, it asks, is there in a native saying that the people have not the right of vote in the country's Legislative Councils ; that crores of rupees are being drained away to England while Indians are dying from starvation ; that the poverty-stricken people of this country are more heavily

taxed than any other nation, that they should learn to stand on their own legs; and that the country's power is being undermined through the reprehensible doings of the British Government? Is it a sin to defend one's life and property and to devise means to promote one's well-being and prosperity? It is possible that natives may be mistaken in their views. But Mr. Keir Hardie, the socialist leader, has also said in one of his recent speeches that the English do not rule India for the good of its inhabitants; that they have been undermining the country's power and draining away its wealth; that they have been crushing natives under their heels; and that British rule in India is worse than the rule which it superseded. After enquiring whether that gentlemen also has lied, the Editor says that the *Times* alleges that nearly 100 Indians held a secret meeting in London on the 10th May last to commemorate the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. He cannot believe this, inasmuch as the mere mention of the rising strikes terror into the hearts of natives, for their fathers and grandfathers were hanged, deported and rendered destitute during that time. He adds that a statue of Nicholson has been erected at Delhi outside the Kashmiri Gate as a Mutiny memorial, and that in all probability it was raised to commemorate his brave death and his work in cutting the throats of Indians. Why should it not, however, have opposite to it a statue of the native who, while himself on the point of death, made a martyr of Nicholson? Again, the object of Lord Curzon's proposal to raise a memorial to Lord Clive can only keep alive the memory of a deceiver and hypocrite, of whom the English feel proud, and that English children may be taught to treat Indians after his manner. If it is considered necessary to erect the proposed memorial the statue should have opposite to it a statue of Omachand, to whom the victor of Plassey gave a forged deed. An Englishman says that this act of deception on the part of Clive will not only continue to darken his memory, but also to shame the English nation till the end of the world. The paper then goes on to say that the *Times* did not feel horrified when the English erected Mutiny memorials. Why should they reopen old sores? Does not the raising of such memorials create hatred between the rulers and the ruled? The conduct of Anglo-Indians in reviving the memory of the incidents of the Mutiny shows clearly enough that they wish to foment another rising in the country. The Editor wishes to tell Government that it is his firm conviction that the next revolt in India will not be like the Sepoy Mutiny, but a much more serious affair, and that this view has also been endorsed by Mr. Keir Hardie. After remarking that Anglo-Indians alone will be responsible for the rising, he says that the country seems to have been overtaken by the day of judgment. Although riots have been occurring in different places and people have been starving and rotting in jails, the authorities seem determined to persist in their policy of repression. They have so arranged matters that although the people may starve they should not ask for food, but should ever pray to God that they may fast all the year round. Again, Lord Morley has expressed joy over the Newspapers Act, which has deprived the native press of its liberty. After challenging Sir Harvey Adamson's assertion that the prevailing unrest is due to writings (of native papers) and (the) speeches (of public orators), the paper says that Anglo-Indians and the *Yugantar* have left nothing undone to foment a rising in the country. It is the *Yugantar* which has come out victorious in the war between it and the English which commenced last year. The latter have had no other alternative than to pass a new law in order to deal with the former. Henceforth, however, the

*Yugantar* will be printed in the mountains and cause the authorities much greater worry. But the important question is why the entire native press should have been deprived of its liberty merely because of the writings of the *Yugantar*.

The situation in India.

6. The following is from the *Observer* (Lahore), of the 15th July 1908 :—

"A writer remarks that the real burning question in India at present is *the sudden and unaccountable* birth and development of revolutionary ideas. But we no more believe in the sudden development of moral ideas than in the unaccountable birth of a child. The revolutionary ideas now in evidence, with all their disastrous concomitants, are but the result and manifestation of forces which have been at work for a considerable time past and which have been allowed to stalk freely in the land too long to be now suppressed merely with a stroke of the pen. Those responsible for the administration of India have generally neglected, as if on principle, to check the activity of the political agitator and they failed to foresee the consequences of their policy of indifference towards his doings, till the situation has assumed a serious aspect and they have been taken by surprise by the new condition of things, for which they were not prepared, but towards which their own apathy has contributed to some extent at least.

"The first item in the programme of the so-called "patriots" was the founding of societies and the establishment of other organisations, ostensibly avowing to employ constitutional methods of agitation, but in their heart of hearts favouring the adoption of extreme measures. The propaganda of *Swadeshi* and *Swaraj* was gradually forced to the front and the boycott of British goods naturally led up, step by step, to a desire to replace English Government by home rule. Lecturers and writers cropped up in abundance and flooded Indian platforms and newspapers with their revolutionary sentiments. The poison steadly worked its way and in course of time the gospel of violence was openly preached and practised. The appearance of the bomb on the stage marks the latest suicidal development in the politics of the country, but one can trace the existence of a link between this calamitous manifestation of discontent and the more peaceful tactics of the professional agitator. The fact is that circumstanced as India at present is, we cannot, bearing in view our past traditions and the social and political conditions of to-day, imitate Western methods of agitation without running the grave risk of importing into Hindustan the questionable features of political life in Europe unaccompanied by the safeguards which restrain the exhuberant energy of over-enthusiasts in the West and help in keeping them from straying into the paths of sedition and revolution.

"We do not wish to sound any note of unnecessary alarm, but it will be equally unwise to be blind where new factors in society rivet attention. 'New thoughts, new standards, new ideals of life, new conceptions of God and of society' are being brought into existence. The greatest danger to India will lie in permitting the new forces to run riot and exercise a baneful influence on the people and their lives. The latter are being profoundly affected by the spirit of the times; and it is undeniable that while the faith of men is being shaken in their ancient institutions, new deities have not yet occupied the pedestal from which the old gods have tumbled down. The period of transition, in politics as in everything else, is a period fraught with great possibilities of both good and harm, and if the latter is to be reduced to the minimum, Government will do well to maintain a vigilant watch and exert itself to the uttermost to keep the direction of affairs in its own hands. Sympathy, tempered with firmness, is the best means to achieve this object, and we have no doubt that whereas firmness is the only remedy to weed out sedition and violence, sympathy is the sole key to the hearts of the vast majority of the people. Do not fail to be firm in dealing with the small class of sedition-mongers; but, at the same time, employ sympathy and conciliation in securing the regard and affection of the large mass of the people. The way to success in administration lies through these two means, and, while noticing and justifying the strong measures which Government has been forced by the agitators to take to suppress disorder and violence, we have to acknowledge with

gratefulness the promises emphatically held out by Lords Morley and Minto, of the generous liberality with which they propose to meet the legitimate aspirations of the educated class in India. The fulfilment of these promises should go far to allay discontent and to deprive the malcontents of the handy weapons that are so frequently used by them for creating mischief.

Unrest in Bengal.

7. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 28th June 1908, says that Sir H. Adamson recently remarked that the Bengalis had been converted into *Ghazis*. What is the reason for their transformation? Why have a weak, lazy and timid people like the Bengalis become suddenly turbulent? If Lord Curzon had not been sent to India as Viceroy the Bengalis would have remained locked in the arms of sleep for centuries to come. This, however, would have been injurious both for the Bengalis and for the entire population of the country. It is a law of nature that those people who were first enslaved should rise before others. At one time India was a paradise on earth, but now it has been reduced to an extremely wretched condition. On the other hand, the English, who were savages and lived in caves only yesterday, are now the most enlightened people in the world. Inscrutable are the ways of God! Lord Curzon wished to divide the Bengalis, but the partition of their province has led to the opposite result. The cowardly Bengalis submitted memorials against the partition, went to England to agitate in the matter and also boycotted British-made goods, but the English considered it a sin to reunite Bengal. The Bengalis would not allow the English to divide them, but the latter poured not water but oil on the fire. The former, who were weak, appealed to the Punjab; but as fate would have it the Punjabis also were greatly exasperated at their cruel rulers at the time. National enthusiasm was at white heat in the province and the English were seized with fear. Pandit Morley was alarmed and enquired from the Local Government why Punjabi Sikhs were discontented with British rule. Upon this, the Punjab authorities toured in the disaffected parts of the Punjab and endeavoured to impress on the Sikhs that the laws complained of (the Colonisation Act and the orders enhancing the Bari Doab Canal rates) were meant solely for their benefit. The invariable reply was that they did not stand in need of water and that Government could do with its canals whatever it liked. One bold Muhammadan went the length of saying that the zamindars would not pay land revenue even at the former rates. This led to the repeal of the Colonisation Act and there was peace in the Punjab once more. This had the effect of exasperating the Bengalis at the thought that no heed should have been paid to their agitation against the partition, and their anger converted them into a race of *Ghazis*. Will Sir H. Adamson say now who is responsible for the transformation. If the Government of India continues to remain indifferent the Bengalis will assuredly change into martyrs; and a nation which tastes of martyrdom once can never be silenced.

Calcutta anarchists.

8. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 6th July 1908, publishes the following (which is taken from *Bande Mataram*, of the 26th May last) :—

"It is hardly possible we are afraid either for an Englishman, or for the matter of that even for an Anglicised Hindu, to clearly understand the significance of the association of the Gita with the manufacture of explosives and infernal machines in the propaganda of the young people arrested in connection with the recent Bomb Outrage in Bengal. Most people seem inclined to dismiss it as a mere freak of youthful fancy.

Even those who have for years past imposed upon an ignorant and thoughtless public, as great lovers and preachers of the Gita, have, either through want of insight or lack of courage, simply expressed their horror and detestation of this sacrilegious association. But no one seems so far to have realised that whether sacrilegious or not, it is this mixing up of the methods of European anarchists and the profoundly spiritual teachings of the Gita that at once differentiates the Bengal revolutionary from his European prototype and reveals an element of idealism and spirituality in the revolutionary propaganda in India, and especially among the Hindus, which constitutes at once the most dangerous and the most hopeful feature of it. The danger of it lies in the fact that the lofty idealism and profound spirituality of the present Indian Revolution make it exceedingly difficult for the ordinary Britisher to clearly understand its complex psychology or discover the means by which it may be successfully met. And its hopefulness consists in this that a movement which is so essentially spiritual in its ideals and incentives, though it may temporarily be woefully misguided, can never permanently or absolutely lose its hold on these eternal verities which constitute the soul of real progress everywhere, and the presence of which in national movements, involving conflicts of large racial interests, offers an absolute safeguard to the universal interests of humanity. Indeed, call it anarchism, call it nihilism, call it by any name you please, it will by no means conceal the glaring fact that it is an absolutely indigenous product, a real native of the soil, fragrant of the eternal spirit of the race. For though the methods adopted by these misguided people may be European, there can be no question that the spirit and the ideal that have clearly animated them are distinctly Indian and Hindu. And it is here that the sublime teachings of the Gita seem to have clearly come in.

"It is clear that the revelations of the past month have presented the Bengali youths, and through them, indeed, the whole of the Bengali race, in an altogether new character. Rightly or wrongly, the Bengali has been painted for many decades, if not for many centuries past, as an exceedingly timid person, incapable of physical endurance or physical courage. While the other races of India have been taken into the British Indian Army the Bengali alone has been denied admission into the ranks of the Indian Sepoy on the plea of his physical incapacity and his lack of bravery. We may refuse to admit that there was any truth or justice in this charge, but the other races of India have been led to accept it as true; and even the Bengali has been induced by a constant re-iteration of this accusation to believe himself to be actually incapacitated by nature for great physical exertion or bravery. This timidity, whether congenital or acquired, had really become, at least latterly, a characteristic of his race. And like all timidity it arose out of his lack of spiritual insight and discrimination. Timidity is, what is called in Sanskrit *Karpanya*. It is the characteristic of the *Kripana*; and a *Kripana* is one, according to the *Upanishada*, who does not know the spirit or the self as absolutely distinct from the body. All fear of loss and all fear of death is due to this want of right knowledge and discrimination. Arjuna, standing face to face with the fearful possibilities of a great internecine conflict,—the possibilities of losing friends and relatives who ranged themselves against one another in deadly battle array,—was overtaken by this *Karpanya*.

"My nature has been taited and overwhelmed by *Karpanya* or timidity. I am unable to decide what is my duty. I therefore ask thee, tell me positively, that which is good. I am thy disciple. I have sought refuge in thee; teach me thou my duty." This is the occasion, namely, to point out to the timid Arjuna, overwhelmed with grief at the thought of the loss of friends and relatives, which way his duty or *Dharma* lay, which called forth the Divine Lay or the Bhagavat Gita. And the first thing that the divine teacher of the Gita enunciates is the great truth concerning the immortality of the human soul—

> "'Though born, it is not true that I was not before, or that thou wert or these princes were not before. Nor is it true that we all shall not exist hereafter.'

"He says elsewhere:—

> "'Just as there are stages in the physical life of embodied beings, like boyhood youth, and age; so is also the acquisition of another body after death. The wise do not allow themselves to be cast down and depressed by it.'

"Again:—

"'That by which this body and these senses is pervaded know it to be imperishable. It is ever-lasting and eternal, no one can destroy it. The embodied (spirit) is declared to be eternal. Its bodies alone have an end.'

"'The bodies of the eternal spirit are declared to have both beginning and end. This spirit itself is immortal and immeasurable. Therefore, oh Bharata, throw yourself into this fight.'

"This indeed is the burden of the whole song. This is the one central truth, namely, the immortality of the human soul and the unreality of death, disease, and all the endless sufferings that flesh is heir to, which has been sought to be impressed, in a variety of ways, upon the student of the Bhagavat Gita. And it cannot be denied that however misguided Barindra Chandra Ghosh and his companions may have been, and however woefully they may have misapplied the sublime theosophy of the Bhagavat Gita in the selection of the suicidal methods they were led to adopt by teachings of European revolutionaries, for working out the salvation of their country—the moral and spiritual inspiration of their life has been distinctly drawn from this sacred source. However much we may condemn their methods, it is impossible to deny that these young men have, to a large extent, conquered their self and their sense, and have completely crushed under their heel that timidity which has hitherto been recognised as the badge of all their race. They put themselves even while engaged in the manufacture of infernal machines—it seems clear from the statements they have already made before the Police and the Magistrate—under a severe moral and spiritual discipline. And their study of the Gita side by side with their experiments in explosives shows that the spirit which moved them in their work was very different from that of the European revolutionaries. And even by their errors this band of misguided young men seem to us to have proved it to all the world that even when India goes astray she will do so in her own way and contribute an altogether new chapter even to the History of Human Errors and Follies."

Mr. Hyndman on the appearance of bomb-throwers in India.

9. The *Haq Pasand* (Amritsar), of the 1st July 1908, says that Mr. Hyndman writes in his newspaper *Justice*:—"The produce corresponds with what is sown. Tyrannical methods of rule will lead to exactly the same results in India which they have brought about in Russia. Indians have no right to express indignation at the appearance of the bomb in the country, because no one cares for their opinions. Famine and plague have been working havoc because the life-blood of the peasantry has been sucked, but still no one listens to their cries. Even if the leaders are transported without a trial they have no one to whom to appeal. Those who express joy at the release of leaders—the pride of the country—who were unjustly punished, are flogged. If the Bengalis have thought of the bomb under these circumstances is it to be wondered at? Government and its supporter, Lord Morley, alone should be held responsible for the murder of two innocent European ladies in Bengal.

An exhortation to natives.

10. The *Raqhbir Patrika* (Jhang), for June 1908, publishes some Panjabi verses written by "Almast," who exhorts natives—both young and old—to become patriots, to disregard the hardships to which they may be subjected, and to know no rest till they have gained their liberty at the sacrifice even of life and property. There is no need for them to shed blood. They should wield the weapon of boycott, which is deadlier than the sword or gun. They should not lose heart in the struggle in which they are engaged but should look for help from the Almighty God alone.

Advice to natives.

11. The *Raghbir Patrika* (Jhang), for June 1908, publishes some verses in Panjabi from the pen of one Lala Ganesh Das of Kot Pindidas. The writer enquires what should be done to awaken the people and to make them settle their disputes at their homes, without their having to undergo the expenses incidental to litigation and without having to suffer inconvenience at the hands of white men. He would also like his countrymen to feel no fear of a white skin, but to pass their days in ease and happiness. He adds: "We two (Hindus and Muhammadans) are sons of the same mother (and) there is no reason why we should not love each other. If we had our own shops in the bazaar (were to make ourselves the goods required by us) we would no longer stand in need of help from England. Nothing can ever be accomplished without union: become one, so that we may attain our salvation."

Prosecution of the Editor of the *Urdu-i-Mualla*.

12. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 5th July 1908, says that so far only two Musalmans, named Liaqat Husain and Doctor Abdul Ghafur, both of whom were already well known in the country, have been arrested for sedition. Before these arrests took place it was generally believed that the arrest of a Musalman would have the effect of creating a feeling of disaffection among their co-religionists. People were greatly disappointed at the action of Government in not arresting Mr. Abdur Rasul at the Provincial Conference at Barisal as they did not get an opportunity to put this theory to the test. But since these two arrests have been made the fallacy of the theory has been fully established. It has been fully proved now that the Musalmans have no sympathy for their co-religionists who incur the displeasure of Government. Nay, they go the length of outcasting those followers of the Prophets who attend the National Congress or sympathise with that movement. After remarking that the evidence of the approver Gossain in the Calcutta bomb case has disclosed the existence of a third Musalman, named Abbas Mirza in Madras, the Editor goes on to say that a fourth hails from Aligarh, a place least suspected of harbouring such characters. Aligarh is not only the educational centre of Indian Musalmans, but also their political centre, for the office of the Muslim League has been established there. It was believed that all the Musalman residents of Aligarh were loyal and faithful. But strange to say even that city has produced a hero like Syed Fazal-ul-Hasan Hasrat, B. A., Editor of the *Urdu-i-Mualla*, who took his degree from the local National College. The Editor then congratulates the College on having produced a brave man like the Syed, and expresses a hope that his congratulations will be taken in the spirit in which they have been offered. Mr. Hasrat, he goes on to say, has been arrested for publishing certain articles which were alleged to create disaffection among the people in the April and May numbers of his journal and has been consigned to Jail. He is a man of simple habits and of courteous and obliging manners, and holds extreme views in politics. During the last session of the Congress at Surat he was constantly seen by the side of Mr. Tilak. After remarking that the Editor of the *Urdu-i-Mualla* is also the Secretary of the Provincial Association of the extremists in the United Provinces, the paper proceeds to say that Mr. Hasrat has been a marked man ever since he despatched a telegram of sympathy to the Sultan on behalf of the Aligarh Musalmans when relations between England and Turkey became strained. The

part be subsequently took in the condolence meetings held at Aligarh on the death of Mustafa Kamal Pasha has served to make him still more odious to Government. The authorities having decided to prosecute Hoti Lal thought that they might as well arrest Mr. Hasrat and thus kill two birds with one stone. It remains to be seen what the Musalmans and Hindus of Aligarh will do to help S. Fazal-ul-Hasan, and points out that a subscription list for Hoti Lal has already been opened at Agra and Allahabad.

## II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

The Amir's attitude towards the British Government.

13. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 4th July 1908, remarks that the public are of opinion that the Amir is not sincere in his profession of friendship for the British Government and that it is owing to the tactics pursued by him that the warlike tribes on the frontier do not live in peace. The Anglo-Russian agreement has had the effect of raising His Majesty's suspicions, and he has begun to realise that the British Government wishes to take possession of Afghanistan by fraud. It is for this reason that he neither gives his assent to the agreement, nor renders help in putting down risings on the frontier, which he can easily do.

## VI.—Legislation.

The Newspapers Act.

14. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 27th June 1908, remarks that no one who can understand the ulterior object of the Newspapers Act will abstain from condemning the measure. The vast powers which it has conferred upon the District Magistrates leaves no room for doubt that the days of the native press are numbered. Some Bengal Raises of note, however, would like Government to pass a still more stringent law.

## VII.—General Administration.

### (*d*)—*Education.*

The educational policy of Government.

15. The *Zamindar* (Karmabad), of the 1st July 1908, publishes a communication from one Muhammad Ishaq, a zamindar of Longarwal in the Gurdaspur district. The writer says that the former rulers of India used only to impart education to members of respectable families, who alone were allowed to enter the public service and take part in the administration. The Government also followed the same policy during the first days of British rule in India. In course of time, however, the authorities abandoned that policy and threw open public schools to all classes of natives. They also lowered the prestige of the Talukdars of Oudh and the zamindars of the Punjab, thereby weakening their hold on their tenants. Committing to memory a few books and acquiring a smattering of English came to be regarded as *sine qua non* for entering Government service. The result was that members of good families who did not adapt themselves to changed circumstances were left out in the cold, while the common herd got an excellent opportunity to better their position. After remarking that the prevalence of sedition and the appearance of bomb-throwers in the country are the direct result of natives having been allowed facilities for acquiring knowledge, the writer advises Government to

change its educational policy. He does not mean to suggest that the common people should not be allowed to receive education. All that he would insist upon is that in the matter of employment under Government preference should be given to members of good families, such as zamindars.

Lala Har Dial on English education.

16. Lala Har Dyal, writing on the same subject to *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 26th June 1908, says that the so-called patriotic natives regard Government schools and colleges as the panacea for all the evils from which the people are suffering. They even go the length of requesting the authorities to make education free and compulsory. In other words, they not only wish that the poison which is being administered to their fellow-countrymen should be distributed *gratis*, but that the people should be compelled to swallow it. The writer then enquires whether natives can reap any advantage from English education. Some say that the English language forms a strong bond of union between educated Indians living in different parts of the country who speak different tongues. But do the advocates of English education wish to unite only the educated part of the population of British India ? It is a mistake to suppose that the English language will help us in the unification of India : the materials for a national unity should be found within the country and should not be borrowed from outside. India was not a barbarous country before the advent of British rule. It possessed a language of its own. We should adopt Sanskrit and not English as our national language.

The Khalsa College.

17. The *Sher-i-Babar* (Lahore), of the 20th June 1908, says that the new constitution of the Executive Committee of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, was adopted on the 10th idem. The Commissioner of Lahore, who presided at the meeting, laid great stress on the advisability of loyal students being produced by the College. Is Government still doubtful of the loyalty of the Sikhs that Mr. Younghusband should have made these remarks. If, however, the Commissioner wished them to be loyal to their own nation his advice was highly welcome. The policy of silence which they have so far pursued has proved highly detrimental to their interests, *e.g.*, their national College has been taken out of their hands. The Editor then complains that some of the Sikh gentlemen present at this meeting raised objections to the proposed changes, but that they were silenced by the Commissioner, who threatened that if any obstacles were placed in the way of passing the new rules the College would be disaffiliated and Government would withdraw its patronage from the institution. He concludes by remarking that so long as a highly-placed Executive officer presides over their College Council the Sikhs should not expect better things.

### (*e*).—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land.*

Government and famine.

18. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 26th June 1908, says that reports of scarcity and famine have been coming from all parts of the country. The reason why the Editor has so for refrained from writing on the subject is that he is unable to suggest any remedy for the evil. He is also opposed to the starting of funds in order to afford relief to the poor. A starving person, he adds, cannot keep another alive for long. It is therefore much better to let the famine-stricken die at once than to prolong their agonies by killing them by inches.

The Editor is also aware of the nature of Government's famine policy, and considers it useless to invite the attention of the authorities to the prevalence of a famine in the country. As long as Government takes shelter behind free trade, and the exportation of grain from India is not stopped, famine will continue to prevail in the country even if grain were to rain down here night and day. If the exportation of grain were stopped even for six months the country would be placed in a position to withstand famine for twice as many years. As, however, the English live on the grain exported from India, Government can never doom them to starvation by departing from the principles of free trade. Besides, an accumulation of grain in the country would bring down prices, with the result that zamindars who can now pay Government dues by selling only a part of the produce raised by them would not be able to meet the demand by selling all the grain in their possession, and there would be a falling-off of land revenue. The people therefore who believe that Government will exert itself and banish famines from India are labouring under a serious mistake. The paper next reprints from Mr. Malabari's *Gujerat and the Gujeratis* a copy of some correspondence in which a certain Collector was reprimanded by Government for having suggested during the prevalence of a famine that the arrears of land revenue due from the people in his *ilaka* should be remitted (*vide* paragraph 20 of Selections No. 23).

19. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 11th June 1908, reprints the correspondence referred to at the end of the foregoing article.

Government and famine.

### (f)—*Railways and Communications.*

20. The following is from the *Punjabee* (Lahore), of the 15th July 1908 :—

A Railway grievance.

"*An important Railway grievance.*—We desire to draw the attention of the North-Western Railway authorities to the overcrowding of passengers in the Intermediate compartments. Much inconvenience is thereby caused to the travelling public. In a single compartment there were as many as twenty passengers. The overcrowding is due to the fact that only one Intermediate car is attached to the passenger and local trains. The traffic between Amritsar and Lahore is so great that many passengers usually travel in the Intermediate class, and these are put to much worry and inconvenience for want of room. The strange part of the story is that the only car attached to the local trains is partitioned into compartments for "Europeans and Eurasians" and "Women only." Half the car is thus reserved for the privileged classes as well as for Indian ladies. The other half usually consists of a single compartment with a middle row besides a row on either side or of a lengthwise car with three rows. If an additional car is attached to the Passenger or the Express, the travelling public will feel it a real boon. While our railways are mainly, if not solely, fed by the collections made from the Indian passengers, they are rather slow to effect such speedy reforms as will benefit the largest number of travellers. It is to be regretted that representations often made to the railway authorities do not receive the attention they deserve. We trust that the Traffic Manager will soon find his way to look to the convenience of the Intermediate class passengers and that the travelling public will really enjoy the benefit of Indian railways."

21. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 16th July 1908 :—

G. I. P. Railway. A grievance.

"SIR,—As a frequent traveller on the G. I. P. Railway I have often noticed the extreme trouble to which illiterate 3rd class passengers, male and female, are put on this line. Those who come from up-country—Rawalpindi and other stations on the N.-W.

Railway—almost invariably hold "3rd Class Ordinary" tickets while travelling by Mail, there being no difference in fares up to Delhi. Whether the booking clerks on the N.-W. Railway are ignorant of the two classes of fares or they are careless I do not know, but ask the Ticket Collectors in Delhi how long it takes them to check the tickets of these passengers, to turn out some of them, and to calculate and realise Mail fares from others. Those who are detained for their inability to pay have to wait for 9 hours for the next through train and those who pay are never satisfied that they have not been cheated of their money. Sometimes the excess is demanded in a running train by a travelling ticket examiner and the helplessness of the passengers who cannot understand the reasonableness of the demand and can sometimes ill spare the money can be imagined. Many of these come from long distances, and when they have paid for their ticket at the starting station has not much superfluous money left. I would suggest to the Railway Board and the G. I. P. Railway authorities that the distinction between Mail and Ordinary fares be abolished (there is no such distinction on any other Indian Railway I believe) and only long distance passengers be allowed in the Mail. It will be noted that the difference in fares applies to 3rd class only, and not to the higher classes.

"Could not an Intermediate class carriage be run on the G. I. P. Railway? It is very largely availed of by Indians on other systems.

"Yours, &c.

"AN INDIAN TRAVELLER.

### (*h*)—*Miscellaneous.*

22. The following is from the *Punjabee* (Lahore), of the 15th July, 1908:—

The anomalies of the world.

"This world is a strange place. It is so full of inconsistencies as sometimes drives serious men mad over them! How often do we come across mournings and rejoicings being observed side by side within a distance of a few feet only! The spectacle is very common in this country where residential quarters are so close to one another and where marriages are as a rule celebrated in private houses in place of churches as in Christian lands. Thus we sometimes find two neighbouring houses carrying on a *Siapa* and celebrating a marriage at one and the same time, regardless of the feelings of the other. In both cases, however, the actors are impelled by necessity. The man who has lost a dear relative cannot help mourning and the women folk must have their *Siapa*, however it might mar the rejoicings of the neighbouring house. The latter also must have its full quota of auspicious ceremonies and customary songs, however the latter might jar on the ears of the mourning neighbour. Thus neither of them caring for the incongruity of the situation both keep on performing their respective *karmas*, according to their respective lights. The passers-by, of course, feel the pathos of the situation more keenly, but even they dismiss the whole thing by observing loudly or only to themselves, "*Is dunya ka yahi hal hai. Ek rota hai, dusra hanata hai.*" Such is the way of the world! One weeps and the other laughs!

"Similar were the sentiments which were roused in us by the sound of the band that played in the *Gol Bag* at 6 P. M. on Monday last, when some citizens of Lahore were entertaining the Commissioner of the division at a garden party given in honour of his elevation to the order of the Star of India on the occasion of the King's Birthday. We wonder if it ever occurred to the organisers of this garden party that this was hardly the time for such rejoicings when a number of their esteemed countrymen in different parts of the country were undergoing trials for sedition, while some had already been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment entirely out of proportion to their alleged offence; when the bureaucracy was engaged in a regular campaign of repression against those who had the audacity to plead for their country and to espouse the cause of the people; and whether it was decent for them to organise or take part in these rejoicings at a time when they knew that the sword of Damocles was hanging over the heads of

others whom they included in the list of their friends and at a time when these latter were believed to be in hourly expectation of similar visitations of official wrath. It may be that these Rai Bahadurs and Khan Bahadurs have no sympathy with Pillais and Tilaks and others who are suffering the penalty of their devotion to the cause of their country; but we cannot believe that these men are so lost to all sense of shame and honour as to forget that these Pillais and Tilaks are, even accepting the verdict of the Anglo-Indians who sit on judgment over them, at worst only over-zealous or misguided patriots. Are we to suppose that these Rai Bahadurs and Khan Bahadurs, some of them holding high positions in the legal profession, do not and cannot realise that the real struggle that is going on is between the bureaucracy on the one hand and the educated classes on the other? The granting of privileges demanded by the latter means so much loss to the former without necessarily involving a change of Government. The bureaucracy is very keen over this struggle because it touches their pockets as well as powers. Under the circumstances, however misguided the patriots may be, and however they may at times be carried off by their zeal they are after all suffering for what they are doing avowedly and expressly for the interests of their countrymen at large. Some members of the educated classes who are born with a silver spoon in their mouths, or whom chances have raised to the positions which they cannot afford to endanger, may very well keep aloof from the former, but for them to go further and actually inaugurate rejoicings at a time when the former are suffering pains and penalties is, to say the least, inhuman. It is not so rare in this world that a misguided brother or a mistaken child does things which a prudent parent or a sagacious brother cannot approve of, but then that gives no justification to the latter to actually gloat over the misfortune of the former and to drink to the health of those whose business it was to punish him, and that at the very moment when the condemned brother or child is grinding the mill in the prisoner's cell. It may be that some of these Rai Bahadurs and Khan Bahadurs were under personal obligations to Mr. Younghusband for having helped them to these distinctions, but it was only last year that some of these gentlemen were going from house to house making profuse protestations of loyalty, pleading their innocence and asking for the mercy of the official gods in not suspecting them of any sympathy with those who had incurred the official displeasure—a fact which showed that even their Rai Bahadurship was not in itself sufficient evidence of their loyalty being above suspicion. Would it not have been more in accordance with decorum if these gentlemen had chosen some other time and opportunity of showing their gratefulness to Mr. Younghusband who has evidently been decorated with a C. S. I. for the services rendered last year? All that we can say is that we are sorry for the heartlessness shown by the organisers of this garden party in arranging a programme of public rejoicings at a time when the whole of educated India is practically in mourning for the policy of repression adopted by the Government and the bureaucracy. We do not believe that all of those men who took part in organising this garden party approve of this policy of repression because some of them make no secret of their disapproval of the same. But why lament over this weakness, which is so common just now in this country? Are not most of us living double lives, one for the officials and the other for the people, because the first pays and the other preserves for us the estimation of our countrymen? The whole society, we mean the fashionable society, is rotton to the core, because life of truthfulness and frankness, life of honest outspokenness is just now so full of perils and dangers that only few have the courage and the beast to brave it."

F. ISEMONGER,

*Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*

*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

SIMLA, }
The 18th July 1908. }

Punjab Government Branch Press, Simla.—23-7-08—150.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 30. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

**Received up to 25th July 1908.**

---

## CONTENTS.


| | Page. |
|---|---|
| **I.—Politics.** | |
| *(a)—Foreign—* | |
| 1. Indians in British Colony (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... | 439 |
| 2. Indians in Natal (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... | *ib.* |
| 3. Indian coolies in the Mauritius Island (*Hindustan*) | 440 |
| 4. Indian coolies in the Mauritius Island (*Arya Gazette*) ... ... ... ... | *ib.* |
| 5. Indians in the Transvaal (*Observer*) ... ... | 441 |
| *(b)—Home—* | |
| 6. Lord Morley in the situation in India (*Vakil*) ... | 441 |
| 7. The Egyptian and Indian nationalists (*Aftab*) ... | 442 |
| 8. Unrest in India (*Aftab*) ... ... ... | *ib.* |
| 9. Unrest in India (*Aftab*) ... ... ... | 443 |
| 10. The incremenating articles in the Tilak's case (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... ... ... | 444 |
| 11. The incremenating article in the Tilak's case (*Punjab Samachar*) ... ... ... ... | *ib.* |
| 12. The Axis Ahmad on the poverty of the Indian people (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... ... ... | *ib.* |
| 13. The Maulvi Leakat Husain (*Hitkari*) ... ... | 445 |
| 14. The Council reforms and the Sikhs (*Khalsa Advocate*) | *ib.* |
| 15. The efficiency of the Native Indian Army (*Hindustan*) | 446 |
| **II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.** | |
| *Nil.* | |
| **III.—Native States.** | |
| 16. Temperance movement (*Tribune*) ... ... | 450 |
| **IV.—Kine-Killing.** | |
| *Nil.* | |
| **V.—Native Societies and Religious Matters.** | |
| *Nil.* | |
| **VI.—Legislation.** | |
| 17. The Newspapers Act (*Sanatan Dharm Gazette*) ... | 459 |
| **VII.—General Administration.** | |
| *(a)—Judicial—* | |
| 18. The Judiciary and the Executive (*Aftab*) ... | 459 |
| 19. Tinnevelly sedition cases (*Parkash*) ... ... | 453 |
| 20. Tinnevelly sedition cases (*Aftab*) ... ... | *ib.* |
| 21. Mr. Tilak's trial (*Tribune*) ... ... ... | 454 |
| 22. Mr. Tilak's conviction (*Punjabee*) ... ... | 455 |
| *(b)—Police—* | |
| *Nil.* | |
| *(c)—Municipal and Cantonment affairs—* | |
| *Nil.* | |
| *(d)—Education—* | |
| 23. Lala Har Dyal on the present system of education in India (*Arya Gazette*) ... ... ... | 456 |
| *(e)—Agriculture and questions affecting the land—* | |
| *Nil.* | |
| *(f)—Railways and Communications—* | |
| *Nil.* | |
| *(g)—Postal matters—* | |
| 24. A suggestion (*Akhbar-i-'Am*)... ... ... | 458 |
| *(h)—Miscellaneous—* | |
| *Nil.* | |

[ Confidential ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 30. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

**Received up to 25th July 1908.**

---

### I.—Politics.

#### (*a*)—*Foreign.*

Indians in British Colonies.

1. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 17th, 18th and 20th July 1908, remarks that Asiatics, including Indians, have been forbidden to immigrate to America and almost all the Colonies founded by Europeans Powers. This prohibition, it says, is unjust and tyrannical from more than one standpoint. Americans and Europeans are anxious to monopolise the entire trade of Asia, but are selfish and unfair enough to prevent Asiatics from earning their bread in their Colonies. Again, some European nations rule various parts of Asia and have been making an immense amount of money in their Eastern possessions; but they will not allow their Asiatic subjects to migrate to their Colonies in quest of bread. The Editor next refers to the alleged grounds on which it is sought to expel orientals from America, South Africa, Canada and Australia, and says that the real reason for their expulsion is their frugal habits and the fact that they can work on lower wages than white men. He then goes on to say that the situation is particularly embarrassing for England as it owns many possessions in the East. On the one hand, her children persist in excluding Asiatics from their Colonies, while, on the other, her subjects in the East claim the right to emigrate to these Colonies on the score of their being British subjects. It is possible that British Statesmen may disregard the cries of Asiatics now out of regard for their fellow white men. They should, however, remember that the question affects not only Indians and English Colonies, but Asia and Europe, and that the former can bring pressure to bear on the latter in different ways, if not to-day, at any rate in the days to come. The paper further remarks that it was Indians who raised Natal and Australia to their present condition, but that they are being driven out of those Colonies now. After remarking that Indians are now subjected to grosser oppression in the Transvaal than was the case under Mr. Kruger, it says that their expulsion from South Africa will seriously shake the people's faith in the English.

Indians in Natal.

2. Adverting to the Bill to exclude Indians from Natal which is now before the local Assembly, the *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 20th July 1908, asks the Imperial Government to intervene and prevent the Bill from

becoming law. Indians, it says, are British subjects, and all European subjects of England are free to make money in this country. Finally, it was Indians who laboured most to raise Natal to its present condition.

Indian coolies in the Mauritius Island.

3. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 17th July 1908, publishes a communication from one Bindraban (care of Labh Chand, a student of the Government School at Montgomery), who gives an account of his life in Mauritius. He says that he is the son of a *Sahukar* and that having quarrelled with his parents he went to Allahabad. There two Muhammadans called Chhuttan and Budhu promised him a post of Jamadar of coolies at Calcutta and took him to the Metropolis along with some other persons. On alighting at the Howrah Station he was taken to a depôt, where he learnt that he was being decoyed to Mauritius. He went to the Sahib in charge and informed him of his unwillingness to go to Mauritius, but to no purpose. On arrival in the Island he and other coolies were told to carry to the fields baskets containing night-soil. All the coolies were made over to French Planters, Rs. 500 being realised for each of them. Even Brahmins and Khshatryias are made to carry night-soil, and coolies have to work from morning till evening, being given rice, cocoanut oil, pulse and salt to eat. After stating that the food given them is barely sufficient to keep body and soul together, the writer says that any one who refuses to carry night-soil is whipped more severely than a prisoner. Should he still persist in his refusal he is taken before the Collector, who sends him to jail for some time merely on the statement of the Planter. There he is made to eat rice and beef, which does not accord with Government's professions regarding religious neutrality. The correspondent further alleges that the coolies are paid nothing and that they are not allowed to correspond with their relatives at home. He complained to the Collector who looked after them on behalf of the British Government that he had not been told in the first instance that he would have to carry night-soil, but the Sahib only abused him and had him turned out by the Police. He then goes on to say that the hardship to which the coolies are subjected drive the men to commit suicide by drowning themselves in the sea. A young Hindu, from Jhelum, who used to work with the writer, killed himself not long ago, while another Panjabee cut off his hands in order to escape being put to work. The writer is perhaps the first man who has returned alive from Mauritius. Coolies are recruited for five years, but they are not allowed to return home on the expiration of this period. The correspondent saw coolies who had been hiding in sugar-cane fields and living in sugar-canes for two or three years because of the hard work to which they were subjected. Any coolie found sucking a piece of sugar-cane is given a severe beating and has his teeth knocked out. Coolies are not allowed to perform *puja* or say their prayers, and are given two stripes each every morning in order to make them work diligently during the day. After remarking that he was so severely beaten by a French Planter that he still bears the marks on his body, the writer describes how he returned from the Island with the help of a Hindu Military Officer employed with native troops stationed there.

Indian coolies in the Mauritius Island.

4. The *Arya Gazette* (Lahore), of the 16th July 1908, also publishes the foregoing communication.

Indians in the Transvaal.

5. The following is from the *Observer* (Lahore), of the 25th July 1908 :—

"The campaign against the Indians in the Transvaal has been re-opened, and re-opened with all the energy of which the Transvaal colonists is capable. It appears that we are on the eve of yet another racial conflict in the Transvaal, the issue of which no one can prognosticate with certainty. A Reuter's telegram from Johannesburg reports that eight Indian hawkers have been sentenced to a fine of ten shillings or four days' imprisonment for not having licenses. And as they refused to pay the fine, it is safe to conclude that they were lodged in prison. A later despatch from Johannesberg states that ten Indians have been sentenced to four days' imprisonment for hawking without a license. The prisoners include the Chairman of the Islamia Society and other leaders, who hawked deliberately to identify themselves with their humbler brethren. Here then are the rumblings of the storm that has been brewing for some time past and which threatens to break over the heads of our fellow countrymen residing in the Transvaal with unabated fury.

"It is not many months since the Indians in South Africa came triumphant out of their struggle with the colonists in that part of the British Empire and vindicated their rights and self-respect in a manner that won for them the esteem and admiration of disinterested onlookers. But the Transvaal administration, which had to eat humble pie at the hands of the Imperial Government, is again on the war-path and is seeking for fresh opportunities of self-humiliation. For we can, on the one hand, depend on our fellow-countrymen taking concerted action to safeguard their own privileges without encroaching upone those of others or transgressing the law of the land. On the other hand, we have every confidence in the wisdom and sense of justice of the British Government and feel that it will not leave its Indian subjects to the tender mercies of the Transvaalers, whose treatment of Indian settlers has been notoriously and consistently unjust and who are inspired by the sordid motive of driving out the Indians bag and baggage, because the latter stand in the way of the colonists reaping exhorbitant profits in trade. In common with the entire population of the Indian continent, we earnestly hope that the English Cabinet will come to the rescue of the Transvaal Indians and the Government of India will not foresake them in this hour of trial. Indeed, we believe the time has come to let the petty colonial administrations know that they cannot be permitted to play at duck and drake with Imperial questions at their sweet will and sacrifice Imperial interests at the altar of their small pecuniary benefit. In all conscience the situation is awkward enough, and it will require the resources of the highest Statesmanship to grapple with the difficulty in the spirit of serious responsibility. India looks up to Lord Minto and Lord Morley to intervene in the crisis and save Indian settlers in the Transvaal from the maltreatment of the colonists. We hope it will not look up in vain."

## (*b*)—*Home.*

Lord Morley on the situation in India.

6. The *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 8th July 1908, publishes the substance of speeches made by Lord Morley and Lord Curzon on the occasion of the recent debate in the Lords on Indian affairs. The defects in the prevailing system of education, it adds, to which the *ex*-Viceroy referred have been admitted by all and need not be commented on. His Lordship was also in the right in condemning the manner in which the House of Commons deals with Indian questions. The reports received under the heading "India in Parliament" from England are made up of a series of useless and meaningless questions asked by Members whose information about India is far from accurate. While the hostile tone in which Members like Mr. Rees discuss Indian affairs disgusts natives with Parliament, the sympathetic attitude of ill-informed

critics like Mr. Hardie and Sir Henry Cotton helps to prejudice the people against Government. It is true that the House of Commons can boast of Members who have passed part of their life in India as Government servants. Even their information, however, about this country is unreliable, for Anglo-Indian officers live in a world of their own and shun the children of the soil as they would plague patients. They do not study the vernaculars of the country and do not mix with the people, so much so that they hate travelling with the latter in the same railway carriages. It is therefore clear that so long as Indians are not admitted into the House of Commons that body can never govern the country efficiently. The Editor next endorses Lord Curzon's remarks about Sir Bamfylde Fuller's resignation of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Eastern Bengal. Muhammadans, he adds, regard the acceptance of the resignation as the worst tactical blunder committed by Government. The sole result was that matters went from bad to worse. And this was only natural, since even the sacrifice of an able officer like Sir Bamfylde Fuller could not put down the spirit of hostility to Government which was then prevailing (in Bengal). Subsequent events have shown that the policy for which the first Lieutenant-Governor of the new province was sacrificed could not be followed for long and that resort has had to be made to those very measures which were advocated by him. The *Vakil* then goes on to say that Lord Curzon's observations about the Anglo-Russian Convention are also based on truth. Further, if His Lordship's outspokenness was reprehensible, the Secretary of State's mention of his intention to bring pressure to bear upon the Amir was still more to be condemned. Nay, the words of the latter will also find their way to Kabul and produce more injurious and unpleasant results than the language used by Lord Curzon. In conclusion, the Editor condemns the conduct of the Ministry in having concluded the Convention without first consulting the Amir.

The Egyptian and Indian nationalists.

7. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 5th July 1908, remarks that it would appear that the English are about to be overtaken by adversity. Perhaps their good fortune has deserted them and their kingdom is about to be overthrown. Wherever they rule their subjects thirst for their blood. News has recently been received that a respectable and learned Egyptian, named Abdul Aziz, has been placed under arrest. He was formerly a Professor of Arabic at Oxford for a long time and now edits a paper in his native land. If only the ignorant had been hostile to the British Government one would have ascribed their hostility to mischief-making. When, however, one finds scholars and learned men arrayed against it, one is driven to the belief that the British Government is tyrannical. Both Egyptians and Indians are advancing in nationalism at the same pace and are anxious to get out of the clutches of their oppressor. It remains to be seen which of the two will succeed first.

Unrest in India.

8. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 5th July 1908, remarks that if there is any truth in the revelations made by the approver Gossain, the unrest that prevails is of a far more serious character than the Editor had been led to think. He had hitherto shared the opinion of the English that the discontent was confined to the educated classes, but, according to the approver, the anarchist conspiracy had adherents not only in Bengal, but in other provinces

also, excluding the Punjab. The situation was not so serious even on the occasion of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, for the common people were not then so greatly discontented with Government, nor could the rebels foment disturbances in all parts of the country. The Editor then goes on to say that apparently Government has not believed the approver, for otherwise it would assuredly have arrested all those implicated by him. As a matter of fact, however, it has placed under arrest only those who are poor, leaving alone the rich men named by Gossain. It is not easy to see why Government should have believed him even to that extent. The man will implicate hundreds in order to save his own skin. He appears to be a cowardly wretch of the worst description. The Editor is wholly opposed to bomb-making, but at the same time he is of opinion that having once joined the anarchist it is cowardly to turn approver against one's associates. One should not look back after having put one's hand to the plough. The wretch Gossain has begun to name others for no reason. He is wholly devoid of moral courage and is deserving of being hanged. The paper goes on to say that if Gossain's statement is true, it tends to show that the whole country is arrayed against the English. This, it adds, is the result of the oppression practised by them of which every child of the soil has been complaining. If the English do not open their eyes even now God alone knows what is in store for them.

Unrest in India.

9. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 12th July 1908, remarks that the recent regrettable bomb outrages have covered the progressive movement in India with deep disgrace. Although the first shock is over to some extent, the prospects are gloomy still and the future of the country is enveloped in darkness. The Police are harassing the people right and left and making arrests on mere suspicion. No person considers himself safe because he knows that the Police can arrest him and search his house at any moment. The darkness is, however, relieved by one streak of light, *viz*, that the great party identified with the national movement have not been affected in the least by the recent occurrences. Some of them have of course been frightened, but this was only natural. Those, however, who are the life and soul of the movement still stick to their guns. Nay, their determination has become stronger than ever. None of them has been heard to say yet that since affairs have assumed an unpleasant aspect the *swadeshi* movement should be abandoned. They are determined to stick to their convictions at all costs. Every one of them is firmly resolved not to throw the principles of democracy overboard, even if he has to lay down his very life for the cause. They are as much actuated by feelings of patriotism as ever; but the question arises as to what methods they should adopt in the future to serve their country. There is no doubt that the change in the political situation in the country should be accompanied by change in the method of political agitation also. Those identified with this agitation should not forget that they are engaged in an extremely sanguinary conflict. One side consists of blood-thirsty tyrants armed with all the modern implements of war and having an immense army at their command; the other side is represented by a few young men with bare heads, feet and chests, and fired with the ambition to stand on their own legs, to make their nation free like other races, and to enable it to govern itself. It is necessary that the latter should first see what attitude Government adopts in the struggle and should shape their course accordingly. After

remarking that the leaders are anxious to know what course Government will decide to follow, the paper says that the authorities are ignorant of the feelings and aspirations of the people, and still entertain the idea that the prevailing unrest is confined to educated natives. They are therefore under the impression that the masses are contented and favourably disposed towards British rule. It is a pity that wise men like Messrs. Gokhale and Dutt should deceive Government by saying that the appointment of a larger number of natives to the Legislative Councils, the bestowal of more public posts on the children of the soil and the appointment of one or two Indians as Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council will silence the people and put down the prevailing unrest. This is calculated to make every sensible person think that the unrest is in reality the work of educated natives and that the masses have nothing to do with it. Those, however, who mix with the common people know that the unrest has spread to the latter also. It is therefore very foolish to belittle the unrest that exists in the country. Indeed, to speak the truth, the people of India have never trusted the English. They only fear them because they are very powerful. Now, however, this fear has begun to wear off, for the people have become educated and have learnt what relation should exist between the rulers and the ruled, and what are the rights of each party. The paper then goes on to say that when some native soldiers were sent to England they discovered that morals were at a very low ebb among the English. The *khansamas* and other servants in the employ of Englishmen in India have also made the same discovery. The sepoys further discovered that their British comrades were far from being brave soldiers. The news spread to all parts of the country, and the result has been that the English have fallen in the estimation of natives. This is what the prevailing unrest signifies. After remarking that since the spread of the unrest to the masses affairs have assumed a critical aspect, the Editor says that it is desirable that the people should be guided aright at the present juncture.

The incriminating article in the Tilak case.

10. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 18th and the *Hitkarî* (Lahore), of the 20th July 1908, publishes a translation of the article for publishing which in the *Kesari* of the 9th June Mr. Tilak is being prosecuted for sedition.

The incriminating article in the Tilak case.

11. The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 18th July 1908, publishes a translation of the second incriminating article in the Tilak sedition case.

M. Aziz Ahmad on the poverty of the Indian people.

12. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 16th July 1908, publishes a communication from Munshi Aziz Ahmad of Glasgow, who says that Lala Tehl Ram Ganga Ram is the best Urdu correspondent in India. He adds that if there were thousands of such correspondents in the country it would become seven times as powerful as Japan. The people should not tolerate idlers and beggars, for no nation can make any progress unless its members work hard and value their time. After wishing that Lala Tehl Ram Ganga Ram would write to the papers daily, the writer regrets that although thousands of poor Indians die daily from famine and plague before the eyes

of the brave English and their well-to-do fellow-countrymen, *Ulemas*, *Pandits*, and Christain Missionaries do nothing in the matter. He next places the Musalman form of worship above all others and says: "We Muhammadans alone are true Christians. These pork-eating and mammon-worshipping Christians claim to be the most civilised people in the world. (But) dear Christian brothers, cursed be the Christianity which prevents black men from travelling first class. There (is) one law for white men and another for black. May perdition seize such Satanic teachings!"

M. Leakat Husain.

13. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 16th July 1908, publishes a portrait of "Srijut Maulvi Leakat Husain," and says that this recognised leader of the nationalist party is an old man of 70. In spite of his advanced years, however, he leads his young countrymen like a patriotic and zealous General. His name is a household word throughout Bengal and his heart-stirring speeches extort tears from both Hindus and Muhammadans. After remarking that the Maulvi is also an Arabic scholar of considerable repute the paper goes on to say that some time ago a loyalist Maulvi published a translation of some versus from the Quran with the object of making out that it was their religious scripture which taught Muhammadans to be loyal to their English and Christian rulers. Maulvi Leakat Husain, however, proved that the translation was incorrect, adding that the duty of Musalmans consisted in obeying God, the Prophet and their Caliph, and that it was sinful in them to fight with their Hindu neighbours. As the language used by him was such as to render him liable to prosecution, he was prosecuted and sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment.

The Council reforms and the Sikhs.

14. The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of the 25th July 1908:—

"The despatch which the Government of India have to send to the Secretary of State for India on the subject of the reformed Councils is said to be nearly ready. It is expected to leave India next week. Let us hope that the position of the Sikh community with regard to representation in both the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils and in the Advisory Councils has been sufficiently safeguarded in the proposals elaborated by the Government of India. Sir Denzil Ibbetson when circulating the original proposals of the Government of India for opinion among the various individuals and societies which were consulted by Government wrote that 'in the Government of India letter the separate representation of Muhammadans only is considered; and the questions attached to this letter follow it. *But in the Punjab the Sikh community also is of the greatest importance;* and it should be considered whether any and what measures are necessary to ensure its adequate representation.' Sir Denzil Ibbetson had to resign before the Punjab Government's views on the subject of the proposed reforms could be sent to the Government of India. We have no means of knowing how far his wishes with respect to this important matter were carried out by his successor, Sir Thomas Gordon Walker. We should like to state here for the information both of the Government of India and His Majesty's Secretary of State that the Sikh community occupies an unique position among the various classes and communities that go to make up the population of this country. It is a great mistake to judge of its importance merely by its numerical strength. In the Punjab the Sikhs were the rulers of the country before the British occupation. The Sikh regiments in the British Indian Army constitute the most important part of its strength. Again the traditions of loyalty of the Sikhs are too well known to need any special mention at our hands. We hope the Government of India will give a special consideration to the question of the representation of the Sikhs on the proposed Advisory Councils

and on the reformed Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils. It is not all too much to hope that what the late lamented Sir Denzil Ibbetson was prevented from doing owing to ill-health will be done by the Government of India. There is no one in the India Office who will make it his duty to look after the interests of the Sikh community. The Sikhs leave there case in Lord Minto's hands in the hope that justice will be done to them."

15. The *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 26th June 1908, publishes the following :—

The efficiency of the Native Indian Army.

"After the Indian Mutiny of 1857 when the Indian Army was about to be reorganised the Indian Government asked its distinguished Civil and Military Officers to answer the following questions :—

"It is desirable that the native troops should acquire a spirit of confidence and self-reliance, or be systematically trained to act in dependence upon European support, and which sentiment would be fostered by the system of auxiliary native battalions in permanent association with European Corps ?"

"There were officers, and they formed the majority, who were opposed to the native troops acquiring any spirit of confidence and self-reliance. But there were a few who considered that native troops would be a burden if they did not acquire a spirit of confidence and self-reliance.

"The question was answered by Sir John Lawrence, Brigadier-General Nevillie Chamberlain and Colonel H. B. Edwards as follows :—

"'Under the former system, in which the Native Army so greatly overbalanced the European one, it was not desirable to develop the native military talent and self-reliance. It was politic, under such circumstances, for instance, to promote sepoys by seniority and not by merit, and to keep the command of companies in the hands of European officers. But if the re-adjustments and reforms in the Indian Army which we have advocated be carried out, we need not any longer be under the lamentable necessity of debilitating our native troops. We can then strive to make them vigorous and effective, contenting ourselves with the reservation of the artillery and the latest improvements in the rifle for the European troops, and the certainty that whenever a native regiment, however efficient, mutinously separates itself from its European officers, it will find that it has lost its most vital principle.'

"Sir Bartle Frere in answering the question said :—

"'The spirit of entire confidence and self-reliance seems to me essential to the idea of a soldier of any kind, and without it he must become, not merely a useless, but a most mischievous, encumbrance to the State. To train the native soldier to act in habitual dependence on European support seems to me to be equivalent to emasculating him, and an army of such soldiers must be far worse than none at all. It is because I think that the plan of auxilliary native battallions in permanent association with European corps is not calculated to promote such habits of self-confidence and reliance, that I doubt its working for the good of the native portion of the army.'

"Sir Bartle Frere was opposed to keeping the native troops inefficient—

"'Better arms and superior organisation in the natives retained in our service would still further aid us to reduce the numbers who must be

kept on foot. It is as much as a man's reputation for sanity is worth to urge this truth at a time when it seems an almost universal opinion that natives are never to be trusted with any but inferior weapons. Yet, I think it would not be difficult to show the unsoundness of this prevalent belief, not merely because the argument, if good for anything, would require us to restrict our sepoys to bows and arrows or staves, but by the plain reason that if there is a certain work to be done, and it is desirable to employ no more men than are really wanted to do it, it is obviously the wisest plan to give them the best tools they can use. 'If there are, as all admit, duties for which a native soldier is more useful to his Europeen comrade than another European would be, why employ two sepoys with flint muskets, or three with clubs, when one man, with a good rifle, could do the work better? The expense in direct pay, as well as in carriage, commissariat, and all incidental expenses, is greater for the larger and less efficient body, and there are three men to be taught and kept to their duty instead of one. If the native soldier be, as some (most unjustly and untruly I believe) assert, incurably untrustworthy, why employ three traitors, each of whom has a certain amount of physical force independent of you, and which you cannot take away from him, when one traitor with good tools will do the work equally well and be more manageable?

"'In a financial point of view the difference is enormous. I once calculated that fully three-fourths of a million might at once have been saved in the arm of the native cavalry alone by adopting the best equipment and organization we know, while the efficiency of the arm would be fully doubled.'

"But unhappily for India, the authorities did not pay any heed to Sir Bartle's opinion, and it was decided that the native soldier should be kept in a position of inferiority to his white comrade in every respect, and that the impression should be created in his mind that he was a degraded being and inferior to British soldiers in every way.

"Brigadier-General John Jacob also did not favour the idea of emasculating the native troops. He wrote:—

"'It is certain that all soldiers should be trained to habits of self-reliance as much as possible, and it is quite clear to me that, with a proper organisation, our native Indian Army may be made as powerful, as completely trustworthy as any Europeans on earth. Nothing has failed us now except our own foolish work. We have persisted for a long series of years in opposing every law of nature in our treatment of our Asiatic soldiers, and, having systematically destroyed health and living force throughout our army, we need not be surprised that it has fallen to peaces.

"'Had we striven to cultivate and to develop living power, instead of crushing it under blind regulation, all would have been sound, healthy, and strong.

"'All would soon become so now if true principles were adopted.'

"Major-General Sir Sydney Cotton declared:—

"'A spirit of confidence or self-reliance on the part of the native troops would be, in my opinion, fraught with danger to the State; every effort should, therefore, be made to check the growth of such a feeling, and nothing would do this more effectually than by keeping a smaller proportion of natives than that of Europeans in each mixed regiment.'

"It was his opinion that native troops—

"'should be armed with firelocks and two-groved rifles, but the Enfield rifle should never be trusted to them.''

"Colonel K. Young, Judge Advocate-General, gave it as his opinion :—

"'I think that in reorganising the Native Army the object should be to avoid as much as possible anything likely to instil an independent spirit of self-reliance in the sepoy, and that we should foster in him a feeling of dependence upon his European comrade.'

"Major-General J. B. Hearsey wrote that the native troops were—

"'to be trained systematically, always to act in dependence or leaning on European support, never to be permitted to lead an assault or to make the first attack, always to follow, and to be made to look up to Europeans, as very much superior to them in personal gallantry and in endurance. * * * * * They should feel convinced of the really great superiority of British troops.'

"Major-General Hearsey's advice was undoubtedly useful and diplomatic. Life is, however, very dear. It is one thing to give advice and quite another thing to act up to it. It is no child's play to lead an assault. Although therefore native soldiers were equipped with useless arms and efforts continued to be made to create in their minds the impression that they were inferior to British soldiers, in times of war it began to be considered advisable that they should be in the forefront and should also lead the attack, and that they alone should be employed whenever there was a hand-to-hand fight.

"This natural instinct of self-preservation defeated the object which Major Hearsay had in view when giving his advice. When native soldiers witnessed the superiority (the expression is ironical) of their white comrades with their own eyes they acquired a spirit of self-reliance of themselves. So far as we have been able to gather they are not prepared, in spite of repeated efforts (to the contrary), to admit the superiority of British soldiers. The results acquired through practical work and personal experience cannot be neutralized with the aid of verbal or written arguments.

"It is possible that the Military Officer of the day may express in the matter an opinion wholly different from the one expressed by Colonel Melvill. He says :—

"'Native troops are, I consider, incapable of acquiring a spirit of self-reliance independent of the support of Europeans; and if trained, as they must be, to act with Europeans, it follows of necessity that they must be trained to act in dependence on European support."

"Brigadier Hill wrote :—

"'I do not think it desirable, nor do I think it possible, they could acquire such a spirit of confidence and self-reliance as to enable the native troops to act without European support. * * * * * * * I think this spirit of dependence upon Europeans should be encouraged.'

"Unfortunately the counsels of those who wanted to keep Indian soldiers in perpetual dependence prevailed with the Indian authorities, and steps were taken which have kept the Native Indian Army inefficient. No attention was paid to the Statesmanlike opinions of Sir Bartle Frere or Brigadier-General John Jacob.

"Some persons are under the impression that whatever might have been the case in the past, at present British and all Indian soldiers in India are armed with exactly the same rifles. This is not quite true. Those who hold the contrary view may be safely asked to state the whole truth. No doubt the sepoy is better armed than before. But we hope he will ere long be as well armed as any soldier in the world.

"Modern conditions of warfare are superior to those prevalent in former ages in nothing more than in artillery. Let us therefore see how the sepoy fares in this respect.

"Before the occurrence of the Mutiny of 1857 there were many regiments of artillery solely manned by the natives of this country. But after that event they were all excluded from that arm of the military service. It is necessary to know the arguments which were made use of for their exclusion.

"In their letter to the Governor-General of India, dated Murree, June 24th, 1858, Sir John Lawrence, Brigadier-General Neville Chamberlain and Colonel H. B. Edwards wrote :—

"'Profiting by the experience of the past year, it is proposed to transfer the mass of the artillery from the hands of native to those of European gunners. The value of artillery is perhaps greater in Asia than in any other part of world. Guns are an object of intense fear to the natives of India, and for that reason become objects of attachment and worship to the Indian gunner. A small European force with a powerful artillery should be irresistible, and no mutiny of a native army without guns could hope to be successful. Many officers would, for these reasons, object to any artillery at all being in the hands of the natives. * * * * .'

"In another paper the above-named officers wrote :—

"'One traitor can paralyse the power of a battery for a time by spiking the guns. After witnessing on one occasion, at Dersummund in Meranzye, the effect on the Pathan soldiers of a religious appeal, it appeared to Brigadier-General Chamberlain imperative to close this branch of the service to such a risk.'

"General John Jacob also gave it as his opinion that the whole of the artillery in India should be European.

"Major-General Sir Sydney Cotton, Commanding Peshawar Division, wrote :—

"'I utterly condemn the system of employing the natives of the country with guns, either in the capacity of gunners or drivers, for in both positions they can do the Government incalculable mischief. * * * * * *.'

"'I say, therefore, abolish all native artillery. Not only should no guns be again entrusted to natives, but every means should be taken to discourage, and to prevent them from acquiring a knowledge of the use of them.

"'Some officers argue that natives make efficient artillerymen and excellent drivers, and, therefore, recommend the continuance of the native artillery ; but I maintain that their great efficiency is the very source of danger to be guarded against, and it forms, therefore, the most cogent reason for discontinuing the employment of natives with guns.

"'I earnestly trust that the Government will take warning from the past, and bear in mind that every gun in the hands of natives forms a rallying point for mutiny and a course of a danger. A retrospect of the Mutiny clearly shows that no native force is actually formidable, unless supported by artillery. Had the mutineers not been armed with a powerful artillery well manned by native Golundazes, there is every reason to believe the Mutiny would have been crushed in the beginning; for the mutineers, however numerous, have never stood in the field unless backed up by guns.'

"Major-General J. B. Hearsey said:—

"'I am decidedly of opinion there ought to be no natives, Hindustanis, or of any other tribes in the artillery, not even syce-drivers, certainly no Golundaze or lascars. The defeat at Chiniut (near Lucknow) of the late lamented Sir Henry Lawrence was mainly caused by the treachery and defection of his syce gun-drivers. If Europeans cannot do these duties, they ought to be done by Christian Africans or even Hindustani Christians.'

"All the British Officers, whether Civil or Military, were unanimous in their declaration that Natives of India should be excluded from serving in the artillery. Unfortunately, the Government acted on their advice and thus deprived Indians of a right and privilege which they had enjoyed for many centuries.

"But in excluding Indians from the artillery the Government went against the Act of 1833 which declared:—

"'That no native of the said territories * * * shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company.'

"We note, too, with pain that almost at the time when the Indians were being excluded from the artillery was issued the Proclamation of Her Majesty Queen Victoria declaring that the natives of India were eligible for all the posts under the Crown the duties of which they were able to discharge. As the sepoy is admittedly fit for artillery service, and nothing is mightier than righteousness, we hope he will yet be employed with guns. This will add to the strength of the army, promote economy and increase contentment.

"All the extracts in this article are taken from 'Papers connected with the reorganisation of the Army in India, presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, 1859.'"

## III.—Native States.

16. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 23rd July 1908:—

Temperance movement.

"The salutary and far-reaching action taken by their Highnesses the Maharaja of Ajaigarh in Bundhelkhand and the Raja of Sirmur in our own province in issuing proclamations to deal effectively with the evils of intemperance and tobacco-smoking in their respective States will cause unbounded satisfaction throughout the length and breadth of the country and touch a tender cord in all Indian hearts. The method of dealing with intoxicating liquors and drugs that are working a growing havoc is truely Oriental and patriarchal, and conveys to the respective subjects of the rulers concerned the great outstanding fact that their rulers hold dear the interests of their humble subjects above all things and are ready to sacrifice a source of income that can only be derived from the consumption of articles that lead to the deterioration of their health and physique and

cannot but exercise a disastrous influence on their life and happiness. And the proclamations do not end at that. The word of the Raja is a law unto his subjects, and the fact that he prescribes them to those who are proud to be his subjects, drags down at one stroke the deleterious substances that reign in society from their conventional proud position and high pedestal to their proper level, and removes the illusion of their being part and parcel of respectability. But that is not all. The fact that this can be done at the sweet will and pleasure of a Raja or Maharaja to-day in the twentieth century conveys the all-important lesson that Indian public opinion based on the dictates of religion and traditions, and guided by the results of experience and observation, emphatically supports and commends the action of the ruler who shows his willingness to take measures to extirpate the evil, and will serve to draw still closer the ties that knit the subjects of the States concerned to their rulers. Following is copy of a ruling (the purport having been translated into English) passed by Maharaja Sir Ranjor Singh Sahib Bahadur, G. C. S. I., of Ajaigarh State, Bundhelkhand, India, which we take from the *Abkari* :—

"'As it has been brought to the notice of the undersigned that many of the State servants, through intemperate habits, have either incapaciated themselves for the service of the Darbar, or have ruined their health for good, the Darbar therefore requires each and all of its servants who already drink and use any intoxicating things that they should correct their habits within three months' time, failing which, such orders as the Darbar might deem fit will be noted down in the service books. To strike at the root of the evil, in future such persons will be taken into the State service as are free from the above-mentioned habits.

"'Ordered on January 29th, 1908, that copies of the above be forwarded to the different Tahsildars for information and necessary action.'

"'If the Maharaja of Ajaigarh has been impelled in the main by the need of greater efficiency and purity in the administration of his State, the Raja of Sirmur has felt the havoc wrought among students and juveniles by the contraction of evil and pernicious habits, and has adopted efficient and far-reaching measures by issuing the following proclamation :—

* * * * * *

"It will be noticed that the Raja is thoroughly earnest in the Regulation about the evil he has in view, and not only penalises the smoking of cigars or cigarettes, using or smoking tobacco or opium in any manner, or indulging in any intoxicating drug, wine, spirit, or other intoxicants, or any preparation made thereof, *by any person under eighteen years of age*, except on the prescription of a physician, but also makes it punishable to sell or supply cigar, cigarette, tobacco, opium in any form, wine, spirits, intoxicating drugs of any kind, or any preparation made thereof, to persons forbidden to use them by the provisions of the Regulation as well as to abet the sale, supply, or use of them. As regards the penalties for breaches of the Regulation, there is one point that does immense credit to the Raja's sagacity and commonsense and that is that the punishment to the man who supplies the articles forbidden or in other words *tempts* young men to break the salutary provisions of the Regulation should be severer than that provided for the unfortunate or perverse juvenile. As regards the punishment it does not err on the side of severity, and the alternative punishments laid down will ensure against misplaced severity in the case of misguided offenders while the confirmed habituals will be dealt with the severer forms to their cost. The Maharaja of Ajaigarh and the Raja of Sirmur have earned the gratitute of their subjects and will have the heartfelt wishes of the whole country in their noble and disinterested endeavours in the service of humanity.

"The instances above-quoted are remarkable and worthy of emulation, but are by no means solitary instances even in the present day. The Maharajas of Reisa and Tehri, to mention instances that come uppermost to the mind, have done the same since some years, and a cursory glance at the growth and spread of the Temperance movement in the West shows that there are whole tracts where prohibition rules the day and no liquor shops can exist under the law in force. The larger part of Canada, the bulk of the United States, New Zealand and other tracts of land have by acts of legislature, or by the

plebiscites of the people prohibited the existence of liquor shops in their areas, and by their own free will removed the source of so much human misery from their midst. Is it too much to hope that our solicitous Government may grant the people of British India the same rights of Local Option which hold operation in several parts of the British Empire. We know that the question of the drink-traffic has within the last few years occupied a good deal of the attention of those at the helm of Government, who have taken certain action in the matter. Lord Morley has also proved sympathetic in the matter, and ere long we may hope to see a change for the better in the methods and measures of the excise administration. No one will welcome the changes and improvements when they come in due course with greater enthusiasm than we, and we have no doubt but that the whole temperance party, and educated and enlightened public opinion will feel grateful for this evidence of solicitude for the best and truest interests of the people at large, but the growing and the frightful increase in the figures of the consumption of liquors and drugs, and effective and comprehensive way in which the prohibition movement is making headway in other lands and parts makes us wish we too had Local Option in our midst by which we could, in consonance with the public wish and sentiment, make the existence of the liquor and drug shops depend on actual and real demand, as expressed by a plebescite of the people or the locality."

## VI.—Legislation.

Newspapers Act.

17. The *Sanatan Dharm Gazette* (Lahore), of the 15th July 1908, says that wherever the British Government reigns it has conferred the liberty of speech and writing on its subjects. Of late, however, the Government of India has been showing a tendency to depart from this policy. The paper adds that it is very strange that Government should have first educated natives, but that now when they ask for their rights it should turn round and place obstacles in their way. It then refers to the Newspapers Act and says that the measure has been passed with the object of depriving the people of the freedom which they had hitherto been enjoying. Neverthless, moderate newspapers have nothing to fear from the new law. After remarking that repressive measures will prove of no avail in putting down unrest, the Editor advises Government to content itself with reforming the administration. It should abstain from passing laws calculated to create discontent among the people.

## VII.—General Administration.

### (a)—*Judicial.*

The Judiciary and Executive.

18. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 12th July 1908, says that it is perhaps characteristic of British rule alone to punish an accused person before he is found guilty. After referring to Mr. Justice Davar's refusal to release Mr. Tilak on bail, the paper observes that if the Judges even of the highest Judicial tribunals allow themselves to be influenced by the executive they can never be expected to administer even-handed justice. It is grossly oppressive to keep an accused person in jail before his guilt has been established. If the existing practice continues Government will continue to consign to jail for some time whomsoever it likes, although he may be acquitted subsequently. Last year seven respectable Pleaders and Barristers at Rawalpindi were detained in jail for 4½ months in spite of their having been wholly innocent of the charges preferred against them. The incarceration affected the health of one of them, Mr. Gurdas Sawhny so injuriously

that he died only a few days after his release. The Editor adds that one of the accused in the Rawalpindi case was at first released on bail, but that subsequently on his being taken ill with fever he was again remanded to jail by the Special Magistrate, who remarked that sick people were looked after with care in jail. It was perhaps for the same reason that tyrannical Davar refused to release Mr. Tilak on bail, who is suffering from diabetes. If this is so every Englishman who falls ill should also be sent to jail forthwith. The paper further remarks that the authorities have special regard for Mr. Tilak. The Jury empanelled to try him is anxious only to send him to jail. There must be Englishmen in the Jury, and it is scarcely necessary to refer to the sort of justice which they will do him. The English should, however, remember that Mr. Tilak is not the man to abandon his aims however severely he may be punished. The test of his greatness (of mind) and sincerity (of convictions) lies in his subjection to sufferings by the tyrannical Government. He who is on the good books of the powers that be must be a bloodthirsty tyrant: a friend of usurpers must also be a usurper. On the contrary, the test of one's patriotism is that the enemies of one's country should be arrayed against one also. After remarking that jail has no terrors for one who is brave, the paper says that Government gained nothing by imprisoning Mr. Tilak in 1907 and can achieve no better result now.

Tinnevelly sedition cases.

19. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 14th July 1908, writing about the sentences passed in the Tinnevelly sedition cases, expresses surprise that while the principal offender, Siva, has been transported for only ten years, Mr. Pillay, who was charged only with abetment, should have been punished with transportation for life. The sentences speak for themselves and reveal the spirit with which the Sessions Judge was actuated in passing the same. The history of Russia, however, shows that with the increasing severity of punishments inflicted by the courts the people become more and more self-sacrificing. After asking Government not to overlook the fact, the Editor expresses the hope that the High Court will vindicate British justice and prove impervious to outside influences.

Tinnevelly sedition cases.

20. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 12th July 1908, writing on the same subject, says that the Judge said two or three noteworthy things in the course of the trial. He remarked, for instance, that those who sympathised with persons charged with sedition were also seditionaries. After remarking that probably the words have been heard in India for the first time, the paper says "yes, tyrant, say what thou wilt. The rule, the *raj*, belongs to them. If they were to say that it is seditious to take two meals (a day) unmanly Indians would begin taking only one meal. The sole object is to hang, somehow or other, the three or four persons who have been creating thoughts of liberty among the people. Tilak has been prosecuted and thou sayest that no one should stand by him. Who art thou, however, to prevent (people from doing so)? Our lives are bound up with Tilak. If it is seditious to sympathise with persons charged with sedition, thou mayest rest assured that all Indians are seditious. Every native of India—be he a Raja or a Maharaja, a Hindu or Musalman—feel the sincerest regard for those who are devoted to the country." The paper next takes exception to the Judge's remark that it is

also seditious to entertain a desire to replace British rule by a national Government. The English would now like to control the thoughts of the people, which is an impossibility. They are of course all-powerful and can do whatever they like. The people dare not lift even their little finger (in remonstrance), for those who do so are sure to meet the fate of a (Pillay or a Siva). Two worthy sons of India have been sent to jail for the sole offence that they wished to see their motherland free like other countries. The Editor then enquires whether repressive measures can restore peace in India? Are the authorities, he asks, ignorant of the results which follow oppression? Do they not know that oppression usually leads to rebellion, regicide, massacre and bloodshed? If the English are labouring under the mistake that Asiatics have never risen against their rulers, they should disabuse themselves of the thought by remembering the fate which overtook Sultana Razia Begum and Ibrahim Lodi, both of whom met their death at the hands of their subjects. Mr. Gokhale once remarked that Government was possessed of great strength. He is, however, unaware of the immense strength of the people. Government which used to consider itself very powerful is now all in a tremble, although the people can boast neither of swords nor of guns. The Editor desires from the bottom of his heart that more natives may be thrown into jail. Those imprisoned feel considerable relief and do not mind their imprisonment, knowing as they do that incarceration means another nail in the coffin of British rule in India.

21. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 24th July 1908 :—

Mr. Tilak's trial.

"The protracted and sensational trial of Mr. Balgangadhar Tilak on the charges of attempting to excite hatred and disaffection against the Government established by law in British India, and to promote racial ill-feeling or hatred between the different classes of His Majesty's subjects, came to a sudden close at a late hour on Wednesday, and the details will be found in our telegraphic columns. * * *

"The curtain has fallen on the first act of the protracted sedition trial which occupied over a week, and the time has come to offer some passing remarks on the result. It goes without saying that Mr. Tilak's trial has not been without elements of the most pathetic character. As the Judge observed in passing sentence, Mr. Tilak is a man of undoubted abilities, and, we may add, of recognised scholarship, and his researches in the field of Sanskrit literature and Indian antiquity won him a European fame. The Judge also referred to Mr. Tilak's wide influence, and although it is true that Mr. Tilak's political views are not shared by the bulk of his countrymen, there is a large body of his followers and admirers who take their cue in political matters from him. That a man of such sterling erudition and vast influence stands face to face with such a predicament as a sentence of six years' transportation means is little short of an irony of fate. It is again true, as Mr. Tilak himself said in his able and impassioned address to the Jury, he is a man on the wrong side of life, and even his worst enemies will not suggest that he pleaded not guilty to save his skin. Mr. Tilak's strong convictions, supreme unconcern for his own interest and unshakable determination to stand for his opinions, regardless of cost to himself or his friends, negative the idea that he did not believe what he said in his address in Court. And the trend of his whole reasoning was that he had not committed sedition, and presumably would not commit it. Still the verdict of the Jury and the order of the Judge declares that he stands convicted of a grave offence, one of the gravest in the Indian Penal Code. Clearly then the interpretations of the law as understood by Mr. Tilak and those who sat on his trial differ materially, and if this is so, it would add another element of pathetic interest to the case. Then as Mr. Tilak himself said in his closing exhortation to the Jury, he is on the wrong side of his life, and cannot be expected to look with

equanimity on a sentence which may well stagger many a younger man. The Advocate-General in his address was brief and to the point, and practically brushed aside the best part of Mr. Tilak's address, declining to enter into discussion on political matters, and confining himself to the bare elements of the charge. The Judge's charge to the Jury was a fair and square discussion of the law and gave practically a free hand to the Jury, telling them in addition that the sanction for prosecution given by Government constituted no mandate for him or them, and that no mandate except that of their conscience was to regulate their decision. The composition of the Jury was not entirely satisfactory—this the accused had urged upon the Court before a Jury was empanelled. It is, undeniable that there was considerable force in his anxiety to have a Jury mainly consisting of Marhatti-knowing gentlemen, and it is easily conceivable that Jurors may have felt some difficulty in interpreting certain words and phrases. The sentence does not give any suggestion of leniency on the part of the Judge, whose remarks show that he holds strong opinions about the character of the writings that formed the subject-matter of the charge and the attitude of the accused, and although the sentences are not as severe or draconian as those passed by Mr. Pinhey in the Tinnevelly case, it is impossible to resist the feeling that even when accepting the Jury's verdict the Judge might have passed much less severe sentences. It is of course true that Mr. Tilak was on a former occasion sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment on a similar charge, and the Judge might have felt called upon to give comparatively severer punishment, still he could have awarded lighter sentences or in a less severe form than he has done.

22. The following is from the *Punjabee* (Lahore), of the 25th July 1908:—

Mr. Tilak's conviction.

"For ten days last the country has been all ears to hear the end of Sj. Tilak's trial. For a time all sense of danger was lost in the pride which the country felt from one end to the other in the masterly defence which the eminent prisoner in the dock was making. Every one felt as if Sj. Tilak was making history. Very few thought that history or no history, he was writing his own fate, because with such a defence no Jury containing seven Europeans out of nine could bring in a verdict of not guilty. So far as we are concerned we saw conviction written on the wall the very day we heard of Sj. Tilak's arrest. No doubt was, however, left of it in the mind of any Indian after hearing of the constitution of the Jury. The trial of an Indian for sedition against British Government and for spreading hatred against Europeans before a Jury composed like the one in this trial is only a farce. And when we say that, we do not necessarily impugn the honesty of Jurors. Every man lives in a certain atmosphere and cannot but be unconsciously influenced by his surroundings and environments. Non-official English residents of this country are mostly fed upon the stuff that is produced by the Anglo-Indian Press. What the latter has been disseminating for some time past is known to everybody. Their attitude towards Sj. Tilak was of a pronounced type. There could be no mistaking about it. Under the circumstances to expect British Jurors to set aside all prejudices and the influence of their surroundings is to expect what human nature is very incapable of, particularly when the only question to be considered by the Jury is the interpretation of certain language and the inferring of intention therefrom. No amount of pleading on behalf of the accused is likely to have any effect on the Jurors and change their predilections. Under the circumstances an Indian tried by a Jury like this is in a worse position than that occupied by him when tried by a Judge alone. Jurors are men, and it is no fault of theirs, if placed in a position like this, they judge according to the opinions they hold. Therefore, as soon as we heard that Justice Davar had granted the Advocate-General's prayer for a Special Jury, we knew that there was no chance for the accused to escape conviction. To be tried by a Jury like this is not to be tried by your peers, but by the very class whom you are alleged to have attacked or offended. It is practically giving the functions of a Judge to the Prosecution. We have no hesitation, therefore, in condemning the practice of having such cases tried by Juries, where the chances are that Jury will contain a large majority of Europeans. We think that in fairness to the accused in cases like these the Jury should consist of people who are thoroughly conversant with the language in which the articles are written, but who are of a different religious persuasion from that of the accused.

For example, in a case of this nature the Jury might have been composed of Marathi-knowing Muhammadans and Paris. That would have given an impartial look at least to their verdict, whatever it might have been. But the present verdict we are afraid given by seven Europeans on a prosecution by the Government is not likely to be accepted as a Judicial pronouncement of any value by the country at large. The country would look upon it as if the Prosecution sat in judgment over their own case. Coming to the sentence we wish Justice Davar had spared the accused the pain which he was inflicting upon him by trying to palliate the severity of the sentence which he was proposing to give, by his sweet compliments to the ability of the accused. Sj. Tilak required no certificate from him. His ability and influence are acknowledged by his worst enemies; and even the English Press in commenting upon his arrest and the action of Government in prosecuting him has given him the position of the greatest living Indian. As such, we think Justice Dawar only added insult to injury by talking of his abilities and influence when he had made up his mind to transport him for a term of six years. It was still more preposterous for him to say that he was transporting him out of considerations for his age. A ferocious sentence like that, after a defence like the one Sj. Tilak made, on a man of his position cannot certainly be called a lenient one. It was practically sealing his fate, because a man of his age, suffering from a fatal disease like diabetes, cannot be expected to survive it and to return to his country after serving his term.

For over 25 years continously Sj. Tilak has been serving the country. He has been devoting to the cause of the motherland his admittedly high abilities, his phenomenal energies and everything else which was at his command. He has been one of the most prominent leaders of that school of politics which has been represented by the Congress, and though some of our countrymen did not entirely agree with some of his methods of work, there was not one among them who did not unreservedly admit the selfless devotion and the disinterested spirit with which he carried on the work of political education. * * * The present sentence will only serve to throw a halo of glory around him and will make his claims to the crown of a martyr doubly assured. The sudden loss of such a man to the public life of the country at such a juncture is a great misfortune. His plain-speaking and his honesty have brought this trouble upon him, in which the whole country sympathises with him fully and unreservedly. Whatever might have been his mistakes in the past, there was nothing in the present articles which should be made the basis of such a cruel sentence as has been passed on Sj. Tilak. The law of sedition is no doubt very comprehensive, and any criticism of Government might justify any seven European Jurors to bring in a verdict of guilty. But so far, it was believed that the Government would not in its own interest take such a narrow view of that law as may eventually result in stifling honest criticism and compel people to keep their thought to themselves and grow sullen. The present policy of repression culminating in the conviction and punishment of Sj. Tilak on the articles condemned is most likely to bring about a result which would be very unfortunate in the interest both of the people and the Government. We think matters ought not to be allowed to rest here and legal advice should be obtained as to whether there is no chance of the Privy Council interfering and setting matters right. We are confident that the country would be prepared to find out the necessary funds for such a course and that the Punjab would be glad to contribute its share."

### (*d*)—*Education.*

Lala Har Dial on the present system of education in India.

23. The *Arya Gazette* (Lahore), of the 25th June 1908, publishes a communication from one Pindi Das, Chopra, a student of the second year class of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, Lahore. The writer begins by saying that Lala Har Dial lives a Sadhu's simple life, and he that also has seen the Lala at his house. The Lala says, "our real and principal object is to obtain *Swaraj*. A national awakening is essential for this purpose, and in order to bring about that awakening it is necessary (for us) to hate (our) rulers. Those students who are receiving education at the Schools and Colleges established

under the official system of education prove by their conduct that they do not hate the English. It behoves the students to lose no time in severing their connection with these Schools and Colleges, although some of them may have sent up their examination fees. Each of them should take in hand the work which he wishes to do, this one selling *kachuris*, that one newspapers and another keeping a shop or engaging in some other trade. To enter Government service or to join the Bar is to injure the nation and help to strengthen British rule in India." Lala Har Dial is also of opinion that at present only Jats and women are on "our" side and that with their help "we" shall vanquish all. The Lala speaks of a School or College as a jail. Once he was told that as no arrangements had been made for teaching the people on national lines and as his solution of the difficulty ignored the question of bread, students should not be in a hurry to act in accordance with his advice. He, however, insisted on their leaving the present Schools and Colleges in order to show the world that "we" consider it improper to have any connection with the ruling race. The writer then goes on to say that Lala Har Dial is very fond of the society of young men and that a large number of students go to talk with him. The conversation opens as follows :—

*Lala Har Dial.*—"What calling do you follow ?"

*New comer.*—"Sir, I am a student."

*Lala Har Dial.*—"I see, you pass your days in jail. What class do you read in ?"

*New comer.*—"In the first year class, Sir,"

*Lala Har Dial.*—"Well, you have contracted at least one *milechha* habit. "

After remarking that crowds of young men go to see Lala Har Dial and and go into raptures over what he says, the correspondent observes that although he does not believe that natives should consider it the highest object of their life to read at the Schools and Colleges established under the official system of education, or that the education imparted at these institutions forms the best means of securing the progress of the country, still he holds that the people should behave with extreme caution at the present juncture. In conclusion, he says that the Lala's present policy is the outcome of a deluded imagination.

### *(g)—Postal matters.*

A suggestion.

24. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* (Lahore), of the 20th July 1908, complains that no clerk who has a knowledge of Hindi is employed in the General Post Office at Lahore, and that consequently the delivery of letters which are written in Hindi is considerably delayed. After stating that one such letter which reached Lahore on the 18th June was only delivered on the 21st July, the paper asks

the authorities to look into the matter, adding that the number of letters addressed in Hindi is by no means small and further is increasing daily.

## ERRATUM.

In Selections No. 28 for week ending 11th July 1908, paragraph 20, end of line 7, for "our" read "one."

F. ISEMONGER,

*Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*

*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

SIMLA :
*The 25th July* 1908.

Punjab Government Branch Press, Simla.—4-8-08—195—97.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 31. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 1st August 1908.**

---

## CONTENTS.


Page.

**I.—Politics.**

*(a)—Foreign—*

1. Indians in South Africa (*Khalsa Advocate*) ... 459
2. The treatment of Indians abroad (*Watan*) ... *ib.*

*(b)—Home—*

3. A political dream (*Zamindar*) ... ... 460
4. Situation in India (*Aftab*) ... ... ... 462
5. Situation in India (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 463
6. Natives and Government service (*Hitkari*) ... 464
7. How natives can obtain liberty (*Aftab*) ... ... 466
8. The recent prosecutions for sedition (*Paisa Akhbar*) *ib.*
9. The Tilak sedition case (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... 467
10. The Tilak sedition case (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... *ib.*
11. The Tilak sedition case (*Civil and Military News*) ... *ib.*
12. The Tilak sedition case (*Akhbar-i-'Am*) ... ... 468
13. The Tilak sedition case (*Hindustan*) ... ... *ib.*
14. The Tilak sedition case (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... *ib.*
15. The Tilak sedition case (*Aftab*) ... ... *ib.*
16. The Tilak sedition case (*Shere-i-Babar*) ... ... 469
17. The conviction of Tilak. "Our duty" (*Panjabee*) ... *ib.*
18. The conviction of Tilak (*Panjabee*) ... ... 470
19. The conviction of Tilak (*Khalsa Advocate*) ... *ib.*
20. Tinnevelly sedition cases (*Watan*) ... ... 471
21. Tinnevelly sedition cases (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... *ib.*
22. Prosecution of Surendro Nath Arya (*Akhbar-i-Am*) ... *ib.*

**II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.**

*Nil.*

**III.—Native States.**

*Nil.*

Page.

**IV.—Kine-Killing.**

23. Kine-killing in India (*Arya Musafar*) ... ... 471

**V.—Native Societies and Religious matters.**

*Nil.*

**VI.—Legislation.**

*Nil.*

**VII.—General Administration.**

*(a)—Judicial—*

24. The case against the *Jhang Sial* (*Jhang Sial*) ... 472

*(b)—Police—*

*Nil.*

*(c)—Municipal and Cantonment affairs—*

*Nil.*

*(d)—Education—*

*Nil.*

*(e)—Agriculture and questions affecting the land—*

*Nil.*

*(f)—Railways and Communications—*

*Nil.*

*(g)—Postal matters—*

*Nil.*

*(h)—Miscellaneous—*

25. The New Tramway Company (*Aftab*) ... ... 472
26. Ill-treatment of Natives by Europeans (*Aftab*) ... 472
27. Alleged ill-treatment of Dina Nath in Jail (*Hindustan*) 473
28. Fund [illegible] of Pindi Das (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 473

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 31. ]

# SELECTIONS
FROM THE
# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS
## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

**Received up to 1st August 1908.**

---

### I.—Politics.

#### (a)—*Foreign.*

1. The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of the 1st August 1908 :—

Indians in South Africa.

"The *Indian Opinion* of Natal brings to light a case of cruel treatment of an Indian woman by the Natal Government which deserves to be taken up by the British Government. It is stated that "an Indian woman who was imprisoned for not having paid the £ 3 poll tax had her head shaved in one of the Natal jails according to the rule of Jail in the case of the Indian women prisoners." It was highly unjust to imprison a woman because she could not and had not paid a tax which is in itself an improper impost. To shave her head was to inflict a cruel indignity on her. The incident, we are not at all surprised to hear, has outraged public opinion and given deep offence to Indian sentiment throughout South Africa. In India, wherever it has been read, it has caused great indignation. The question which our countrymen ask is: will the British Government do nothing to protect its Indian subjects against outrages and indignities of this sort? Until the Government take up a firm attitude and give the South African Colonials to understand that there are limits beyond which even self-governing colonies cannot be allowed to go in their treatment of Indians residing in those colonies, things will not improve. As subjects of the British Empire the Indians have a right to claim just and fair treatment throughout the British Empire. Their claim for kind and considerate treatment is based on righteousness, and if the British Government does not take it up in right earnest and press it upon the colonial authorities with force and vigour, the impression will be strengthened that even the British Government does not care for rights and privileges of the Indians when these are brought into conflict with the race prejudice and colour hatred which inspire white men in their relations towards brown, black and yellow men.

2. The *Watan* (Lahore), of the 24th July 1908, says that ill-luck follows Indians wherever they may go.

Ill-treatment of Indians abroad.

It has not deserted them in South Africa, where they broke up land and took a prominent part in developing trade. The white settlers in that part of the dark continent have been devising plans to expel Indians from their colonies. The latter are being deprived of their means of making a living and have to pay about half of their hard earnings in different taxes, with the result that they can barely make ends meet and can save nothing. After remarking that they are subjected to worse oppression in the Transvaal now than was the case before the annexation of the *ex*-Boer Republic, the paper publishes a summary of the Bill which is now before the Natal Assembly and aims at expelling Indians from Natal.

(*b*)—*Home.*

A political dream.

3. The *Zamindar* (Karmabad), of the 24th July 1908, publishes the following instalment of "A political dream" in continuation of its previous remarks (*vide* para. 2 of Selections No. 29) :—

"When His Majesty the King Emperor directed the two parties to compromise the case Messrs. Anglo-Indian and Swaraj Bose arranged to meet at 11 A. M. at a hotel on the maidan at Calcutta. Mr. Anglo-Indian arrived punctually and took his seat in a room in the hotel. Mr. Bose was half an hour late and brought with him something wrapped up in a handkerchief. The former was seized with a troubling at the sight of the bundle and hastened to conceal himself in the bath-room, thinking that Mr. Bose had a bomb in his hand. When, however, the latter opened the bundle and it was found to contain only a few papers, Mr. Anglo-Indian felt greatly relieved, returned to the room and shook hands with Mr. Bose. The following conversation then took place between the two :—

*Mr. Anglo-Indian.*—Is a compromise possible between your clients and mine ?

*Mr. Swaraj Bose.*—There is nothing impossible in the world. The thing can be arranged very easily.

*Anglo-Indian.*—A compromise will only be possible if both parties are prepared to consider the interests of each others.

*Mr. Bose.*—This is certainly so. I entirely concur with you. I may add that it is highly necessary that each party should trust the other.

*Anglo-Indian.*—Undoubtedly. It is right to trust others as far as human nature will allow. Now tell me the conditions on which you propose to effect a compromise ?

*Bose.*—You should speak first.

*Anglo-Indian.*—You represent the plaintiffs and have therefore the right to propose terms.

*Bose.*—But you represent the conquerors and should therefore state your terms first.

*Anglo-Indian.*—We have not put forward any claim nor filed any complaint, nor do we consider it necessary to propose any terms. It is your clients who have lodged a complaint and you should therefore propose trems.

*Bose.*—Very good. These are my terms :—

1*st.*—India must be given the same rights as are enjoyed by the British Colonies of Australia and Canada. We will regard England as our Mother-country and the King Emperor as our Sovereign. The administration of the country must, however, be entirely in our own hand and must not be interfered with by the British in any way. Or at any rate they shall only be allowed so much hand in it as they have in the administration of the Transvaal. The Governor-General may continue to be an Englishman, but his Secretaries shall consist of both Englishmen and Indians. The Members of his Executive Council shall be elected and their number shall be

proportionate to the numerical strength of the community represented by them. The Legislative Councils must also be similarly constituted and everything must be done in accordance with the wishes of the majority.

*2nd.*—It is unnecessary to import British soldiers and to saddle India with the heavy expense of their maintenance. The Native Army is quite sufficient to maintain internal peace and to defend the country against foreign invasion. The sepoy is not only braver and more hardworking than the British soldier, but can also stand any climate, and unlike his white comrade does not require bread, tea, biscuits, beer, *pankhas* and *khus khus tattis*. He therefore costs far less than British soldiers. The Viceroy, however, shall have the power to maintain three regiments of European infantry and two regiments of European cavalry for his body-guard and orderlies. We have no objection to the appointment of an Englishman as Commander-in-Chief, but all other posts in the army should be held by Indians.

*3rd.*—No export duty shall be imposed on articles exported from India to Europe and other foreign countries. A duty of Rs. 10 per cent., however, will be levied on grain and other products of the land which may be sent out of the country. On the other hand, an import duty of Rs. 10 per cent. will be levied on all articles imported into the country. No article of any kind shall be exempt from the duty.

*4th.*—All Englishmen—both official and non-official—who reside in India must obey the laws and regulations which may be passed by the Viceroy's Council or by the Legislative Councils from time to time. No invidious distinction shall be made between them and the children of the soil.

*5th.*—No Englishman will be allowed to own land in India. All immovable property owned by Englishmen will become Government property on their leaving the country.

*6th.*—The official language of India shall be Hindi or Sanskrit and all official records shall be in the Nagri character alone.

*7th.*—India will send a *nazrana* of 25 lakhs annually to England for the King Emperor and his successors. England shall have no other claim on this country.

Matters of less importance such as the settlement of land revenue, water-rates, &c., need not be discussed here. When the number of Indians on the Executive and Legislative Councils grows sufficiently large, such matters will be disposed of from time to time.

*Anglo-Indian.*—None of the terms proposed by you can possibly be accepted by my clients.

*Bose.*—If your clients cannot agree to these terms you must let the decision of the case rest with the King Emperor or with God.

*Anglo-Indian.*—I stated at the outset that a compromise was only possible if each party respected the interests of the other. You have, however, not only overlooked the interests of my clients, but the terms you propose will be considered impossible by your own countrymen. It will be much better to consult a few conscientious and sensible Indian gentlemen in the matter. We must obey the orders of His Majesty, and I would suggest that one Hindu, one Muhammadan and one Parsi should be selected for consultation. They should be men like the Maharaja of Durbhanga, the Nawab of Dacca and Mr. Malabari.

*Bose.*—I have no objection to raise against Mr. Malabari, but I will not refer the matter to any Raja, Maharaja or Nawab in the country, least of all the Maharaja of Durbhanga and the Nawab of Dacca. I would suggest the names of Bepin Chander Pal and Maulvi Leakut Husain.

*Anglo-Indian.*—You do not appear to wish to settle the dispute. Under the circumstances it will be better to leave the matter to His Majesty or to God or to the arbitrament of the sword.

Situation in India.

4. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 19th July 1908, remarks that Government is now determined to oppress the people. It was thought that the authorities would mitigate this policy of repression in order to ensure that peace should be established in the country, but the political horizon of India is overcast with clouds and repression is being practised with great rigour. The people would like to live in the forests, but unfortunately they are not likely to be allowed to live in peace even there. They are now face to face with a serious problem and that is, how to bear patiently the oppressions and troubles to which they are being subjected. They are anxious to know what they should do in view of the changed political condition of the country. They should, however, remember that those persons who move with the spirit of the time are the wisest. It is therefore necessary for them to stick to their guns and continue the agitation that has been set on foot. There is no reason to believe that the agitation is premature or that it was a mistake on their part to arouse agitation. The Editor has repeatedly asserted that when a nation is animated with a desire to secure liberty it is led to take steps for the attainment of its goal by the Divine Will alone which imparts strength to it. In India the struggle for liberty was not commenced by the people, but by Him who is the Creator of all. So long as the people do not firmly believe that the work which they are doing is the work of God they will consider the oppression which is being practised on them by the authorities as unbearable. But when they realise that their work is the work of God all their woes will be changed into happiness and they will gladly rush to embrace the sword (of their opponent). God has thought the present occasion best suited for obtaining liberty and He has awakened in their minds such an intense love for their country and nation that they are striving for the attainment of their national greatness with whole-hearted devotion. It is certainly a Divine Power which has impelled the people, who in the beginning only expressed their indignation at the partition of Bengal, to struggle for the attainment of national liberty. This circumstance should remove all doubts and misgivings from the minds of all sensible persons that this struggle owes its origin to the will of God. Truly, it is the Divine Will that there should be an Indian revival and it is the Divine Force

which has moved Indians once more to action. The prospect is a cheerful one, for signs of progress are visible on all sides. These signs are such as will strengthen the minds of the people and make them rely on their own exertions. Indians are no longer what they were formerly when the slightest misfortune unnerved them. They are now in a position to bear misfortune with equanimity and have developed a spirit of self-sacrifice. They can now see the other nations of the world face to face and mark out their own path of progress. It is therefore the duty of all patriotic persons to keep alive the present spirit and see that it does not die. Those who remain steadfast in spite of any trouble or misfortune to which they may be subjected are deserving of every praise. Truly speaking it is these persons who will be able to make Indians a nation. After remarking that such persons should be held in esteem, the Editor goes on to say that under the existing circumstances it is the duty of all Indians to preserve the spirit which they have acquired after so much trouble. One of the dangers to be feared from the present policy of repression is that it is apt to make the people desperate and to lead them to commit brutal acts which are sure to prove detrimental to the cause of liberty. It is therefore imperative that the people should avoid this danger and continue to perform their duty in spite of the oppression practised on them. The Editor concludes by exhorting the people to do their duty by their country and be ever ready to remove the troubles to which their countrymen may be subjected.

Situation in India.

5. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 25th July 1908, says that life has lost all its charm for Indians. They may succumb to famine and pestilence at any moment, and yet they feel that death is preferable to a life in which they can neither speak nor write freely. Famine and plague have removed all fear of death from the minds of the people, while political slavery has made life a burden to them. It is for this reason that some of them have taken to the manufacture of bombs, while others court imprisonment by writing or speaking in a reckless tone. Until quite recently the people used to regard prosecution for sedition or a suit with an Englishman with feelings of mortal dread. Now, however, it is considered a source of pride to be pitted against an Englishman in a Court of law. Again, prosecution for sedition is regarded as bringing with it a crown of martyrdom, while a jail is considered a place of pilgrimage. After remarking that reports of arrests, searches and State prosecutions have been coming from different provinces thick and fast and that a campaign for prosecutions on a charge of sedition is said to be imminent in the Punjab, the Editor goes on to say that if natives cannot sleep peacefully under the existing conditions, Anglo-Indians too cannot enjoy the pleasant sleep they used to do before the unrest began. The Viceroy considers his life in danger, and if he ventures out in the day time he is invariably surrounded by troops. His Excellency does not sleep peacefully at night, nor does he let his guard know any rest. His Lieutenants pass their days in mortal dread, and so too do all Deputy Commissioners. They apprehend attacks at all times and feel that British prestige has greatly declined in the country. Indians also are having a very hard time of it. Native Editors, who voice the feelings of the people, live in constant dread of prosecution for sedition. It is not necessary that they should be actually guilty of seditious writing, because even legitimate criticism of official measures or a complaint made or advice given is also regarded as seditious. As to public speakers, they are shadowed by the Police

wherever they go. Members of the Police force who cannot understand simple conversation are made judges of political speeches. A note in the diary kept by a policeman drawing Rs. 7 a month is implicitly believed and the speaker who is reported against is not allowed an opportunity of submitting any explanation. Local officers repose excessive faith in the Police and, on the strength only of the information supplied by the latter, apply to Government for sanction to prosecute public speakers. Nor is this all. Even those who sympathise with or are related to an Editor or speaker who is under trial have their houses searched, and people who go (to Court) to see him are proceeded against on a charge of being members of an unlawful assembly. In a word, the struggle which is going on in the country has made it impossible for Englishmen as well as Indians to live in peace, and both feel annoyed with each other. Instead of trying to allay the unrest, however, Government has been deepening it still further. It either cannot realise or is not informed or is averse to being told that the unrest that exists is simply due to its repressive and tortuous ways. The Editor can confidently assert that the evil is the work of Anglo-Indian officers, who have been paying no heed to the feelings of the people and who have been behaving just as they please. Indians are human beings after all and cannot help resenting their ill-treatment by the authorities, especially as they knew that Government's methods of administration were democratic and that it owed its present might to its reputation for justice. Did Indians of their own accord hand over the reins of government to the English simply in order to be subjected to disgrace and to be prevented from even voicing their grievances. Is their present treatment by the rulers compatible with the Royal Proclamation of 1858? Has the promise of equal treatment of Indians and English alike which was made in this document been fulfilled? Indians never expected to be treated as they are being treated at present. They were under the impression that their trade would expand under British rule, whereas it has been killed outright. They had hoped that after having been educated by the English they would be counted among the civilised nations of the world, but their expectations have not been realised. Although they have received education and have even excelled several Englishmen in scholarship, they continue to be looked down upon as savages. They had hoped to get a larger share in the administration as time elapsed, but quite the reverse has been the case. In short, they had great and many hopes from the English, and it is the non-realization of these which is at bottom of the unrest that now exists. The authorities should have followed a policy of conciliation at the present juncture and should have tried to win the hearts of the people by making amends for their past short comings. So far from doing so however they have been smiting the people because they cried out (when they were oppressed). After remarking that repression cannot lead to good results, the Editor calls upon the authorities to treat weak natives with kindness and thereby prevent them from making useless sacrifices.

Natives and Government service.

6. The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 20th July 1908, publishes a communication from Lala Har Dyal, who says that the progress of the country depends upon unity; but those who enter Government service cannot make common cause with the people. Instead of taking part in national movements they stand aloof and deprive the people of their advice. Again no people can make any progress worthy of the name without a leader, but in India

there has always been a great dearth of persons fit to be leaders. A study of the history of the country will fully bear out this contention. India can produce good soldiers, but not good officers. The English know this and by training native soldiers under English officers have conquered the whole country. The chief cause of the fall of the Sikh power in the Punjab, according to Colonel Malleson, was the inefficiency of officers of the Khalsa army, for Sikh soldiers were in no way inferior to their English adversaries. In the same way, young Indians of to-day are not afraid of danger. They are prepared to brave everything, but the question remains, who is to lead them and take the first step forward? The so-called leaders are like birds, which take shelter in their nests as soon as it begins to rain, but chirp merrily when the rain is over and the sky is clear. In fact these leaders are demoralising young men by their example. After remarking that India requires men who are bold, steadfast, sensible and hard working, to lead it, the writer goes on to say that the educated and well-to-do Indians, who are fitted by their position to lead the people, desert them by entering Government service. They are given high posts with a view to take them away from the people and stop their mouths. Let there be any amount of unrest and disturbance in the country, Government servants dare not break their vow of silence and speak on politics, for that is forbidden ground to them. Nay, they will not so much as read notices convening political meetings, lest by doing so they should lose their posts. After pointing out that the people will not make any progress so long as they are not led by wise and farsighted men, who alone can give practical shape to the aspirations of the people and make them persevere in their zeal, the writer goes on to remark that the public service takes away the people's leaders. He would therefore advise them whenever they discover a scion of their nobility or an able Indian about to enter the public service, to endeavour to dissuade him from doing so. It is much to be regretted, he adds, that those from whom the people have great hopes should allow their lips to be sealed by Government money. No greater misfortune could befall a country than this, that all its able men and patriotic *Raises*, falling headlong into the dark abyss of service, should part from the army they were destined to lead Is it not a pity that those who were fit to be leaders of the people should become orderlies of the *Sarkar* and that those who should have devoted themselves to the welfare of the people should spend all their energies to please the powers that be. Indeed, it would have been much better for the country if the Civil Service had been reserved for Europeans, and if the ships which conveyed Indian noblemen to England in order that they might appear in the Civil Service Examination had gone down to the bottom of the sea. The Service has despoiled the nation of several jewels. The *Koh-i-Nur* was but a piece of stone and the English are quite welcome to keep it. Their Civil Service is, however, depriving the country of its able and promising young men, whose brains would have shone like pure gold if they had used them in the service of their nation; whose example would have taught patriotism to other Indian students, and whose lead would have given the people an opportunity to get an insight into the principles of political science. But unfortunately just as a bat conceals itself in trees to avoid the light of the sun, Government servants conceal themselves (under the shadow of the service) to avoid the light of national movements. At a time when people are rejoicing over the

down of unity in India and are welcoming the rise of the sun of patriotism, Government servants are concealing themselves in the darkness of their selfishness, and like their prototype the bat are hanging with their heads pointing to the earth. Instead of occupying the front place among the people they are content to walk as attendants behind their masters. Those who deserved to be made "bearers of the national honour" (demean) themselves by performing the duties of a punkha-puller, a watchman of shoes, a sweeper of floors or a lighter of lamps at the gatherings of their (English) masters. It is therefore not wrong to compare Indian servants of the Government to the bat. Lala Har Dyal sums up by remarking that India stands in need of able leaders, but Government service is depriving her of such leaders. For this reason he considers Government service to be a deadly poison so far as national unity is concerned.

How natives can obtain liberty.

7. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 19th July 1908, says that there are some foolish people who think that liberty can be secured by mere talk. All students of history know that there is hardly a free nation in the world which has not had to pay dearly for its liberty. Indeed, it appears to be a law of nature that while the hot and fresh blood of young men does not moisten the earth the plant of liberty cannot take root. After referring to the sanguinary struggles of the people in Europe and America for liberty, the Editor goes on to say that the law referred to above applies equally to Asia. At first it was thought that Asiatics would not have to fight for their liberty, but recent events in Persia show that sacrifices will have to be made. The reason is that no one parts with power willingly. In fact it is a law of human nature that one should not give up one's possessions unless forced to do so. This fact is borne out by the recent conflict between the Shah and the people in Persia, although both follow the same religion, speak the same language and belong to the same country. It therefore behoves the people never to aspire for freedom unless they are prepared to offer the usual price for it, *viz.*, the lives of their youths.

The recent prosecutions for sedition.

8. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 23rd July 1908, remarks that all Indians who are connected with the Press, whether Extremists or Moderates, naturally do not desire to see the curtailment of liberty of speech and writing and also the punishment of those enthusiasts who, in their zeal, albeit in good faith, adopt a wrong method in pressing forward their claim for a share in the administration of their country. Nevertheless, all persons guilty of an illegal act must necessarily be punished, although in punishing them the authorities should temper justice with mercy. It must, however, be borne in mind that when the former go from bad to worse owing to the lenient treatment accorded to them by Government, the latter cannot help resorting to coercion and repression in the interest of the people themselves. It is a pity that for some time past some native speakers and writers have resorted to violent language which is calculated to disturb the public peace. The authorities, however, let them alone for a time and took no notice of their conduct. But the idea of obtaining *Swaraj* took possession of their minds and warped their judgment to such an extent that they thought that because the Government did not prevent them from pursuing their wrong course they jumped to the conclusion that the

authorities were powerless against them. The Government, however, was loth to adopt repressive measures. When it found that without repression it was impossible to clear their minds of those false notions it at once set the entire machinery of law into motion which at first it had been careful not to employ for political reasons. It is wrong to say that it is only in the last three months that these persons have commenced writing seditious articles for which they have been punished or are awaiting trial. As a matter of fact, they have been indulging in such writings and speeches regularly from the very commencement of the present agitation. Whatever the Editor of the *Kal* or Mr. Tilak may have to say in his defence, and however they may pose as patriots and well-wishers of the country, there can be no denying the fact that the writings and speeches of this kind are calculated to lower the prestige of Government—a thing which no Government in the world can tolerate. Government has taken the right path, and it appears probable that its policy will prove successful in the end. It will put an end to the seditious speeches of Bepin Chander Pal and Chidambaram Pillay and the writings of papers like the *Yugantar* and *Sawarajia*. When this is done the bomb-makers will naturally disappear from the scene. After expressing his abhorrence of the bomb-makers and remarking that those who incited some inexperienced youths to resort to these wicked crimes are not fit to become leaders of the people, the Editor goes on to exhort Indian newspapers to give up criticising the doings of Government in a captious and insolent tone.

The Tilak sedition case.

9. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 25th July 1908, after giving an account of Mr. Tilak's trial, expresses regret that a man of his attainments and abilities should have directed his energies in channels which could benefit neither him nor his followers.

The Tilak sedition case.

10. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 28th July 1908, says that the punishment inflicted on Mr. Tilak has been regarded in certain quarters as exceedingly severe. Both Mahratta and Bengali newspapers have expressed this opinion, while a moderate journal like the *Hindu Patriot* of Calcutta speaks of the accused as a hero. Indeed, Mr. Tilak is being lionised by the entire moderate press, which had been pouring abuse on him for his share in rifling the National Congress. There can be no gainsaying the fact that however mistaken his political views may be, he had devoted his life to serve his nation according to his lights. He used his great abilities to institute the Sevaji festival in order to breath martial spirit into his compatriots. The majority of Hindus used to regard him as the most self-sacrificing leader in the country, and it is they alone who condemn the sentence inflicted on him.

The Tilak sedition case.

11. The *Civil and Military News* (Ludhiana), of the 27th July 1908, says that the discussion of political questions by Mr. Tilak in his speech was wholly beside the mark. The accused was a highly able and influential man and could have used his abilities and influence to improve the moral, social and political condition of his fellow-countrymen had he wished to do so. It is a matter for deep regret that he should have chosen to tread the wrong path and to adopt a rebellious attitude towards Government. After remarking

that he has met his deserts, the paper says that his previous conviction on a charge of sedition having had no deterrent effect on him, he has been more severely punished this time.

The Tilak sedition case.

12. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* (Lahore), of the 29th July 1908, says that the constitution of the Jury empanelled to try Mr. Tilak was open to serious objection. All the Jurors were Europeans, which would have been well only if the accused had been a European and his paper were conducted in English. Could not Government credit natives with being honest and could it not repose faith in Hindus, Parsis, and Muhammadans? If so, the Editor need say nothing more on the point. He then goes on to say that if the accused had been an Englishman or some other European and the Jurors appointed to try him had not been of his own nationality, both English and Anglo-Indian newspapers would have vehemently attacked Government. He adds that it is this consideration which has augmented the number of those who sympathise with Mr. Tilak and which makes his friends characterise the decision as unjust and speak of him as a national martyr.

The Tilak sedition case.

13. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 24th July 1908, publishes a black-bordered supplement, which runs as follows:—

"*The greatest blow to the liberty of the press.*"

"*The transportation of Shri Bal Gangudhar Tilak Maharaj, the devoted servant of the nation.*"

"For six days the greatest political leader in the Deccan spoke of his innocence and in defence of the liberty of the press, closing his forcible, fearless and fascinating speech at exactly 12-30 P. M. on Wednesday last. The Advocate-General replied next, and spoke till 5-30 P. M, abstaining, however, from discussing the real and important points involved. It would not have been improbable if under the excitement in which Government is at present, Mr. Tilak, the devoted servant of the nation, had also like Mr. Pillay been sentenced to transportation for life. Under nominal conditions, however, the punishment (inflicted on him) would be regarded as (*lit.* is) a piece of gross oppression (*ghazab*). It is vengeance not justice. In our humble opinion it is a proceeding frought with extreme danger to transport an old man (simply) because he has views which do not coincide with those held by other Anglo-Indian newspapers (*sic*) and cannot sit silent when these newspapers express their views, but tries to controvert the same in a sober manner with telling arguments."

The Tilak sedition case.

14. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 21st, 22nd and 23rd July 1908, publishes a translation of an article which appeared in the *Kesari* of the 9th June last, and for publishing which Mr. Tilak was prosecuted for sedition.

The Tilak sedition case.

15. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 26th, the *Aftab-i-Hind* (Jullundur), of the 24th, the *Rajput Gazette* (Lahore), of the 24th, the *Shere-i-Baber* (Lahore), of the 20th, the *Zamindar* (Karmabad), of the 24th and the *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar* (Rewari), of the 24th July 1908, also publish a first instalment of a translation of the same article.

16. The *Shere-i-Bider* (Lahore), of the 12th July 1908, publishes a translation of the other incriminating article in the *Kesari* and advises native newspapers to avoid such writings.

The Tilak sedition case.

17. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 29th July 1908 :—

The conviction of Tilak. "Our duty."

"It is during crises like the one through which we are now passing that the real strength of a nation is tested. We are on our trial before God and man. The patriotic party of India stands before the civilised world as the representative of all that is noble and praiseworthy in human nature. Let us behave so that the world may learn to admire and respect us as a body of earnest and manly workers in the cause of *Righteousness*. We have been proclaiming the justice of our cause before humanity for several years. Now is the time to prove that we are worthy champions of a sacred ideal. And how can we best do our duty at this juncture? How can we serve the best interests of our movement and at the same time win the esteem and admiration of the world? We should acquit ourselves like *men*. That one word sums up the best teaching of the Shastras on an occasion like this. If we were to give ourselves up to despair and think that all is lost because our leaders are being severely dealt with by the Government, we should act like children and prove our incapacity for the task which we have undertaken. If we fret and fume in impotent rage and end by cursing the world all round, we shall only betray our lack of the higher qualities of mind and heart which lead to success. If we are led away by our passions and allow our emotions to get the better of our judgment, we shall only retard the progress of our movement without securing any compensating advantage. Critical situations try our mettle and bring out all that is best in us. Every well-wisher of India has a grave responsibility to discharge during these days of stress and strife. Let us not lose the even balance of our minds amid the din and turmoil of contemporary events. Let us look into the true inwardness of things and take a large view of the Indian political problem. Short-sightedness is a crime in politics. Governments are proverbially short-sighted. For them, sufficient for the day is the evil thereof. Let us not fall into the blunders which the Government is committing. Calm reflection on all aspects of the situation is necessary. We should not sacrifice the permanent interests of our movement for any temporary successes or advantages, however striking they may appear. Patience and self-control are the great virtues of a people who wish to excel in politics. A statesman is never overcome by any strong feelings, however noble and edifying they may be in themselves. His intellect is always clear and unclouded. He has to *think* and *act*: mere emotion is a sign of political imbecility. We should not therefore be too demonstrative. Let us nurse our higher impulses till they dominate the whole of our life. Frequent effusions of popular sentiment mean a waste of the national moral capital. Every exhibition of exuberant emotion leaves the nation morally exhausted and hinders the progress of sustained methodical work. It is not our duty to show in a noisy fashion that we are a living organisation. We know and feel that we are potentially stronger than many of our detractors imagine. We are conscious of our honesty of purpose and our latent strength. We can therefore afford to work and remain silent. The repressive policy of the Government, which has culminated in the cruel sentence passed upon one of our greatest public men, need not frighten us. We should not swerve from the path of Duty. There have been many rash and thinking rulers in the history of the world who have tried to enhance their prestige by persecuting those who were obnoxious to them. But he laughs best who laughs last. Let us wait and watch. The end of the history of India is not yet. We deprecate all resort to violence. We believe in slow and steady constructive work in the midst of difficulties. The longest way round is often the shortest way home. A policy of wanton and irresponsible violence may dazzle some of us for a time; but it leads nowhere. It defeats its own object. It prevents us from taking large and statesmanlike views of things. It aggravates the difficulties of the future. We shall commit a serious mistake if we think that violence or demonstrative patriotism is a reply to the Government's policy

of repression. The only way in which we can counteract the evil effects of that policy is by silently sacrificing ourselves in constructive work for the Motherland. Repression is rendered ineffectual, not by violence or noise or prayers, but by an improvement in the moral calibre of the nation which should show itself in increased ardour for such constructive work as the establishment of national schools and libraries, the dissemination of national literature and the spread of a knowledge of national history. Thus repression is best met in an indirect manner. For in politics, like does not always cure like. Silent self-sacrifice for the Cause,—that is our duty at present. Sj. Tilak has been taken away from us for 2,191 days. Let an equal number of young men take the vow of poverty and dedicate themselves to quiet constructive work. Let them live for the country instead of wishing to die for it. That would be the most fitting memorial to Sj. Tilak, whose whole life was one continuous sacrific for the Land we love."

18. The following is from the *Punjabee* (Lahore), of the 1st August 1908 :—

The conviction of Tilak.

"Sj. Tilak appealed to a higher power than any earthly Government in his reply to Justice Davar's question if he had anything to say before sentence was passed. He said, 'There were higher powers that ruled the destinies of men and nations and it might be that the cause he represented might be benefited more by suffering than by his freedom.' This sentiment reveals to us the intensely spiritual character of our eminent publicist. He has been supported in all his trials and tribulations by the faith that the work he has to do is sacred and that the blessing of God is upon it. Trust in mere earthly instruments and resources cannot inspire a man with the fine moral fervour which is discernible in Sj. Tilak's public utterances. He does not look upon politics as a mere game of chance or as the art of haggling for a bargain between two countries. He believes in the future destiny of his country and feels that the Power that guides and controls the Universe is devising means and methods for the speedy realisation of that destiny. And let all workers in the country's cause remember the lesson conveyed in Sj. Tilak's pregnant words. If we do not believe in the great Moral Law which governs the fate of nations, we shall wreck our glorious movement on the rocks of materialism and pessimism. Truth is great and shall prevail: that should be our motto, and our watch-word in the struggle on which we have entered. Governments are strong in the strength of armaments and irresponsible authority. But there is something stronger far than any human Government, more enduring than the most cunningly woven fabric of Empire that the world may yet see. And that something is the Unconquerable Spirit of the Righteous Man, the Moral Power of a soul devoted to the highest ends. No earthly potentate can in the long run oppose the advance of a movement founded on the eternal basis of Truth and Justice. The Moral Law alone endures: all else is consumed and transformed as the Law works itself out. If we put our shoulders to the wheel in the spirit of earnest apostles of the religion of Patriotism, we must succeed in the end, even though dangers and difficulties may sorely try our faith and mock our enthusiasm. Politics in India have been regarded as mere matters of administration, which are trivial in themselves and meaningless in so far as they are not brought under some general law of progress. But Sj. Tilak has raised politics to the level of religion: he has shown that we are called to spend and be spent in a great cause, which is indeed a Divine Dispensation for this nation at the time of her greatest need. Let us cast out all fear of the deities of clay whom the world adores: and let us obey the voice of our conscience, which calls us to go forth and sacrifice ourselves for the Motherland."

19. The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of the 1st August 1908 :—

The conviction of Tilak.

"The Tilak case is at an end and the great Marhatta leader has been transported for six years. His honesty of purpose, his straightforwardness, his erudite learning and his noble patriotic zeal are acknowledged even by his worst enemies. One may not

agree with his line of action or his opinion, but every patriotic Indian will be proud to possess a spark even of that fervour with which that great man has attempted to work (though in his own way with which everybody may not agree) for the good of his country. Mr. Tilak is above 50 now and to be sent adrift in this old age is extremely unfortunate. We would devoutly wish that such eminent men should not give any occasion to the other side to bring them under the clutches of law, and heartily sympathise with the noble scholar in his trouble. * * *

Tinnevelly sedition cases.

20. The *Watan* (Lahore), of the 17th July 1908, writing about the punishments inflicted on Messrs. Pillay and Siva in the Tinnevelly sedition cases, remarks that the cases against the accused were very serious, for which the Judge has passed exemplary sentences on them. The paper then refers to the remarks of the *Pioneer*, which are to the effect that short sentences of imprisonment inflicted in sedition cases do not produce a deterrent effect, and observes that sentences should be awarded according to the nature of the crime committed, and that it is unfair to transport for life or 10 years a person charged with an offence which cannot, by any stretch of imagination, be called seditious.

Tinnevelly sedition cases.

21. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 18th July 1908, remarks that Messrs. Pillay and Siva heard the sentences of transportation passed on them with perfect composure and equanimity. It is, however, to be hoped that the High Court will reduce the sentence on appeal. Such heavy sentences, besides being incompatible with British sense of justice, merely serve to increase the unrest already prevailing in the country. The people can be made loyal by love alone and not by severity.

Prosecution of Surendro Nath Arya.

22. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* (Lahore), of the 23rd July 1908, publishes a translation of the lecture for delivering which Surendro Nath Arya of Madras has recently been prosecuted for sedition.

## IV.—Kine-Killing.

Kine-killing in India.

23. The *Arya Musafar* (Jullundur) for May 1908 publishes a communication from one Munshi Ram Sharma, Head Master, Anglo-Vernacular School, Nakor, Saharanpur district. The writer says that it is not a matter of surprise that *ghi* and milk should become dearer in India from day to day. As many as 120 millions of cows are killed annually in the country in order to supply beef for Christians and Muhammadans. If the existing state of affairs continues the time is not far distant when it will become difficult for the people to even taste *ghi* and milk once in a year. After remarking that the appeal published in the newspapers by Lala Anant Ram, an Honorary Magistrate at Lyallpur, for protection of cows is a move in the right direction and shows that the public are beginning to realise the importance of the question, the writer says that the scarcity of *ghi* and milk in the country is due to the indiscriminate slaughter of kine for food and leather, of which latter article there is a great demand in the market. The correspondent then calls upon his co-religionists to take steps to remedy the evil.

## VII.—General Administration.

### (a)—Judicial.

The case against the *Jhang Sial*.

24. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 18th July 1908, says that no power on earth can long succeed in suppressing truth. In support of this assertion the Editor states that he was fully conscious of the risks he was running in exposing Mr. Wakefield's doings and writing about the dancing party (given by a certain local Pleader), but his courage never failed him in the performance of his duty. At first Mr. Harcourt tried hard to screen Mr. Wakefield and to disregard his own duties in the matter, but finding that all his tactics to discredit the Editor proved of no avail, he gave up the attempt. After remarking that the report submitted by the Executive Engineer of Lyallpur regarding the road which was constructed by Mr. Wakefield is quite sufficient to establish the truth and make the Deputy Commissioner feel ashamed of his conduct, the Editor goes on to say that as soon as the present case is disposed of efforts will be made to throw more light on the subject. As it is, he has already, in a way, won the case, and would therefore request Mr. Harcourt to treat him henceforth with justice and kindness. If any harm befalls him it will remain a blot on the fair name of Government, for as far as the Editor is personally concerned he is not afraid of being prosecuted. He fully believes that truth will prevail in the end. It is true that the Deputy Commissioner can do what he likes at Jhang, but there are higher Courts of appeal and lastly the Court of God where the Editor will seek redress for the wrongs done to him. He concludes by remarking that Lala Atma Ram, Honorary Magistrate (at Jhang) also appears to have taken his cue from the proceedings of the Deputy Commissioner. The Lala knows that Mr. Harcourt is bent upon ruining the Editor and consequently has availed himself of the present opportunity to pay off old scores. The Deputy Commissioner is doubtless on his side, but he must remember the Editor places full trust in God. And whatever befalls the Editor, of one thing Mr. Harcourt may rest assured, that in the course of the prosecution with which he is threatened facts will be brought to light which will show the Government who are really responsible for creating hatred between it and the people.

### (h)—*Miscellaneous*.

The New Tramway Company.

25. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 26th July 1908, remarks that the methods at present employed by Government to rule the country are selfish in the extreme, and therefore to be condemned. It is apparent that the British have established peace in the country with the sole object of enabling outsiders (foreigners) to enrich themselves by looting simple Indians in broad daylight. The people are told that England rules over them for their benefit; but they are unable to agree to this statement, especially when they see that education, physical strength, a sense of shame and national enthusiasm are daily on the decline among them and that their means of making a living are being lessened from day to day. The Editor then refers to the *Swadeshi* movement and says that as no law could stand in its way even Lord Minto

gave out that he sympathised with its aims. If, however, the foreign authorities in India wish the movement success, why did they punish students who used to preach *Swadeshism*. Again, the Factory Commission and such like bodies are in reality obstacles which are meant to throttle the movement quietly. After remarking that natives are accused of lacking inventive genius, he enquires whether Government has so far opened any technical school or college (worthy of the name) ; whether it spends an adequate amount of money on the education of the inhabitants of India, considering the vast size of the country ; and whether the instruction imparted at the few industrial schools which are maintained by certain Municipal Committees is not extremely defective. How then can the people tread the path to progress ? On the contrary, Government and its officers render every possible help to Englishmen who trade, or own factories, in this country. He then goes on to say that the Chandni Chauk is the only road in Delhi which is wide enough to admit of the construction of a tram line on it, but a tram line has been laid down even on the narrow roads in the city, and cars have begun to run on them at great speed. The line was opened by the Deputy Commissioner, who presumably must have promised in secret to render the Company every help. After remarking that since the tram line has been opened only a few stray ekkas have been seen in the city and that licenses to ekka-drivers must have been issued most reluctantly this year, the paper says that every Deputy Commissioner posted to the Delhi district leaves behind some memorial of himself. Major Davies constructed the water-works and thereby deprived water-carriers of their avocation. Mr. Douglas levied a house-tax and encompassed the ruin of lakhs of poor people. Mr. Humphreys has now snatched the bread out of the mouths of drivers of ekkas and tum-tums for the benefit of his fellow-countrymen, and has done this at a time of famine. The Editor further remarks that the construction of the tramway not only means loss of money to the people, but also loss of life. Government may be powerless to cope with plague and famine, but is a tramway also a visitation from God ? Several accidents have already taken place and a number of persons have been run over by cars, but a regard for Englishmen seems to prevent the police from prosecuting the Company, nay, they only institute proceedings against those who are injured. A jeweller, who is afflicted with deafness, was seriously injured the other day, and the people gave the (offending) servants of the Company a severe beating. This can, however, serve no useful purpose. If the people of Delhi are not devoid of all sense of self-respect why do they not boycott the tramway altogether.

Ill-treatment of natives by Europeans.

26. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 26th July 1908, remarks that the misdoings of hot-headed Anglo-Indians have been embittering the relations between the rulers and the ruled. The evil is ascribable to those Magistrates who abstain from adequately punishing offending Englishmen and who let off an Englishman accused of killing a native with a fine of five or ten rupees. The late Mr. Gladstone once remarked that if British rule ever came to a close in India, the blame for it would lie with those haughty Englishmen who looked down upon natives and thereby strained the relations between the rulers and the ruled. After remarking that the deaths of a coolie, a sweeper, a bearer and a syce at Amritsar, Delhi, Lahore and Madras respectively were due to hastiness on the part of certain hot-headed Anglo-Indians, the Editor says

that, as a general rule, a people at first consider it their bounden duty to render obedience to their rulers, whether they are tyrannical or not; but that when they lose faith in the ruling race they do not hesitate to take the law into their own hands. Accordingly, he adds, natives have begun to give short-tempered Anglo-Indians a thrashing. As an instance in point, he reports that a few days ago the Chief Accountant in the London and Delhi Bank, who is a young Englishman, got angry with a clerk named Raj Bahadur and began to abuse the latter in English. The clerk paid him back in his own coin and was struck by the Sahib, on which he severely belaboured the latter. He was thrown against a glass door, which caused his head to bleed profusely and he had to be taken to hospital for treatment. It is a matter for regret that all the other native clerks in the bank abstained from going to the rescue of Raj Bahadur. They were afraid lest by speaking in his favour they should bring about their own dismissal, and make their wives and children starve to death. The fools failed to realise that only those peoples can preserve their existence who maintain their sense of natural self-respect. They should have remembered that their turn would come next and that they would fare as badly at the hands of the Sahib as Raj Bahadur had done. After remarking that Mr. Newinson was right in charging natives with being too submissive (*lit.* loyal), the paper says that no one should ever forget that both the English and natives were created and are fed by the same God, and that it is only through the vicissitudes of fortune that the former have been placed in authority over the latter. It then reports a case in which some coolies are said to have beaten a European, and remarks that the day is not far distant when natives will take to paying back hot-headed Europeans in their own coin.

Alleged ill-treatment of Dina Nath in Jail.

27. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 24th July 1908, says that its readers will be grieved to learn that their beloved Dina Nath used to be greatly ill-treated by the European Superintendent of the Lahore Jail. As a rule, it adds, all literate prisoners, whether murderers or dacoits, are employed to do writing work in the printing press attached to the jail. The Superintendent, however, issued imperative orders that Dina Nath should not be employed to work in the press, a concession, however, which he did not hesitate to make in favour of some habitual offenders, a class of criminals who are kept separate from other prisoners under the orders contained in the Jail Manual. Again, under the Jail rules all prisoners who have undergone one-third of the term of their imprisonment are made Jamadars; but in the case of Dina Nath this rule also was honoured only in the breach. This led his younger brother, Ishar Das, to write to Sir Henry Cotton on the subject, and the following reply has been received from that gentleman:—

"*Sir*,—I have corresponded with Lord Morley on the subject. His Lordship has promised to make enquiries from the Government of India by the next Mail regarding the ill-treatment which has been accorded to your brother and of which you speak in your letter. It is a matter for regret indeed that political prisoners, whose education, position and character entitle them to considerate treatment, should be treated worse than common criminals."

It now remains to be seen, adds the paper, what will come of Lord Morley's promise. It concludes by informing its readers that Dina Nath is now an inmate of the Ambala Jail.

28. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 18th July 1908, acknowledges the following subscriptions towards the fund for the help of Pindi Das, late Editor of *India* :—

Fund in aid of Pindi Das.

| | | | Rs. | A. | P. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Already acknowledged ... | ... | ... | 253 | 13 | 0 |
| Bishen Das, of Sultanpur ... | ... | ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Bansi Lal ... | ... | ... | 2 | 4 | 0 |
| Abu Said, of Rangoon ... | ... | ... | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| Anant Ram, of Multan ... | ... | ... | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| G. R. ... | ... | ... | 19 | 11 | 0 |
| | Total | ... | 293 | 12 | 0 |

F. ISEMONGER,

*Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*
*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

SIMLA :
*The 1st August* 1908.

Punjab Government Branch Press, Simla—15-8-08—317—97.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 32. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

**Received up to 8th August 1908.**

---

## CONTENTS.


| | | Page. |
|---|---|---|
| | **I.—Politics.** | |
| | *(a)—Foreign—* | |
| 1. | Ill-treatment of Indians in South Africa (*Hindustan*) .. | 477 |
| | *(b)—Home—* | |
| 2. | Political Prisoners (*Tribune*) ... ... ... | 477 |
| 3. | Rulers and ruled (*Raghbir Patrika*) ... ... | 478 |
| 4. | The new spirit in India (*Aftab*) ... ... | 479 |
| 5. | Politics in India (*Aftab*) ... ... ... | 480 |
| 6. | Objectionable speakers (*Akhbar-i-Am*) ... ... | 481 |
| 7. | Loyal demonstrations (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... | *ib.* |
| | **II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.** | |
| | *Nil.* | |
| | **III.—Native States.** | |
| | *Nil.* | |
| | **IV.—Kine-Killing.** | |
| | *Nil.* | |
| | **V.—Native Societies and Religious Matters.** | |
| 8. | Beet sugar (*Hindustan*) ... ... ... | 483 |
| 9. | Christian Missionaries (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... | *ib.* |
| 10. | A Sikh marriage (*Ahluwalya Gazette*) ... ... | *ib.* |
| | **VI.—Legislation.** | |
| 11. | The Newspapers Act (*Nasim-ul-Hind*) ... ... | 483 |
| | **VII.—General Administration.** | |
| | *(a)—Judicial—* | |
| 12. | Mr. Tilak's conviction (*Panjabee*) ... ... | 483 |
| 13. | Mr. Tilak's conviction (*Army News*) ... ... | 484 |
| 14. | Mr. Tilak's conviction (*Nasim-ul-Hind*) ... ... | *ib.* |
| 15. | Mr. Tilak's conviction (*Hindustan*) ... ... | 485 |
| 16. | Mr. Tilak's conviction (*Parkash*) ... ... | 486 |
| 17. | Mr. Tilak's conviction (*Zamindar*) ... ... | 488 |
| 18. | Mr. Tilak's conviction (*Watan*) ... ... | *ib.* |
| 19. | Sedition prosecutions in Bombay (*Rozana*) ... | 489 |
| 20. | Prosecution of the *Urdu-i-Mu'alla* for sedition (*Zamindar*). | 490 |
| | *(b)—Police—* | |
| | *Nil.* | |
| | *(c)—Municipal and Cantonment affairs—* | |
| | *Nil.* | |
| | *(d)—Education—* | |
| 21. | Foreign education for Indians (*Panjabee*) ... | 490 |
| | *(e)—Agriculture and questions affecting the land—* | |
| | *Nil.* | |
| | *(f)—Railways and Communications—* | |
| 22. | A complaint against the North-Western Railway (*Hindustan*). | 491 |
| 23. | Grievances of 1st and 2nd class Indian passengers (*Tribune*). | 492 |
| | *(g)—Postal matters—* | |
| | *Nil.* | |
| | *(h)—Miscellaneous—* | |
| 24. | Complaint against the *East Bengal and Assam Era* (*Rozana*). | 492 |
| 25. | Complaint against the *East Bengal and Assam Era* (*Vakil*). | 492 |

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 32. ]

# SELECTIONS
FROM THE
# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS
## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 8th August 1908.**

---

### I.—Politics.

#### (a)—*Foreign.*

1. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 31st July 1908, writing about the treatment of Indians in South Africa, says that the refusal of the Transvaal Government to redeem its promise to repeal the Registration Act has again caused considerable excitement among Indian immigrants. Again, another hateful law has been, or is about to be, passed empowering Municipal Committees in the *ex*-Boer Republic to refuse licenses to Indians to trade within their limits. The Natal Government also has framed two Bills the passing of which will result in the expulsion of Indians from the Colony. Two Bills drafted on the lines of the Transvaal Registration Act and Immigration Laws are on the anvil in Rhodesia also. All this, adds the Editor, places it beyond doubt that Indians are to be expelled from the Colonies in South Africa on one pretext or another. To make matters worse, the reply returned by Lord Crewe to a question recently asked by Lord Ampthill on the subject leaves no room for doubt that the Imperial Government will do nothing for the unfortunate Indians who live in these Colonies. The paper then goes on to say that the *Indian Opinion* (Durban) reports that according to a correspondent of the *Natal Mercury* an Indian woman, who could not pay the annual (poll) tax of £ 3, was thrown into jail in Natal and had her head shaved. It is reported that every Indian female prisoner is similarly treated, while the same procedure is followed at the Durban Jail. After remarking that nothing could be more barbarous, inhuman and reprehensible, the Editor says that if Government fails to condemn such ill-treatment of Indian women in the Crown Colonies, it has no right to expect genuine sympathy from the people. As long as the evil is not remedied, the efforts of Lords Morley and Minto and of Messrs. Mehta, Gokhale and Datt to improve the relations between the rulers and the ruled can lead to no good results. In conclusion, he says that an Indian whose blood does not boil with indignation at the ill-treatment of Native women in South Africa does not deserve to be treated with consideration.

Ill-treatment of Indians in South Africa.

#### (b)—*Home.*

2. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 5th August 1908 :—

Political prisoners.

"The crop of State prosecutions for sedition and other allied offences has brought to the fore the question of the treatment of political offenders. It can in the first place hardly be denied that political crimes are, in effect, at times as bad as any crimes and that under some circumstances they may deserve the maximum sentences allowed by law. The political criminal may be a great offender against human society and his fellow-beings, and in Western countries he has often offended against God. It is generally

admitted that for the health and the well being of the Commonwealth it is necessary that the hands of law should operate against the political offenders as against other criminals. But when all this is said, there is still a broad and well-recognised distinction that the political offender stands out clearly from all other classes of criminals. He is generally a man who has a keen sense of personal honour. He may be violently wrong-headed, but except in rare instances he generally does not suffer from moral torpitude. He often comports himself as a man of stainless honour and unspotted character. And no degradation that is inflicted on him alters that sense in his mind or that of his friends. The political prisoner, again, is usually a man of culture and social refinements. And as Mr. Frederic Harrison says, he is often in nurture, in tastes, in delicacy of mind, the superior of his jailor. He has very often acted up to his conscience and is no way ashamed of his act. As such, he is not generally in the eyes of the community dishonoured and degraded by his conviction. Now the question is, should such a man be treated as an ordinary jail-bird? Should such a man be associated with and accorded the same indignities as the degraded and shameless wretches, the scums and refuse of society, that ordinarily infest in our gaols. The latter are inured to physical hardships and are callous to physical hardships. They and the political offender generally differ in their nature, habits and temperament as widely as the poles. To subject the latter to the rough, hard, and degrading ways of common prison life does not therefore stand to reason.

"Unfortunately the Indian law does not recognise what are known in English law as offences of a political character. In English law, political offenders are always treated as first-class misdeamants and are accorded quite a different treatment from that of the ordinary criminals. But in India there is no such distinction. Here they are accorded the same status, whether they be political offenders or otherwise, of unblemished record and of the highest culture and unmitigated villains of the blackest dye. The law makes little distinction whatsoever between them. It is therefore to the Judges and other officers of the Crown that we have to look for a humane administration of the law regarding this class of cases. Judging from recent sentences, the prevailing tendency among Judges and Magistrates is, however, to treat political offenders with as little consideration as possible both during the trial and in the matter of sentences passed on conviction. Applications for bail are almost invariably refused, and when the accused is found guilty and sentences are passed they are generally either of transportation or of rigorous imprisonment for a number of years. It would appear as if political offenders are often treated in India with a great deal of intolerence and bitterness of spirit by our Courts. The unfortunate impression thus gains currency that the administration of justice in such cases is guided to a certain extent by political considerations. Such Judges forget their high position and convey the notion that they are but a limb of the Executive. * * * * * *

"Nor is this all. Political offenders do not seem to be at all treated with any special consideration while they are in *hajat* or in jail. We have it on the authority of our Madras contemporary of the *Hindu* that a political prisoner sentenced to transportation was subjected to so much harsh treatment in jail that he recently prayed for the intercession of the counsel who defended him in his trial for his being shipped off to the Andamans as quickly as possible. By all means suppress sedition, but this need not stand in the way of according a better and more considerate treatment to political offenders than is meted out to common jail-birds? To force a high-minded and cultured, though wrong-headed and perverse person to the same indignities and humiliation as a shameless and degraded wretch does not seem to be either a just or an expedient course, and the sooner it is done away with the better for the administration of justice. We have little doubt but that the Government will give the matter its earnest consideration and whether it cannot meet the general demand in this matter."

3. The *Raghbir Patrika* (Jhang), for July 1908, publishes a poem in Panjabi written by the Editor, who tells the King Emperor that the people have lost faith in His Majesty. His Majesty's short-tempered minions (Anglo-Indian officers) in the country regard the people with distrust, are bent on

Rules and ruled.

following a policy of repression, and send to jail any one who speaks the truth. They have not even redeemed one of the promises made to the people by the late Queen Empress. They do not listen to advice and have been behaving as they please. They characterise the prayers of the people as sedition, and if one of the latter commits a single fault they try to crush the entire population. They have been straining the loyalty of all, and repose faith only in back-biters and flatterers, whose words they regard as gospel-truths. They smite the people on the strength of the stories told them by these informers, and this has the effect of lacerating the hearts of His Majesty's native subjects. They brand truly loyal Indians as rebels and look upon their enemies as their best friends. They cannot know the feelings of the people and suspect the latter's loyalty on the authority of "Mian Lahna" (? men of straw). The people are, however, in no way to blame and are being smitten for no just cause. What can they boast of that they should pit themselves against the powerful British Government? They are an effete and spiritless race and have no mind to involve themselves in trouble. The prevailing unrest is the creation of the authorities and the King Emperor should now stay their hands. There can be nothing seditious in the people crying out when they are oppressed or in their demanding their legitimate rights. The real reason for their present treatment is that the authorities are unwilling to give up any of the power they now wield. After remarking that there is no truth in the charge of rebellion preferred against his fellow-countrymen by Anglo-Indian officers, the Editor prays the King Emperor to come to the rescue of the people. His Majesty should remember his mother's promises and tell the authorities that Indians are human beings and cannot put up with oppression for ever.

Some verses to a similar effect are contributed by "Almast," who also condemns the Newspapers Act.

The new spirit in India.

4. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 2nd August 1908, remarks that a change seems to be passing over the country. It commences in Bengal, the people of which were the first to be swayed by the creed of nationalism. They used to be regarded as cowards by their fellow-countrymen, but this estimate of their character has turned out to have been unfounded. They are proving themselves to be the saviours of India. They have lost all fear of death, while imprisonment has no terror for them. Blessed are those, adds the Editor, who sacrifice their lives for the country and make themselves immortal thereby. The Bengalis are resolute of will and no power can stand in their way. The more Government tries to suppress them the more they will gain in strength. The Editor, however, condemns their conduct in resorting to bomb-making, and remarks that when God is on the side of natives thay have no need of earthly (*lit.* no other) weapons. He therefore advises the Bengalis to leave off bomb-making and to ask for help from God, with whose assistance alone they can obtain complete liberty. The times demand that Indians should try to promote unity in their ranks, and give up fighting among themselves like beasts. The paper next publishes some verses exhorting Hindus and Muhammadans to unite, remarking that India (*lit.* the world) is under the rule of oppression and has been overtaken by ruin.

Politics in India.

5. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 2nd August 1908, remarks that politics form an essential element in the life of every citizen. No nation can divorce itself from politics, and the one which does so must be set down as practically a dead nation. Indians, however, evince no interest in politics, which is probably due to their having lost all love for liberty by living under a despotic rule for a long time past. Matters have now come to such a pass that the vast majority of natives consider it a sin to take any interest in politics. The tie which binds the rulers and the ruled is complete; and this makes it highly necessary that both should have a large hand in enacting laws affecting them. Laws are meant to ensure complete personal liberty to every individual affected by them, as also to ensure the maintenance of peace and order. A people has every right to personal freedom and to complete liberty of speech and writing. Since the very beginning of creation, however, the strong have been keeping the weak under subjection by force and the rulers have been doing their utmost to crush the ruled. The weak allow themselves to be sent to the wall, but the strong lay down even their lives to safeguard their rights. After remarking that Europeans enjoy full personal liberty and that their rulers can enact no law without their consent, the Editor then goes on to say that Indians believe the authorities to be possessed of the powers of life and death over them and to be answerable for their deeds to none but God. The authorities may pass the most stringent laws, but the people are ever ready to obey the same without demur. The former have been increasing land revenue from year to year, but the latter have been meeting the demand in silence. The Act was passed not long ago; but the people did not raise their voice in protest. The Newspapers Act has now been placed in the Statute Book and the country has been deprived of the freedom of the press, but the people have not so much as opened their lips to protest against it. What can a few Editors accomplish when the nation will not raise its voice (against official measures)? The result is that Government has been profitting by the people's silence, which it construes as acquiescence, and has passed some stringent law every year. The paper than goes on to say that a change has been passing over the people during the last 25 years. Education has had the effect of awakening them from their sleep and has led them to establish the National Congress. Other associations have also been founded with the object of promoting the progress of the nation. For a long time, however, the Congress continued to follow a policy of mendicancy in order to attain its object. The people were disillusioned in time and there appeared among them some young men who decided to follow a policy of self-help and to obtain *Swaraj* through their own exertions. The number of such men is very small as yet, while the authorities are trying to suppress them with the aid of coercion. The tyrants seem bent on employing all their strength to crush young men of this description. And the people appear to have been cowed; for example witness the present condition of the lion of the Punjab, which is sleeping the sleep of negligence. Agitation is conspicious by its absence throughout the country with the single exception of Bengal. This is due to the following causes:—

(1) With the exception of a few educated persons the people are ignorant of their rights. As long as they are not educated on national lines they will continue to eschew politics and will not aspire to obtain *Swaraj*.

(2) Muhammadans take no part in politics—not because there is anything objectionable in politics, but because Hindus preponderate in the National Congress.

(3) Should Hindus protest against a law, Muhammadans support the same, however injurious it may be.

The Editor concludes by exhorting the people to light the torch of knowledge and spread education to every nook and corner of the country. When the people learn to distinguish between good and evil they will at once take to politics and devote their lives to the attainment of *Swaraj*.

Objectionable speakers.

6. The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 31st July 1908, commenting on the speech delivered by Babu Bipan Chander Pal at the meeting held at Calcutta to sympathise with Messrs. Tilak and Pillay, remarks that such utterences can in reality only injure the people. What useful purpose can be served by displaying such deep feelings of hatred for Government. After remarking that such conduct can only irritate and inflict pain on Government, he says that Mr. Pal is wrong in thinking that the people can benefit by openly opposing Government. It is to be regretted, he adds, that while respectable and influential Indians in all parts of the country are trying to assure Government of the loyalty of the people and of their love of peace, men like B. C. Pal should undo their work by making wild speeches. The Editor then goes on to say that the Babu appears to take too much for granted. For instance, he speaks of the unselfishness of Indians; but does he not know how few of them can really make sacrifices in the interests of the country? Again, it is absurd for Mr. Pal and his friends to speak of the unification of the country, since both Hindus and Muhammadans are still divided not only among themselves but also against each other. It would appear that either the agitators have lost their balance of mind, or that the Editor is unable to understand what constitutes service to the country. He can, however, say with confidence that speeches like the one under reference cannot make a ruler throw down his sceptre. He would also assure his countrymen that he has not made these remarks under fear or from motives of flattery. It is his firm conviction that tactics like those favoured by Mr. Pal are inopportune and calculated to seriously injure the people's interests. His experience and his sense of duty do not allow of his approving of such tactics, and he strongly condemns speeches like the one in question. Such utterences can only exasperate Government and provoke it into action, and those who so provoke the authorities only injure the country.

Loyal demonstrations.

7. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 28th July 1908, remarks that prosecutions for sedition are being launched in almost all provinces and the accused are transported for life or shorter periods of time. Again, bomb-throwers and other seditionists have been placed on their trial, while half-a-dozen newspapers in every province stand charged with seditious writing. If some responsible natives were to feel the necessity at this juncture of assuring Government that they and most of those who think with them are loyal to it and would stand by it through thick and thin, there would be nothing of flattery in their doing so. People who burn incense at the altar of the authorities from selfish motives in season and out of season may perhaps

rightly be called flatterers; but those who voice their loyalty and support Government at the present moment not only perform a personal duty, but also do a good turn to the country and the nation. The paper then applauds the conduct of landholders in Bengal and the United Provinces in sending deputations to wait on their respective Governments to express their disgust and abhorrence at bomb outrages.

## V.—Native Societies and Religious matters.

Beet sugar.

8. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 31st July 1908, says that beet sugar drove its Indian rival out of the market, and began to destroy the country's sugar industry, which was worth crores to the people and used to put bread into the mouths of millions of them. This led to thoughtful natives abjuring the use of foreign-made sugar and to Government levying a countervailing duty on that article. The Bengal Chamber of Commerce has now learnt that Government intends to repeal this duty from the 1st September next. If this information is correct, the whole country should enter a united protest against the step which Government wishes to take. If, however, Government proves obdurate, the people should encourage the manufacture of indigenous sugar on scientific lines. Regular and sustained efforts should also be made to acquaint the people with the injurious effects of the use of imported sugar.

Christian Missionaries.

9. Writing to the *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 1st August 1908, Munshi Aziz Ahmad of Glasgow says that Christian Missionaries love their countries passionately. They are possessed of a thousand good qualities, and if Indian Maulvis and Pandits were like them the country would become more powerful than Japan or Germany in one short year. But good men though these white Missionaries may be, they are like deadly poison for the people of Asia and Africa. They are so many spies and wolves, and wish Asiatics and Africans ill. Lala Lajpat Rai is perfectly right in saying that they should be driven out of Asia and Africa. They would welcome "our" extinction. If they were not the enemies of the two continents "we" would not be oppressed in America and Africa to-day. They bring disgrace on the name of Christ. In conclusion, the writer says that Feringhees introduce opium, wine, adultery and race-hatred (wherever they go), but that India fares well under British rule.

A Sikh marriage.

10. The *Ahluwalia Gazette* (Amritsar), of the 24th July 1908, remarks that the Chief Khalsa Diwan was established with the object of putting an end to the religious malpractices prevailing among the Sikhs. All its members have to sign a declaration to the effect that they will perform all ceremonies according to the teaching of the Gurus. Sardar Dharam Singh, however, who is the Vice-President of the Diwan, has recently married his son in utter disregard of Sikh rites merely in order to secure a property worth thirty-six thousand rupees. Again, dancing girls accompanied the marriage procession, and the Sardar must also have provided intoxicants for his guests. * * * * * The Editor next enquires why Sardar Dharam Singh should not be expelled from the membership of the Chief Khalsa Diwan so as

to deter others from following his example. If this is not done he will be driven to the conclusion that the Diwan is only a clique formed to loot the followers of the Gurus.

## VI.—Legislation.

The Newspapers Act.

11. The *Nazim-ul-Hind* (Lahore), of the 25th July 1908, writing about the Newspapers Act, says that the liberty of the press was one of the greatest blessings conferred by British rule upon the country. As ill-luck would have it however a certain section of the Indian Press, instead of putting the concession to its legitimate use, began to abuse the same. The result was that Government was led to think of withdrawing the privilege. After remarking that the signs of an awakening are visible in India, and expressing the hope that the awakening will not prove to be that of a mad man, the Editor says that although Government was justified, to some extent, in depriving people of the liberty formerly enjoyed by them, it did not become it to get exasperated with them for only making some reasonable or unreasonable demands on it with some vehemence. Again, he adds, the entire population should not have been held guilty because of the doings of a few bomb-throwers. He then goes on to say that Anglo-Indian newspapers, which are inflaming the authorities against the people, are committing a great mistake. After remarking that those who are found guilty should undoubtedly be punished, he observes that it does not become a benevolent Government like the British to deprive the people of the liberty of speech and writing in the manner in which it has done.

## VII.—General Administration.

### (*a*)—*Judicial.*

Mr. Tilak's conviction.

12. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 8th August 1908 :—

"I think it is most desirable in the interests of peace and order, and in the interest of the country which you profess to love, that *you should be out of it for some time.*" So spoke Mr. Justice Davar of the Bombay High Court in sentencing Bal Gangadhar Tilak. And similarly argued Rani Kaikeyi when she insisted on her husband King Dasaratha that not only should her son Bharata be installed on the throne, but that the rightful heir Ram Chandra, her rival's son, should be exiled for fourteen years, so that the subject people might forget him and be reconciled to the unlawful succession. It was the inherent instinct of despotism—of authority not based on the affections of the people—that spoke alike through Queen Kaikeyi and Mr. Justice Davar. Let not the possible ruler of popular sentiments stand between me and my arbitrary sway says the despot, and let him be removed where, being out of sight, he might also get out of the mind of the people and cease to exercise his baneful influence on them. Indeed, as every reader of history knows, despots have gone even further. The authorities in India have tried imprisonment and deportation, but the former has proved too ineffective for striking terror in the agitator's heart, while the latter is such an old-world method that modern civilization would not tolerate it. And so while the hue and cry was at its height over the deportations in 1907 a writer in the *Pioneer* suggested that it was rank folly on the Government's part to give to agitators a chance to be made heroes and martyrs while enjoying State hospitality on a liberal scale, or at least supposed to be such. Let them be made to pass through the form of a trial, branded as criminals, and then sent to associate with scoundrels and cut-throats in the Andamans. That would take off the halo of martyrdom from the agitator's deserved fate and make him shrink back with horror from

his tricks. We do not mean to say that Mr. Justice Davar has been directly inspired by the suggestion offered in the *Pioneer*, and perhaps in other papers also of that class, but it was the true instinct of despotism to which the writer gave voice, and all agents of bureaucratic power are bound, consciously or unconsciously, to act up to it. But in the present instance the despotic instinct is destined to prove as much contrary to the instincts of humanity as in previous ones. Although Ram Chandra went into exile, his people not only did not forget him, but cherished his memory all the more dearly, and the incident has come down to posterity as one of the most touching episodes in human history. Even Bharata, for whom his mother intrigued so hard, would not accept the throne, but installed on it the shoes of his step-brother Ram Chandra as the symbol of authority, while he himself carried on the administration as a servant. So the transportation of Tilak (now he has become great enough to allow the "Mr." to be dropped makes him all the more dear to his numerous loving countrymen, and even opponents have come to respect the bold and clear vindication he has offered of his political views and sentiments in the face of the threath of a rigorous law. Tilak goes away for six years—perhaps (Heaven forbid) he may not live to come back to his country; but the shoes he leaves behind will be honoured and dearly cherished by his admirers, and many will be the ardent and talented youths who will aspire to step into them. It is a touching tragedy—the tearing away of a man over fifty, universally respected by his countrymen, and beloved by the majority, from the bosom of his family and country, for an offence which at the worst was only a technical one. The wound inflicted on his vast body of admirers and followers by this atrocious sentence will never heal—perhaps will be kept alive with care as one of those sorrows which ennoble even if they embitter human life.

Mr. Tilak's conviction.

13. The *Army News* (Ludhiana), of the 2nd August 1908, writing about Mr. Tilak's conviction, says that the accused is not an extraordinary man, yet his trial was marked by some special features. He was, for instance, tried by a special Jury, the majority of which consisted of Europeans and on which there was not a single Hindu. Again, on the last day, the Judge sat till 10 P. M., while soon after he had pronounced his judgment the accused was conveyed to some distant place. All this, adds the paper, leaves no room for doubt that Government is fully aware of the power wielded by the Marhatta leader. After remarking that his methods of work, his boldness and his immense influence over the general public caused the authorities to regard him with distrust, it says that his opinions were not shared by any persons of moderate views. Even his enemies, however, admit that he was a self-sacrificing man and used to act up to his principles. His singleness of purpose and his steadfast adherence to principle has made even the moderates deplore the severe sentence passed on him. After stating that it has been the practice of despotic Governments in all ages and climes to treat with severity those whom they suspect of standing in their way, the *Army News* says that there is nothing to be wandered at in Mr. Tilak having been convicted. Government did not consider it advisable to again create a commotion in the country by leporting him like Lala Lajpat Rai, and he has been punished after a regular trial. Mr. Justice Davar looked upon him as a dangerous man and has transported him for six years, although the printers of the *Yugantar*, which used to publish far more seditious articles than those in respect of which Mr. Tilak was prosecuted, were not so heavily punished.

Mr. Tilak's conviction.

14. The *Nazim-ul-Hind* (Lahore), of the 25th July 1908, writing on the same subject, says that if Mr. Tilak returns to India at all he will be a mere shadow of his present self. The accused's countrymen are perfectly justified in

shedding tears of blood over the trouble which has befallen him, but the Editor cannot bring himself to regard the sentences as being wholly unjust. It was passed by the presiding Judge after due deliberation and after giving both sides a most patient hearing. The Editor cannot, nevertheless, help shedding tears for both Mr. Tilak and the country. He weeps for the accused for the reason that the latter loved his country dearly and was a political leader of great eminence. Mr. Tilak was, besides, one of the few men who could be expected to prevent the relations between the rulers and the ruled from becoming more strained at this most critical juncture. The hopes which the country had of him have been shattered, and this cannot but be a matter for sorrow and weeping. One cannot but deplore the condition of a nation or country which is deprived of the services of its noblest sons. The Editor cannot help shedding scalding tears for his and the country's friend. Mr. Tilak is deserving of sympathy, whether he has fallen a victim to his own outspokenness or to a misunderstanding on the part of the presiding Judge. He is a human being and it is human to err. The Editor then goes on to say that it is worthy of note that in defending himself Mr. Tilak did not say that he approved of seditious writings. He did not utter a single word which could be interpreted to mean that he was inimically disposed towards Government. He denied that the articles objected to were seditious: his contention was that they had not been correctly translated. Again, while he confessed his love for his country he denounced bomb-making as an act of madness. One should not, therefore, look upon him as a seditionist and express joy at the misfortune which has overtaken him. One should, on the contrary, deplore the fact that an admitted loyalist because of the prevailing commotion has been punished as a criminal. The Editor adds that if Mr. Tilak had pleaded guilty he would not have felt sorry for the latter, because an enemy of the British Government is also an enemy of the country. He concludes by expressing a hope that the Viceroy will exercise his prerogative of mercy in the case.

Mr. Tilak's conviction.

15. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 31st July 1908, says that Mr. Tilak's speech in his defence is without a parallel in the history of prosecutions for sedition in India. It fully lays bare the workings of his mind under the influence of which he wrote the incriminating articles, a task which no Lawyer whom he could have engaged would have been able to accomplish. Although the accused took great pains to acquaint the Judge and the Jury with the feelings which had prompted him to pen the writings objected to, he knew full well what the result of his prosecution would be. The zeal displayed by Government in connection with the prosecution and the one-sided selection of Jurors could not have deceived a man of his stamp as to the fate in store for him. Indeed, how could he have been so deceived when even the outside public were able to predict his fate with certainty. Nevertheless, he stuck manfully to his guns and displayed great patience and courage in conducting his defence. The paper adds that Mr. Justice Davar may have been under the impression that he passed a light sentence, but the general public do not agree with His Lordship. They justly regarded the sentence as a stain upon the fair name of British justice, and the fact that the punishment has been inflicted only on the strength of translations makes the blot look uglier still. Neither the Judge nor any of the Jurors were able to form a correct opinion of the incriminating articles by reading the originals. To crown all, it was

proved by the defence that the translations put in by the prosecution contained several mistakes. The Judge had, however, no hesitation in accepting the verdict given by the European Jurors, who were utterly ignorant of the language in which the incriminating articles were written. He paid no heed to the Parsi Jurors' verdict as to the innocence of the accused although they were better able to form a correct opinion about the trend of the writings and as to the influence which these were likely to exercise. After remarking that in England an accused person cannot be convicted if the Jury do not bring in a unanimous verdict and that the same procedure was followed in the *Bangbasi* sedition prosecution in India, *Hindustan* says that Mr. Tilak also made it thoroughly clear in his speech that nothing was further from his mind than to injure Government and that his efforts were only directed to securing reforms. The Advocate-General, it adds, asked the Jury to take no notice of the part of Mr. Tilak's speech dealing with the political condition of the country, implying thereby that the prosecution had nothing to do with politics. It is, however, impossible for the accused's fellow-countrymen to agree with the Advocate-General. In their opinion Mr. Tilak has been transported not for having committed any crime, but from political considerations. And the supposition is amply borne out by the judgment pronounced by Mr. Justice Davar. In conclusion, the paper says that Mr. Tilak is on the wrong side of fifty and has been by in indifferent health of late, and that consequently a sentence of six years' transportation can only mean death to him.

Mr. Tilak's conviction.

16. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 28th July 1908, thinks it wholly unnecessary to discuss what effect Mr. Tilak's conviction will produce in the minds of his countrymen. It has, however, no doubt that the fate which has overtaken the accused will probably deter every native Editor from advising Government regarding the prevailing unrest. The reason for this is that it can see nothing in the articles, for publication of which Mr. Tilak has been so severely punished, which transgresses the bounds of law. There can be no denying the fact that some passages are strongly worded, but it is only natural that whatever comes from the heart should be strong in expression. It is, however, far from just to confuse strong language with sedition. Nevertheless, Mr. Justice Davar considered the article to be such as to necessitate Mr. Tilak's transportation for six years. This shows that the authorities and the people interpret the present law of sedition differently, which makes the position of an Editor still more unsafe because what he considers to be inoffensive may be regarded by Government or a Judge as seditious. But although the sword of Damocles hangs over the heads of journalists, the Editor would be shirking his duty of disgracing his profession if he did not warn Government betimes by discussing the recent happenings in the country. And if Government should arrest native Editors even for their tendering advise to it the latter should always be ready to accept the King's hospitality. The *Prakash* then goes on to say that the conviction of Messrs. Siva and Pillay did not cause in the country even a hundredth part of the excitement which Mr. Tilak's conviction is likely to produce. The reason for this is that Mr. Tilak occupies a far higher position than any other political leader in the country. Although the majority of workers in the field of politics do not appove of his methods of work, and although he is a thorn in the side of some short-sighted officers, yet even his enemies have to admit that he enjoys great respect and influence.

Indeed, Government itself is not unaware of Mr. Tilak's power, as is fully evident from the precautions taken by it to preserve peace at Bombay during his trial. Such, adds the Editor, is the man whom Government has transported for six years. Mr. Justice Davar remarked in delivering his judgment that it was necessary in the interests of peace that the accused should be out of the country for some time. This would show that the sentence passed on Mr. Tilak is based chiefly on political considerations. Government has the right to take what steps it likes to maintain peace in the country, but it is the duty of the people also to warn Government of impending dangers. The Editor grants for argument's sake that the prevailing unrest is to some extent to be attributed to the speeches and writings of Mr. Tilak, but he would like to know whether the latter's expulsion from the country will result in a subsidence of the unrest. He is afraid that the remedy will prove far worse than the disease. After remarking that the authorities believe that peace will be restored in the country by transporting Mr. Tilak or other extremist leaders for a time, the Editor says that this is an idle dream. Shakespeare, who understood human nature most thoroughly, has clearly brought out the fact in "*Julius Cæsar*" that a Government cannot lessen the power of a popular hero by taking him away from his votaries. The authorities and people have been misunderstanding each other of late, and each looks at the doings of the other from its particular standpoint. This being so, it is unlikely that Government's treatment of Mr. Tilak will be regarded as just by those who share his views or admire him and whose number undoubtedly reaches lakhs. To make matters worse, his trial was attended by several suspicious circumstances. In the first place, his application for bail was opposed by Government. Again, he was tried by a Special Jury consisting chiefly of Englishmen. Then, the sentence was passed at 10 o'clock at night and accused was taken to a far distant place forthwith. All this makes it impossible for a man who is already biassed against Government to regard the prosecution as fair. And the suspicion gains strength from Mr. Justice Davar's remark quoted above. The question therefore arises whether, having regard to the fact that the people rightly or wrongly consider Mr. Tilak as an oppressed person and not a criminal, and that most of them are ready to worship him as a hero, Government's object in severely punishing him is likely to be realised or defeated. When even a very common person rises in the estimation of the people by incurring the displeasure of Government it is wholly unlikely that Mr. Tilak will not have gained in power after undergoing the severe sentence passed on him. The Editor then goes on say that in order to put down the prevailing unrest Government should comply with the legitimate demands of the people and should govern India for the good of her children. Government knows this, and Lord Morley also concedes that Indians should have a larger share in the administration of their country, but strangely enough they seem loth to try the remedy. The Secretary of State is of opinion that unadulterated repression has never proved a success, *i.e.* repression should be tempered with leniency. It is perhaps for this reason that Lord Morley's Government is trying to weaken Extremist leaders and has been making diverse promises to the leaders of the Moderates. His Lordship seems to be labouring under the impression that the removal of Extremist leaders from India will do away with the unrest prevailing in the country. This policy cannot, however, restore peace in the land, nay, the more State prosecutions are launched the more the unrest will gain in volume. Instead of trying to transport Extremist leaders Government should weaken their

power by winning over the people to its side. It can very easily achieve the object by treating the people in a considerate manner, which will render it unnecessary for it to waste lakhs of rupees, wrung from poor Indians in launching prosecutions for sedition. In case, however, it persists in its present policy the Extremists will assuredly gain in power from day to day, because the people generally side with those whom they rightly or wrongly regard as victims of oppression. The Editor then condemns the severity of the sentence passed on Mr. Tilak, and says that considering the age of the accused and the respect in which he is held by his countrymen, the sentence may be called brutal. He concludes by expressing the hope that on appeal the Judges of the High Court will display greater wisdom than Mr. Justice Davar and will vindicate the fair fame of British justice.

Mr. Tilak's conviction.

17. The *Zamindar* (Karmabad), of the 1st August 1908, remarks that the punishment of an Editor for sedition raises and not lowers him in the estimation of his countrymen. The people look upon the incriminating article as a truthful writing and persuade themselves into the belief that he has only been punished by Government for having spoken the truth. He comes to be called a national martyr and the general public extend their sympathy to him. The result is that, so far from suppressing them, the punishment of Editors only gives still wider publicity to seditious ideas and writings. The Editor then goes on to say that Mr. Tilak's conviction fully bears out the above contention. Every Indian, he adds, sympathises with the Maharatta leader. Farsighted natives do so from the thought that a respectable, educated and influential man like Mr. Tilak has been driven out of the country in ignominy. The unthinking common herd, however, look upon him as a national and political martyr and show their sympathy with him in a foolish manner.

Mr. Tilak's conviction.

18. The *Watan* (Lahore), of the 31st July 1908, writing on the same subject, says that some people seem to have made it the mission of their lives to carp at Government in season and out of season, and to brand every measure adopted by it as harsh and oppressive, however lenient and benevolent in character the same may be. There is very little to choose between the Extremists and Moderates in this respect, seeing that while the former denounce Government openly the latter do so under the disguise of a friend and adviser. If the Moderates and other so-called loyalists were sincere in their professions of loyalty, why did they make no efforts all these long years, when Government had been patiently putting up with abuse from members of their party, to turn the offenders from the wrong path? If they had put forth such efforts their advice might have carried some weight with Government at the present juncture. As it is, the policy of leniency followed by Government (towards them) in the past has produced only undesirable results. Baboo Surindro Nath was let off with a fine for his share in the Barisal riots, but after-events have shown that the leniency was wholly misplaced. Similarly, Government remitted a part of the sentence of 18 months' rigorous imprisonment passed on Mr. Tilak 11 years ago, but have not several Tilaks appeared in the country since then? After remarking that no right-minded person can deny that for some time past Mr. Tilak has been transgressing the law in his writings and speeches, the Editor finds fault with Government for having left seditious writers alone too long and for not having

put them down with a strong hand at an earlier date. If it had not treated them with leniency, things would never have come to the pass to which they have done. As to the sentence now passed on Mr. Tilak, even if it is granted for argument's sake that it does not err on the side of leniency, it is not for the followers of the Vedas to condemn it, for, according to the teachings of their scriptures, one should render to one's Government the obedience due to one's father. As a matter of fact, however, considering all the circumstances, the sentence is rather too light for the crime of which Mr. Tilak has been found guilty. And the leniency has produced undesirable results even this time, as is evident from the reports of strikes and disturbances received from different parts of the country. In conclusion the *Watan* says that Lord Curzon is perfectly right in urging upon the Secretary of State to postpone the introduction of the projected reforms for some time to come.

Sedition prosecutions in Bombay.

19. The *Rozana* (Lahore), of the 25th July 1908, remarks that when plague appeared at Bombay and Poona and other places in 1897 the authorities became alarmed and passed some stringent regulations which caused considerable excitement throughout the country. After referring to some of the regulations, the paper says that the Doctors had full powers to treat plague patients in whatever way they liked. The result was that quite a commotion was caused in the country and the oppressed people made the welkin ring with their cries. Previous to 1897 discontent with British rule was confined to educated natives, and it was the rigour of plague regulations which acquainted the masses with "the tiger qualities of that rule" for the first time. At Bombay, Poona and certain other places the regulations were enforced through the Military, who grossly misbehaved themselves in the *zenanas* of both Hindus and Muhammadans. This made a Mahratta Brahmin wash his hands of his life and he killed two Europeans officers. The Natu brothers were charged with the murder and unjustly punished with deportation. Next there commenced a crusade against Maharatta newspapers, whose sole offence consisted in adversely criticising the maddening plague regulations. It may be mentioned here that newspapers occupy a strange position in India. If they try to acquaint Government with the feelings of the people the Editors are branded as seditionists and are sent to Jail (*lit.* to their father-in-law's house). Should they, however, keep silent the Editors are looked upon as secret intriguers. The Editor then refers to the press prosecutions launched in Bombay in 1897 and to the severe sentences passed by Mr. Aston on the Editors of the *Pratoda* and two other newspapers, and goes on to say that the events left no room for doubt that Government could, at any time, arrest and imprison the entire staff of a paper, nay, ruin the whole concern, with a single stroke of the pen (*lit.* by wagging the tongue a little). They also brought out the fact that punishment could be inflicted in defiance of the verdict given by Jurors and Assessors. In the *Pratoda* case the Assessors brought in a verdict of "not guilty," but this did not prevent Mr. Aston from passing such a brutal sentence on the accused Editor that the whole world was taken by surprise. Again, the Jury empannelled to try Mr. Tilak consisted of six Europeans and three Maharattas. The last named found the accused innocent, but the Europeans, who did not know even one word of Maharatti, brought in a verdict of guilty, which was accepted as gospel truth by Mr. Justice Strachey, who was under the impression that Government

wished him to punish Mr. Tilak. The paper then goes on to say that similar events are taking place in the Bombay Presidency again after an interval of eleven years. The Editors of the *Vihari*, the *Arunodaya*, the *Kal* and the *Swarajya* have already been sent to Jail, while that of the *Kesari* will be convicted in a few days. In 1897 the accused were released on bail, but this time they are detained in the lock-up on one pretext or another. There was not a single Hindu on the Jury empanneled to try the Editor of the *Kal* and the Judge himself was wholly ignorant of Maharatti. If it was feared that Hindus would be partial to the accused, could it not have been said (with equal truth) that Englishmen would be biassed against him? Besides, do not English Jurors show partiality for offenders of their own nationality? Why are they then appointed to serve on Juries empanneled to try Englishmen? Are all Englishmen angels? Who is there, however, to ask these questions (of the authorities)?

Prosecution of the *Urdu-i-Mu'alla* for sedition.

20. The *Zamindar* (Karamabad), of the 1st August 1908, reprints the article for publishing which the Editor of the *Urdu-i-Mu'alla* has been prosecuted for sedition. The public, it adds, can judge for themselves what undesirable influence such writings are calculated to exercise.

### (*d*).—*Education.*

Foreign education for Indians.

21. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 5th August 1908:—

*Offer of Scholarship through "Panjabee."*

"SIR,—The Society for the Advancement of India has for disposal fifteen free tuition scholarships in American Universities and Colleges of the first class. The tuition conferred by these scholarships is of the value of from Rs. 300 to 450 according to the lines of study and the University selected. They entitle the incumbents to instruction in Engineering or any other branch of Applied Science, in Political or Social Science, or Economics. In other words, they constitute a free pass to the very best education which America can furnish.

"One of these scholarships this Society offers to Indian young men through the agency of the *Panjabee* on the following terms:—

"First, your journal shall advertise the scholarship in its columns and ask for contributions, and shall thereby or in other ways collect for the incumbent of each scholarship a sum sufficient, together with the means possessed by the supplicant, to pay his passage to America and supply him with at least Rs. 900 annually while engaged in study. It should be noticed that while Rs. 900 is sufficient to defray the expenses of a student in some first class colleges, Rs. 1,500 annually should be supplied if the young man is to attend the very foremost of American Universities.

"Second, the recipient of the scholarship must, if he pursues an Engineering course, be an honour graduate or a third year student who has received honours in an Indian Engineering College; and if he pursues an Arts course, he must be an honour graduate of an Indian University.

"Third, the recipient must agree on the completion of his education to return to India and devote his life to the work of building up independent industries in India on the national educational system of India or to other work tending to advance the welfare of the Indian people.

"Fourth, the recipient must be physically sound and vigorous.

"Fifth, the recipient shall be selected from among those candidates who make application to you and shall be the one who, in the judgment of the committee charged with the matter, gives the best promise of rendering effective service to India on the completion of his education.

"It is most important that the young men who take these scholarships should make brilliant records in America. They will thus do much to raise India in the estimation of Americans, and will influence American Universities to open wide their doors to Indian students as some of them have already done to Chinese students. If advantage is taken of this opportunity to send to America a considerable number of India's best young men, the influence on the American attitude and feeling towards India will be enormous, and you may confidently expect that the best educational opportunities of America will be thrown open without reserve to Indians.

"The incumbents of these scholarships should arrive in America early in the fall. If they could arrive during the month of September it would be best; but if that is not possible let them come as early in the fall as may be.

"As the purpose of offering these scholarships is not only the benefit which may accrue to the recipient, but, more important still, the stimulation of patriotic Indians to the effort to secure for Indian young men the best Western education, it seems to us desirable that they should be given the widest possible publicity in your journal.

"I wish to mention here the further fact that we are authorized to offer a free tuition scholarship of the value of Rs. 750 in the Engineering and Mining department of Columbia University in the city of New York. As the Columbia School of Mines has a higher standing than any other like school in the world, this scholarship is of great value. The recipient must be an honour graduate of an Indian Engineering College, and be provided with Rs. 1,500 annually and his travelling expenses. If he has had practical experience in his profession in India, all the better, since he will then be able to compare Indian and American methods.

"Application with regard to this scholarship should be made to Dr. D. G. Deshmukh, Girgaum, Back Road, Bombay.

"We shall ask Lala Lajpat Rai to act as a committee to assign this scholarship among those who apply to you for it.

"I commend this matter to your favourable consideration and hope that you will take it up and deal with it as promptly and energetically as possible.

"Further exchange of correspondence with us will be unnecessary. The selected candidates may come directly and immediately to India House, New York, and will be placed in that Institution best adapted to meet their requirements."

*New York, June 23.* MYRON H. PHELPS.

### (f)—*Railways and Communications.*

A complaint against the North-Western Railway.

22. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 31st July 1908, publishes a communication from one A. M. Azad, who regrets that although the bulk of the railway revenue is contributed by third class passengers the railway authorities should not look after their convenience and comfort and should not put an end to the hardships to which they are subjected by railway officials. After complaining of overcrowding in third class carriages, the writer goes on to say that some time ago he had to travel from Lahore to Jullundur on Government business. He bought a second class ticket and entered a compartment occupied by some Europeans. The latter did not object to his travelling in the compartment, but the Guard made him take his seat in another compartment labelled "for natives." This compartment was already occupied by more persons than it was meant to contain, while it was less clean and worse lighted

than that reserved for Europeans. The writer next expresses his inability to see why more accommodation should not be provided for second class native passengers, whose number is always very large. After alleging that a native gentleman who had a second class ticket with him had to travel Intermediate class, he urges the District Traffic Superintendents of the North-Western Railway to redress this grievance.

Grievances of 1st and 2nd class Indian passengers.

23. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 6th August 1908 :—

"SIR,—When the Railway authorities started the new rule of reserving 1st and 2nd class compartments separately for European and Indian gentlemen, you wrote some Editorial Notes on the question and some letters also appeared on the subject. Since then the Indian public have been quietly waiting and watching for the steps the Railway authorities would take to remove the evil, but I regret to find that the authorities have shown indifference and nothing has been done as yet. Quite another day while coming down from Lahore by Calcutta Mail we were 12 Indians packed in a compartment (marked to seat 9) and the compartment in itself was an old styled one; every one can imagine that how trying it must have been that day as the day was hot and grilling. On the other hand there were two Europeans in a 2nd class bogie up-to-date compartment. We do not in the least grumble over the separation and need not discuss its merits, but what we do grumble at is the unfair treatment meted out to us. We Indians pay the same fare as non-Indians do; we are also subjects of the same Sovereign as Europeans are, and from the business point of view we expect, and we have a right to demand, the same treatment. Is such an improper and unfair distinction and such an infringement of the rights of an Indian travellers to equal comforts due to certain outrages in Bengal? If so, we really feel sorry for it. The outrages were mean, uncalled for, deplorable and detestable acts, and have been universally condemned as such. But why should Indian passengers get ricketty carriages on that account?

"We do not transgress our limits in asking sufficient accommodation in compartments with up-to-date improvements like others, and we hope that the Government will not fail to intervene and see the grievances redressed.

"Yours, &c.,

"1st *August.*

"MIHR DIN."

## *(h)—Miscellaneous.*

Complaint against the *East Bengal and Assam Era.*

24. The *Rozana* (Lahore), of the 25th July 1908, says that the following which has been contributed to the *East Bengal and Assam Era* by a Sahib is calculated to kindle feelings of love (for the English) in the hearts of Indians :—

"If an Englishman can hunt down, tame, and subdue an African lion, he can tame a cat like a Hindu, and if it should ever come to a question of self-defence he will be forced to employ severe measures. It is, in my opinion, very ill advised for natives to provoke white folk as they are doing. I know that, in America, such repeated provocation would have a very disastrous effect, and that those who provoked so continuously would, ere long, provoke their victims to a kind of reprisal very far from pleasant. Lynching would be their mildest fate, and I strongly advise Bengalees to avoid further aggravating white folk, as I am fully aware that there is a point beyond which a white man cannot control himself, and should he reach that climax there will be some sharp shooting that will astonish the aborigines. I am fairly persuaded that what I say will take place, and that ere long. I may not remain long enough in the country to witness it, but it will come I fear, and when it does, natives of Bengal will but earn a fitting reward of their misdoings.

"A FOREIGNER."

Commenting on the above the paper writes as follows :—

"O, Indians, tremble and conceal yourselves in your houses! The Sahibs appear to have jumped out of their pantaloons. You know they killed 44 men with ten lakh bullets in the Zakka Khel and Mohmand Expeditions. Calculate how many bullets will be required to kill 30 crores of people and how many Sahibs there will be to fire the bullets. If any Indian should not love the English from his heart even after this he may go to hell. * * * But beware, Indians! You should not open your lips."

Complaint against the *East Bengal and Assam Era.*

25. The *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 25th July 1908, says that Anglo-Indian newspapers, which complain of strong writing on the part of their vernacular contemporaries, would do well to make a note of the tone on which some of their own number have been writing. As an instance in point, the Editor states that the *Eastern Bengal and Assam Era* of Decca has been giving Government some extremely dangerous advice in connection with the prevailing unrest. After quoting an extract in which that paper suggests the flogging of Congress leaders and applies some approbrious epithets to Mr. Hume, the Editor says that the *Era* should feel ashamed of its advice to Government. He next deprecates the commission of assaults by natives and Europeans on each other, and calls upon Government to lose no time in remedying the evil.

F. ISEMONGER,

*Asst. to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*
*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

SIMLA :
*The 8th August* 1908.

Punjab Government Branch Press, Simla—18-8-08—256—97.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 33. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 15th August 1908.**

---

## CONTENTS.


Page

I.—Politics.

*(a)—Foreign—*

*Nil.*

*(b)—Home—*

1. The situation in India *(Vakil)* ... ... 495
2. Advice to revolutionists in India *(Aftab-i-Hind)* ... *ib.*
3. Indian students in England *(Curzon Gazette)* ... 496
4. Government and the people *(Panjabee)* ... ... 497
5. Government and the people *(Panjabee)* ... ... *ib.*
6. The unrest in India *(Observer)* ... ... 499

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

*Nil.*

III.—Native States.

*Nil.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

*Nil.*

V.—Native Societies and Religious Matters.

*Nil.*

VI.—Legislation.

*Nil.*

Page.

VII.—General Administration.

*(a)—Judicial—*

7. Mr. Tilak's conviction *(Vakil)* ... ... 500
8. Mr. Tilak's conviction *(Victoria Paper)* ... ... *ib.*
9. Mr. Tilak's conviction *(Sanatan Dharm Gazette)* ... *ib.*
10. Mr. Tilak's conviction *(Akhbar-i-Am)* ... ... *ib.*
11. Mr. Tilak's conviction *(Punjab Samachar)* ... *ib.*
12. Mr. Tilak's conviction *(Parkash)* ... ... 502
13. Mr. Tilak's conviction *(Jhang Sial)* ... ... 503

*(b)—Police—*

*Nil.*

*(c)—Municipal and Cantonment affairs—*

14. The Bombay Reform Scheme *(Observer)* ... ... 503

*(d)—Education—*

*Nil.*

*(e)—Agriculture and questions affecting the land—*

*Nil.*

*(f)—Railways and Communications—*

*Nil.*

*(g)—Postal matters—*

*Nil.*

*(h)—Miscellaneous—*

*Nil.*

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 33. ]

# SELECTIONS
FROM THE
# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS
## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 15th August 1908.**

---

### I.—Politics.

#### (b)—*Home.*

The situation in India.

1. The *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 1st (received on the 8th) August 1908, says that the tactics followed by some officers during the past few years have been giving offence in certain quarters. Lord Curzon was the first to interfere with the nest of Bengali hornets and to bring them about his ears. In course of time the Bengalis were joined by the Aryas, Mahrattas and other classes of Hindus, and the views advanced by them evoked interest and sympathy among their co-religionists throughout the country. Turning from preaching boycott and *Swadeshism*, the Hindu press took to demanding *Swaraj*, while some newspapers were started with the special object of publishing violent articles against Government. The tone of their older contemporaries also underwent a change for the worse, and the bomb then appeared on the scene. Last of all has come Mr. Tilak's conviction, which has caused quite an unexpected excitement in the country. The paper then remarks that some acts on the part of the Government of India and of "the local authorities" have created an impression among the Hindu leaders that their agitation will not prove fruitless. Indeed, in view of the conduct of Hindus in India and of the secret and sensational propaganda which they have been carrying on in London and Paris, in Canada, and in the United States, it appears impossible for the Indian and Imperial Governments not to evolve a new scheme (of administration). After referring to Mr. Buchanan's announcement on the occasion of the recent Budget debate that some reforms are impending, the *Vakil* advises the people to always conduct themselves like obedient and law-abiding subjects and to allow Anglo-Indian officers no opportunity of setting the British public against the children of the soil, and involving the country in the troubles which existed a hundred years ago.

Advice to revolutionists in India.

2. The *Aftab-i-Hind* (Jullundur), of the 8th August 1908, publishes a communication from one Maulvi Muhammad Rustam Ali, a Vakil of Kapurthala, who appeals to the revolutionists among his countrymen to give up their present practices, and remarks: "Of what rights have you been deprived? If any one asks you to name your rights you can give no reply. You have been creating a noise about nothing. Are you in a position to fight Russia or the Kaiser of Germany? (But) why go so far? Would you even be able to withstand your neighbours if they were to attack you? The fact that you are living in comfort is due solely to the protection afforded by the

British rule. Otherwise, frontier dacoits would let you know no rest. Setting these apart, your own countrymen would beat you into pulp. If the British Government were to tell Indians to manage their own affairs and protect themselves for one single day, you would see how satisfactorily the administration would be carried on. The Bengalis with big paunches and millionaires in other parts of the country would become unknown, because their fellow-countrymen would pay off old grudges to their heart's content. The destitute and starving would attack their well-to-do neighbours and rapine and plunder would become so constant as to remind one of the day of judgment. What would you do in the hour of such distress and how would you protect your lives and property? Would you seek protection from Russia or look out for some other personal Government? No, never. You can only enjoy peace under your present kind Government, which works on parliamentary lines. I am, therefore, at a loss to understand why you should raise a cry against the present rulers of the country? After remarking that the British is the best rule for natives, the correspondent advises them to be loyal and feel grateful to Government.

Indian students in England.

3. The *Curzon Gazette* (Delhi), of the 1st (received on the 11th) August 1908, says that complaints have been heard of late that Indian students in England have been behaving themselves in an improper manner. After referring to the Mutiny celebrations which were held in London at the instance of Mr. Shyamji Krishna Varma, the paper states that this gentleman admits having held the meeting and adds that he has the fullest liberty to perpetuate the memory of Nana Sahib. Such conduct, however, cannot be deprecated too much, as the misdeeds of a few foolish young Indians in England reflect discredit on the whole of India. Every native of this country should forget the incidents of the Sepoy Mutiny, for they have absolutely nothing of which to feel proud. Foolish young Indians are misled by the speeches and writings of socialists and do not pause to enquire whether their conduct is likely to affect the cause of education in India. Mr. Shyamji Krishna Varma has been spending at Paris the money earned by him in Native States and has no mind to set foot in British territory again. Some of the young men, however, whom he is leading astray, will have to return to India and serve under Government, and his treatment of these inexperienced youths spells ruin for them. It was through his instrumentality that some native students who are in receipt of State scholarships participated in the Mutiny celebration organized by him. The paper deplores the doings of Mr. Shyamji Krishna Varma the more so as they are likely to result in obstacles being placed in the way of Indian students going to England. After quoting an extract bearing on the subject from the letter, dated the 26th June last, of the London correspondent of the *Tribune*, it says that no Indian who realises the necessity for young natives to go abroad for education, and in particular to England, can view with equanimity the prospect of their being placed under special surveillance in Europe and in time not being allowed to leave for England without obtaining a license for the purpose or without giving an oath of loyalty during their sojourn in that country. The prospect is undoubtedly the reverse of cheering, and the blame for this rests with those who have been inducing young men to neglect their studies and interest themselves in concerns which they should leave alone during their life as students.

4. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 12th August 1908 :—

Government and the people.

"The Governor of Bombay, the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal and the United Provinces, the *Times of India* and other Anglo-Indian papers have been making frantic appeals to the "leaders of thought" and other Indians of position and influence to exert their influence in favour of Government and to accord them "moral support and active assistance" in the preserving of order and the re-establishing of the *status quo* between the rulers and the ruled which has been so rudely shaken of late. We have no hesitation in granting that every Government established by law and existing for the benefit of the people has a right to demand the active assistance of all its subjects in the preservation of order and peace, and recognizing the British Government in India as an established fact we may concede the same right to them; but the question that arises in our mind is if the bureaucracy ruling in India, and their supporters in the Anglo-Indian Press, having done what they could to discredit these leaders of thought in the eyes of, and having undermined their influence with, the people by their persistent disregard of their opinions and their wishes, and by ignoring their timely warnings, have left the latter in a position to do anything effectively in the desired direction. Six months before the Anglo-Indian Press told us in a cock-sure way that the educated community in India, consisting of a microscopic minority, represented nobody, and that therefore their wailings and lamentations and their cry for reform in the administration of the country carried no weight and could be neglected with impunity. That is a ground constantly urged by the Anglo-Indian Press even now for the disregarding of the educated Indians' opinion in the shaping of Government policy. May we ask the *Times of India* if it is not hypocritical on its part to turn round and call upon the same people to exercise their influence (which according to him and others of his school they never possessed in favour of Government? The Governor of Bombay may be perfectly sincere in his appeal, because he is an entirely new arrival in India and was not a party to Lord Curzon's policy; but Sir J. Hewett, who has been so many years in the Government of India and who has seen measures after measures passed over the heads of educated Indians to the utter disregard of their opinions, should know better. Is Sir John quite sure that these natural leaders of the people whom he now appeals to for active co-operation with Government officials are in a position to give any material help to the Government in removing the present unrest? Have not the Government by their policy of class legislation ruined their prestige with the masses? Did not Lord Curzon boast in his speech at the Byculla Club that the British Government need only care for the contentment of the masses and could very well ignore the educated community and their so-called leaders? Are not the Anglo-Indian papers ashamed of their policy of decrying the educated leaders in one breath and of appealing to them for help in the other? The fact, however, is that a liar need not be consistent."

5. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 12th August 1908 :—

Government and the people.

"*The futility of repression.*

"The officials, in the pride of power, are endeavouring to make the Indian patriots and political "agitators" feel the strength of the bureaucracy in no lenient fashion. Persecutions and severe sentences for ordinary offences are the order of the day. Persons of rank and culture are being molested by unscrupulous Police on the slightest pretext. We live in the midst of constant alarms and sensations. The nervous strain put upon us by this new policy of repression is great. And all this is done in the name of public peace and order. It was said of a Roman conqueror that he made a wilderness and called it peace. We may say of British officials in India that they make a prison and call it peace!

"And what is the object of Government? If they wish to strike terror into the hearts of our countrymen and to prevent them from the incessant pursuit of their just rights as civilised men and women, we are afraid that they will be disappointed in their

endeavours. We are fully alive to our responsibility when we assert that repression is absolutely useless as a means of stifling our natural aspirations and checking the progress of the national movement which is not a product of mere individual greed or national self-interest, but which is the outcome of deep-rooted spiritual convictions. A conspiracy or a secret society or an association of professional politicians can be suppressed by a show of military force and official authority. But Governments are always powerless against a spiritual force. For Religion is from above; it does not count gain or loss; it does not stop to consider the consequences of doing the right thing at the right moment. Spiritual movements possess great vitality; they live and grow from age to age. They cannot be crushed by repression, for they are fed from an eternal wellspring of moral life, which is not touched by the policeman's baton or the soldier's bayonet.

"The national movement is a spiritual movement in the sense that we believe that it is a veritable ladder let down by the gods to raise our poor countrymen to a higher level of thought and action. It preaches the gospel of hope and comfort to millions of down-trodden peasants. The nation was callous and timid: dark despair as to the future of India had smitten the souls of our thinkers. There seemed to be no way out of the gloom. "Out of the depths of my soul, O Lord, I have cried unto thee," and lo and behold! the National movement appears on the scenes, bidding us live and not perish, giving us an ideal worth living for, inspiring us with a hope which thrills us with a passionate joy. As the weary traveller in the desert rejoices when he sees an oasis, as the faint pilgrim feels his heart leap within him as he approaches Badrikaashram, even so are we, who love India, lifted up by a sense of divine ecstasy as we think of the gospel of National Unity, which was lost but is found, which was dead but is now living. Truly a movement which arouses a dormant nation to life and calls forth its latent energies is a spiritual power in every sense of the word. A movement which transforms the coward into a hero, and transmutes the base metal of the instincts and habits of slaves into the pure gold of sacrifice and spirituality is surely a triumph of spirituality.

"Repression is worse than useless in opposing the progress of such a movement. Great kings and mighty rulers have tried the experiment, and history records the story of their failure. Christianity was not crushed by those who cried "Christians to the Lions." Nay "out of the eater came forth meat," and the Roman Empire which persecuted Christians at last accepted their faith. To-day, the curious traveller gazes at the ruins of ancient Rome, but Christianity counts its votaries by millions. The fires of Smithfield, the massacres of St. Bartholomew, the trials of the Inquisition did not wipe out Protestantism from the face of the earth. As the Christian faith and Protestant movement have had to pass through severe ordeals in the course of their history and still survive, our national movement cannot be crushed by the wanton exercise of irresponsible authority. Times and persons change, but history repeats itself.

"It is a general historical law that a religious movement cannot be extinguished by any earthly power. Let us study the question more carefully and see why repression in India is likely to fail in its object. The Government do not know the character and traditions of the people with whom they are dealing. We are Indians, we belong to the race which gave to the world the highest ideals of spiritual life. We look upon life as a temporary sojourn on earth. No one can be transported by Government for more than one of his many lives. We believe in the virtue of *tapas*, and what is persecution but an augmentation of our national *tapas*?

"As individuals, our children are taught from boyhood to suffer for Truth and Virtue. Every Indian boy knows the stories of Prahlad, Harischandra, Rama, Buddha, Teg Bahadur, and Guru Gobind. And our women are models of self-denial and sacrifice. Where the husband goes before, the Hindu wife cannot but follow. The Government are blindly inflicting the severest sentences on our men. But we have that vast reserve of moral power in our women which we shall draw upon for the furtherance of our movement. To-day our women exhibit their noble character on a small stage and in the obscurity of the Zenana, but to-morrow they will stand before the world not merely as good wives and mothers, but also as earnest workers in the Mother's cause. And what is

more likely to attract this great mass of spiritual energy to our movement but the persecution of men, who are fathers, husbands, and brothers. The Indian woman will follow her husband to the grave. Nay, she will follow him beyond the grave and Savitri-like win back her husband from the jaws of *Yama*. The bereaved wife and the afflicted sister are more powerful than the most noisy agitator in Bengal. Their mute eloquence moves us more than the per-fervid oratory of the platform speaker. How can Government suppress a movement by persecuting a few men here and there, when the Hindu woman silently watches the whole struggle and resolves in her heart of hearts that she will get justice for her husband, her brother or her son? She does not talk: she feels. And feeling is the source of Moral Power."

"As individuals, then, the Hindus are familiar with the idea of complete self-denial for noble ends. Our women are even nobler than our men, who are engaged in the struggle for their just rights. As a nation, we have had bitter experience of persecution and we have also seen the end of it. Aurangzeb was the most powerful monarch in the whole world in the 17th century. He had a vast army and numerous porters within India itself. And yet when he forgot the real character of his subjects, he followed the suicidal policy of persecuting the Indians. And under pressure of persecution there came out, like fire from flint, the old Hindu spirit which cared not for wealth or ease, but for Dharma. Thus Aurangzeb dreamed that he could reduce the Hindus to the condition of serfs by means of repression. History records how he died a broken-hearted imperialist and found that he had acted unwisely in persecuting the people of the land."

"Thus, both as individuals and as a nation, we are not wholy without experience of suffering and its result. We are not novices in political life. We have given and received hard knocks in the course of our seventy-century-old history. Such a people laugh at repression. They watch the policy of Government in amused silence, as they are conscious of the justice of their cause."

"The Government arrest a man here and a man there, and believe that they have crushed him. But how can the removal of even a dozen persons affect a movement which counts its supporters by millions, for does not all India accept the national ideal? One leader is succeeded by another. The example of one who is unjustly sentenced stimulates ten others to active exertions for the cause. Tilak may be taken away from us, but who can imprison the thousands of young men who read of his self-sacrifice and his fortitude in the hour of trial? And, finally, who can prevent us from telling the story of our woe to our children, who cannot be transported or deported to-day? These children have ears: they listen to our conversation and understand what is happening. If Government prohibits public meetings and suppresses newspapers by rough and ready Russian methods, every patriot can find a willing audience in his boys and girls, who will be citizens of to-morrow."

"We do not say that we advise Government. Government are not in a mood to listen to advice. So we only record our firm belief that the policy of repression will not and cannot succeed in deterring us from carrying on the struggle for our just rights as self-respecting men and women. We support neither disorder nor anarchy. We deprecate both violence of language as well as action. We are strong believers in our future and in the righteousness of our cause. And we earnestly beseech our countrymen not to give way to despair, but to make the national work more effective. Changed circumstances and conditions require a corresponding change in our methods. The problem before the country is now to continue the work with the least risk of its being interfered with by constant prosecutions and long and heavy sentences."

6. The following is from the *Observer* (Lahore), of the 5th August 1908:—

The unrest in India.

"Lala Manohar Lal of Saharanpur certainly hits the nail on the head when he charges a few "Europeans in England" with the responsibility of fomenting agitation

in this country. Agitators and sedition-mongers are, he rightly says, in no way representative of our interests and are self-seekers. The large majority of our countrymen do not need the services of two or three misguided Europeans, and it is impertinent on their part to make themselves self-constituted champions of India and to meddle with the affairs of our great country. It is time these misguided cosmopolitans desisted from embarrassing the Government of India and adding to its difficulties by their unwise sayings and their still more foolish writings."

## VII.—General Administration.

### (*a*)—*Judicial.*

Mr. Tilak's conviction.

7. The *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 1st (received on the 8th) August 1908, says that Mr. Tilak is an ordinary gentleman and not a Governor or a King. His sentiments and his political services have, however, had the effect of exercising a sort of mesmeric influence over different classes of the people. It is for this reason that his conviction has evoked feelings of sympathy in every part of the country. The Editor then refers to the disturbances which occurred at Bombay and Poona in consequence of Mr. Tilak's conviction and condemns the conduct of the agitators in incurring the displeasure of Government by committing breaches of the public peace. They cannot injure Government in any way or alter Mr. Tilak's fate by indulging in rowdyism. After remarking that the conduct of the other leaders in the Bombay Presidency in raising disturbances is calculated to deprive the people of their protection, he says that it remains to be seen whether the recent events at Bombay and Poona will affect the policy of Government.

Mr. Tilak's conviction.

8. The *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), of the 31st July (received on the 8th) August 1908, writing on the same subject, observes that nothing can be more sinful than the publication of seditious writings like those which formed the subject-matter in the case.

Mr. Tilak's conviction.

9. The *Sanatan Dharm Gazette* (Lahore), of the 5th August 1908, deeply regrets to have to announce that Shrijut Tilak Maharaj has been transported for six years for seditious writing. It lays the blame for his punishment at the door of the extremists, who, it adds, consist mostly of the Dayanandis (the Aryas). After exhorting the Santanist Hindus never to listen to the Dayanandis, the paper says that the latter alone have been held to be at the bottom of the unrest in the Punjab. It further remarks that Hoti Lal of Aligarh is also a Dayanandi and was at one time the Editor of a Dayanandi newspaper. After remarking that it cannot be said how many other Aryas are to be punished by (*lit.* sacrificed to) Government, the Editor goes on to say that the Dayanandis speak ill of the Hindu shastras, which are respected even by the Christians and Muhammadans. Hindus can therefore never join hands with the followers of Dayanand.

Mr. Tilak's conviction.

10. The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 6th August 1908, publishes a communication in which the writer remarks that those who condemn Government for the punishment inflicted on Mr. Tilak are totally in the wrong. The sentence has been passed by the High Court, and Government, which was only the complainant, had no hand in the matter. The only question to be considered is what sort of justice has been done in the case by Mr. Justice

Davar. It is a pity that the Judge should have paid no regard to the independent manner in which Mr. Tilak conducted his defence. The accused proved beyond doubt that the English translation of the incriminating articles filed by the prosecution was grossly incorrect. Mr. Justice Davar, however, paid no heed to this and punished Mr. Tilak more severely than the late Mr. Strachey did eleven years ago. If Mr. Tilak had been transported for life by a European Judge the paper would not have felt greatly pained at the sentence, because a European can never be a thorough master of an Indian dialect. Mr. Justice Davar, however, is a master of the Mahratti language, and if he had assured Government that the incriminating articles were not capable of the interpretation put on them by it, the moral courage and the sense of justice displayed by him would not have gone without appreciation. After regretting that Mr. Justice Davar should not have done so, the writer condemns the conviction of Mr. Tilak and says that, with the exception of a few enemies, no native of India can look upon the accused as an enemy of British rule. His countrymen can never forget the writings in which he has dwelt on the good points and sense of justice of the British Government and advised the people to remain loyal to the present rulers of India. After deprecating the absence of feelings of nationality among the people and the conduct of Hindus and Muhammadans in exulting over the misfortune of each other, the correspondent expresses surprise that the authorities should take no notice of the conduct of the newspapers in reprinting articles which form the subject-matter of prosecution for sedition. Justice, he adds, demands that those journals which give still wider publicity to such articles should also be punished. In conclusion, he says that the punishment inflicted is too hard for a man like Mr. Tilak to bear, and expresses the hope that the prisoner will be set free on the occasion of His Majesty's next birthday.

Mr. Tilak's conviction.

11. The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 1st August 1908, remarks that it is only a perverted mind which can believe that a scholarly, influential and patriotic man like Mr. Tilak has been guilty of sedition or bomb-making, especially at a time when Anglo-Indian officers and newspapers are conducting themselves in a most objectionable manner and are abusing the people to their heart's content. It is, besides, wholly unjust to have passed a very severe sentence on the accused for an offence which from the people's standpoint has not been brought home to him. To crown all, he has been ordered to be transported from the country for a number of years. After remarking that according to the prevailing practice Mr. Tilak should not be sent to the Andamans, the paper says that there is a widespread belief among the people that it is impossible for him to return alive to the country. Although all his fellow-countrymen do not share his political views, there can be no denying the fact that he is a true patriot and that he is always ready to act up to and profess his convictions irrespective of consequences. It is therefore unfortunate for the country that a bold and plain-spoken man, such as he is, should have been taken from the people. The Editor cannot congratulate Government on the decision in the case and is of opinion that it has committed a great mistake in punishing Mr. Tilak which it will realise later. Mr. Tilak is a highly influential public man in the Mahrashtra and could have rendered great help in carrying out reforms which Government wishes to introduce shortly.

12. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 4th August 1908, says that the *Times of India* remarks that if Mr. Tilak was sincere in claiming that his efforts had been confined to securing reforms by legitimate means, how is it that the residents of a peaceful city like Bombay are being forced openly or covertly in his name to make trouble for the authorities. The object of that paper, says the Editor, in writing in this strain is to make out that Mr. Tilak's writings were calculated to inflame the people to commit breaches of the peace. After ridiculing the arguments of the *Times of India*, he adds that the people consider Mr. Tilak to be innocent and have been expressing indignation at the savage punishment inflicted on him, the severity of the sentence sometimes goading them into overstepping the bounds of moderation. The recent riots at Bombay were not due to the writings of Mr. Tilak, but to the conduct of Government (in punishing him). If they had been ascribable to the former cause they would have occurred before the prosecution of Mr. Tilak. Again even those of the accused's countrymen who do not approve of his writings know that they are not more reprehensible than the brutal writings which certain Anglo-Indian newspapers are in the habit of publishing. They have also begun to realise that while Government is loth to prosecute offending Editors of its own nationality, it has been imprisoning native Journalists who have ventured to respond in the same tone to their Anglo-Indian *confrères*. It is for this reason that even those natives who do not agree with the opinions of Mr. Tilak consider him innocent on the ground that the first stone was not thrown by him. And as he merely wrote in reply to the savage writings of Anglo-Indian newspapers they do not regard him in the light of an offender. His main contention in his address to the Jury was that the incriminating articles were but a reply to certain articles published by the Anglo-Indian press, the latter writings being of a grossly mischievous and brutal character. Under these circumstances the people do not believe Mr. Tilak guilty and look upon him as a victim of oppression. The natural result is that they feel indignant at the sentence passed on him, while the intensity of their anger and the presence of the Police and the Military in their midst goads them into commiting excesses. In short, the disturbances are due to the policy of Government in allowing Anglo-Indian Editors to wound the susceptibilities of natives with impunity and sending their natives *confrères* to jail for replying to the writings of the former.

Mr. Tilak's conviction.

In another paragraph the paper publishes a translation of a proclamation issued by the Bombay Government advising the Mill hands at Bombay to resume work and seeking the co-operation of all law-abiding people in restoring peace in the city. It is difficult to understand, writes the Editor, what good this proclamation could accomplish after the people had been fired at and a large number of them had been killed. The authorities should not have called in the Military, but should have sought the help of the leaders of the people in the very beginning. As it is, the people, who have been greatly exasperated at being fired on by the Police and the Military, are not likely to listen to the advice of their leaders. Is it not absurd that at first in its pride of power Government cared nothing for the leaders of the people, but that when the situation assumed a serious aspect it should turn round and abuse them for not co-operating with it?

Elsewhere the paper says that if there is any native of India whose name is a household word throughout the country it is Mr. Tilak. He is the

most noted and honoured man in the Maharashtra and his newspaper, the *Kesari*, has a very large circulation. It has been criticising Government's doings in an extremely honest and fearless manner since the very day of its birth. And it is for this reason that Mr. Tilak has always been in the bad books of the authorities. Although his political views differ from those of the vast majority of his educated countrymen, and although his deplorable obstinacy at Surat in December last brought the National Congress into ridicule and earned him the enmity of a very large section of the population, still his prosecution by Government has ranged the whole country on his side, and his name will occupy a prominent place in the history of the struggle for the liberty of the press in India. After remarking that, having regard to his age the sentence passed on him is likely to prove one of transportation for life, the *Parkash* publishes a short account of Mr. Tilak's life, laying special stress on the services rendered by him in stamping out plague. His services to the country, it adds, have only brought on him the displeasure of Government, and now he has been transported for six years on the verdict of a Jury which consisted almost entirely of Europeans. The country, however, does not share Government's opinion as to his guilt, and his punishment will not lead to good but to undesirable results.

Mr. Tilak's conviction.

13. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 8th August 1908, publishes an article with black borders announcing the conviction of Mr. Balgangadhar Tilak. The Editor begins by saying that improper doings on the part of Government have brought about a change over India, and the people are being fired on and wounded in various places in India. He continues to say that the reason why Mr. Tilak, Mr. Paranjpe and (certain) other great men are no longer in the midst of the people is that they had devised means to obtain justice for their countrymen and had made up their minds to acquaint Government with its mistakes in a fearless manner. Until quite recently natives and Anglo-Indians were on the best of terms, but to-day they regard each other with feelings of hatred. The latter have been frightened at the appearance of the bomb and remain hidden in their bungalows, practising shooting, to guard against some imaginary danger. They are labouring under the impression that a rebellion is imminent in the country, and the thought has left them no enjoyment in life. Only four years ago they used to be worshipped like Gods, but now even their shadow is regarded with suspicion. The Editor makes bold to say that the change is due to the policy followed by the English in order to retain permanent possession of this country. Evidently they do not even fear God, for otherwise they would not have practised on His creatures the oppression which they have been doing. Sections 124 A and 153 A have been brought into ridicule. A person daring to utter a single word or to criticise objectionable doings on the part of an officer is prosecuted for sedition forthwith. Again, any one exposing the real character of the policy followed by the authorities is proceeded against under Section 153 A. Nor is this all. These sections affect different classes of His Majesty's subjects in India differently. Anglo-Indian officers and newspapers can do with impunity whatever they like, but a native writing or speaking anything (unpalatable to the authorities) is placed under arrest without loss of time. Natives are a weak and helpless people, and this is the reason why they are being oppressed in this manner. But for their weakness, Government would not have dared

order

to break its word with them and, instead of redressing their grievances, to imprison and transport them and subject them to diverse hardships. Is it human on its part, asks the Editor, to take advantage of their weakness to deprive them of their honour (leaders*) along with their wealth? There can be no gainsaying the fact that the leaders criticise Government and show it up in its true colours, but its duty should be to remove the grievances that are exposed and not to take them away from the people. The paper then goes on to say that Mr. Tilak was not the political leader of the Deccan alone, but of the whole country. His mission was not to drive the English out of India, but to secure reforms in the administration. He stated this clearly in Court, but he has been punished notwithstanding, and this fact leaves no room for doubt that Government confounds even (and demand for) reform with sedition. Again, if even a police constable is not believed Government regards this as an insult to itself. It does not, however, hesitate to insult the Indian nation by disbelieving its representatives and to treat them in an inconsiderate manner. This would show what importance Government attaches to the people and how determined it is to disgrace them in the eyes of the world. Mr. Tilak is the pride of India, but the authorities attach no credence to his words. He declared on solemn affirmation in Court that he was loyal to Government and that his sole object was to secure administrative reforms; but Government branded him as disloyal and a seditionist. This discloses the nature of the policy followed by Government. It issued the Proclamation of 1858, but had not the moral courage to fulfil the pledges contained in that document. Its attention is now being drawn to the matter, but, instead of acknowledging its mistake, it deprives the people of the services of anyone who dares to point out the omission. Mr. Tilak asserts that he wishes to strengthen the foundations of British rule in India; but by disbelieving him the authorities have offered an insult to the whole nation. It was for this reason that Mr. Tilak's conviction was followed by a *hartal* at Bombay, Poona, Nagpur and other places, and a number of persons were shot and wounded in consequence. The accused is not a common person and his conviction has converted the whole country into a house of mourning. Government may succeed in silencing the people by the aid of bullets, but how will it be able to heal the wounds which this insult to the nation has inflicted on its heart? It may not now set much store by the uproar audible in the country, but if the existing state of affairs continues a day will come, which God forbid, when it will have to rue (its present conduct). After remarking that India has witnessed many vicissitudes of fortune, the Editor asks Government to bear in mind that no people can put up with bullets and national insults for ever. Indians may be weak, but after all they are human beings, from whom there is nothing that may not be expected. He then goes on to say that Mr. Tilak's conviction has caused a commotion throughout India and that, with the exception of a few traitors, the entire population is in mourning for the Mahratta leader. A consideration of the position occupied by the accused and of the esteem in which he is held by his fellow-countrymen makes one fear that his conviction is likely to lead to results the reverse of desirable. If he had been a rebel in very truth the punishment inflicted on him would not have caused so much consternation among the people. As it is one cannot detect even a single seditious word in the articles for publishing

* The brackets are the paper's own.

which he has been punished with transportation. Who is there, asks the paper, who does not feel that Mr. Tilak has fallen a victim to oppression and that he has been oppressed merely to prevent the people from profitting by his sentiments, which means an exposure of the powers that be. This treatment of the aged political leader of the country is being resented by the public and has plunged every native into sorrow and grief. The Editor further remarks that Government's sense of justice had hitherto been the strongest bulwark of British rule in India. Now, however, Government wishes to frighten the people by following a policy of repression, which has always resulted in disorder and confusion wherever it has been tried. After remarking that the adoption of repressive measures by the authorities has led to the same result in India, the paper says that Mr. Tilak's transportation will never bring about the result for which Government hopes, but that it is likely to lead to deplorable consequences. God forbid that Government's present policy should bring things to such a pass to which not a single native wishes them to go.

### (*c*)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs.*

14. The following is from the *Observer* (Lahore) of the 15th August 1908 :—

Bombay Reform Scheme.

"We must say at once that we have perused the Resolution of the Bombay Government on the extension of the elective system in District Municipalities with great concern and anxiety, and this feeling is shared by the entire Muslim community throughout the Indian Empire. The Resolution comes as a bolt from the blue, and has given a rude shock to the susceptibilities of millions of His Majesty's Indian subjects who profess Islam and who were flattering themselves with the belief that their British rulers in India had been at last awakened to the necessity of safeguarding Muslim interests and whom the public declaration of the King Emperor's representative in India had lulled into a sense of security. It would, however, appear that their satisfaction was premature, and after the lapse of barely a year after the recognition by the Government of India of the just principle of separate communal representation—a principle the absolute necessity and equity of which was accepted by His Excellency Lord Minto in a public declaration—Sir George Clarke proposes to give a wide berth to the deliberate policy of Government in this respect. The phenomenon is curious, to say the least; and we are not exaggerating matters when we declare that the pronouncement of the Government of Bombay against communal representation has been received with stupefaction by the Musalman population of the country.

Briefly summarised, the Resolution lays down that in future, as a general rule, two-thirds of the members of a District Municipality shall be elected where the Municipal areas have a population of at least 15,000, the rule being subject to exceptions founded on special grounds. The privilege of selecting their own presidents will be conferred generally on all Municipalities, unless excepted for special reasons; but the selection must be approved by two-thirds of the whole body of Municipal councillors and will be subject to the sanction of the Governor in Council. The executive power of the Municipal body will be strengthened by the adoption of a chief officer on the line of the Municipal Commissioner of Bombay. The question of the representation of minorities is shelved by asserting that a system of communal representation is beset by practical difficulties and that it "is also open to the objection that it may stir up sectional animosities." A more groundless statement we have never come across. For we make bold to say that the real truth lies in its converse. Take the case of the Punjab, where the double system is actually in practice—separate communal representation in some places and the system favoured by the Government of Bombay in others—and the result is that the latter are hot-beds of sectional animosities, while life in the former is absolutely free from any disturbing element of the kind apprehended by Sir George Clarke. And how does His

Excellency propose to protect the interests of the minorities? The object is to be gained by the Governor in Council including the representatives of the minorities in the list of his nominations. But it must be borne in mind that, in the first place, his nominations are to be restricted to no more than one-third of the total number of members, and he must perforce give precedence to the officials of Government, thereby reducing to a very small figure the number which he may set apart for the representation of the minorities. In the second place, where is the guarantee that Government will select men whom their own community may wish to send up to Municipalities? Past experience forbids our entertaining such a hope. It is further suggested that by re-arranging the wards and giving each elector one vote, the same object may be accomplished. But is this alternative free from the "practical difficulties" which the Government of Bombay so much fears? And after all, we fail to see how such a make shift arrangement can permanently secure for the minorities a degree of representation which may be adequate and to which they may be entitled.

F. ISEMONGER,

*Asst. to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*
*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

SIMLA :
*The 15th August* 1908.

Punjab Government Branch Press, Simla 25-8-08—250—97.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 34. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

Received up to 22nd August 1908.

---

## CONTENTS.


| | Page. |
|---|---|
| **I.—Politics.** | |
| *(a)—Foreign—* | |
| *Nil.* | |
| *(b)—Home—* | |
| 1. Government and the people *(Hindustan)* ... ... | 507 |
| 2. Government and the people *(Aftab)* ... ... | *ib.* |
| 3. The people and Government *(Aftab)* ... ... | 508 |
| **II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.** | |
| *Nil.* | |
| **III.—Native States.** | |
| *Nil.* | |
| **IV.—Kirs-Killing.** | |
| *Nil.* | |
| **V.—Native Societies and Religious Matters.** | |
| 4. The Ahmadis *(Habaw)* ... ... ... | 508 |
| 5. The Hindu Sabha Deputation *(Panjabee)* ... | 509 |
| **VI.—Legislation.** | |
| *Nil.* | |
| **VII.—General Administration.** | |
| *(a)—Judicial—* | |
| 6. Mr. Tilak's conviction *(Aftab)* ... ... | 110 |
| 7. Mr. Tilak's conviction *(Aftab)* ... ... | 511 |
| 8. Mr. Tilak's conviction *(Aftab)* ... ... | 512 |
| 9. Mr. Tilak's conviction *(Siraj-ul-Akhbar)* ... ... | 513 |
| 10. The Jutogh murder trial *(Hindustan)* ... ... | 514 |
| *(b)—Police—* | |
| *Nil.* | |
| *(c)—Municipal and Cantonment affairs—* | |
| *Nil.* | |
| *(d)—Education—* | |
| *Nil.* | |
| *(e)—Agriculture and questions affecting the land—* | |
| *Nil.* | |
| *(f)—Railways and Communications—* | |
| *Nil.* | |
| *(g)—Postal matters—* | |
| *Nil.* | |
| *(h)—Miscellaneous—* | |
| *Nil.* | |

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 34. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 22nd August 1908.**

---

### I.—Politics.

#### (*b*)—*Home.*

Government and the people.

1. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 14th August 1908, publishes a communication which, it says, emanates from a Muhammadan and has been specially written for it. The writer does not approve of the recent departure in the policy of Government. After remarking that it is the first duty of Government to keep its subjects pleased with it, he enquires why has the bomb appeared in India if the people are not displeased with Government, and why is there general unrest in the country? It argues no manliness or courage on the part of the authorities to turn a deaf ear to the cries of the people and to try to gag the latter. Even if it is granted for argument's sake that natives are rebelliously inclined and wish to subvert British rule in India, the duty of Government should consist in finding out the reason and in removing the causes of the discontent. The adoption of repressive measures can only add fuel to the fire and still further deepen the unrest that prevails. The partition of Bengal resulted in the *swadeshi* and boycott movements, while deportations and the Seditious Meetings Act have led to the appearance of the bomb. In other words, Government's policy of repression has only made matters worse and may, if persisted in, be relied upon to bring about a still more undesirable state of affairs. The correspondent then goes on to say that it would prove more beneficial to Government to set to work to treat the people with justice. It is hardly fair to prevent natives from crying out when they are in pain. They are not mad and there must be some reason for the outcry now raised by them. If, however, they are really mad, it is absurd to gag them or send them to jail. They should be placed in lunatic asylums.

Government and the people.

2. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 9th August 1908, says that at a specially convened meeting of the leading native residents of Bombay Sir Sydenham Clarke deplored the fact that Government had not received any moral support or practical help from the leaders of the people. It is very surprising that high officials should make such remarks in the name of moral teachings. Will the Governor of Bombay say whether it is in keeping with morality for one people to keep another under subjection. No conquering nation can ask for help from its conquered subjects unless it has helped in raising them in the scale of civilisation. All men are born equal and no nation has the

right to keep others in bondage,—a fact which Sir Sydenham seems to have lost sight of in making the above complaint. The paper then goes on to say that a spirit of nationalism has been created in India, and that the people have begun to feel that their affairs should be managed in accordance with their wishes. And when their opinions are overlooked they resent this. It was therefore but natural for the mill hands at Bombay to have struck work in token of their disapproval (of the sentence passed upon Mr. Tilak). The incident teaches one a useful lesson, namely, that the policy of repression followed by Government is destined to prove futile. It would be very fortunate for the country if the Governor of Bombay were to realise that the prevailing discontent cannot be put down by means of force, and that so long as it exists both Government and the people can know no rest. In seeking for moral support from the people His Excellency should also have considered whether the law was being administered in a just and righteous manner. The highest Statesmen are of opinion that it is not sufficient merely to administer justice, but that the people ruled over should also be convinced that they are being treated with justice. But when the rulers happen to be foreigners it is particularly necessary for them to observe this principle in connection with State prosecutions and to attach weight to the opinion and feelings of the people in awarding punishments. The Editor does not consider it strange that after openly expressing their disapproval the people should not have rendered the authorities any help in putting down disturbances. He then refers to the telegram received by Sir Sydenham Clarke from Australia offering military help in quelling riots and says that seekers after *Swaraj* would do well to make a note of this.

The people and Government.

3. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 9th August 1908, remarks that those who believe that a people can achieve nothing against their Government should open their eyes and see what the subjects of Turkey have accomplished recently. After observing that the Sultan of Turkey has been forced to grant a constitution, it says that a King can grant his subjects nothing. All power belongs to the people, and he who exercises it against their wishes is a usurper and a tyrant. The subjects of Turkey have hitherto been ignorant of their rights, but now they had obtained them from the Sultan. Again not long ago the Portuguese killed their oppressive King, and after his death they obtained all that they had previously asked for. The Persians also have succeeded in obtaining a Parliament from the Shah, and this affords another example of the great might of the ruled. The *Aftab* adds that the ruled have the advantage of numbers over their ruler, so much so that he cannot oppose their wishes. He may defy them at first, but in the end he is forced to yield to them. The above instances should inspire Indians also with courage. Although they know that they have to fight an extremely oppressive and blood-thirsty hypocrite, they should take heart from the examples of others and feel confident that they also will succeed sooner or later.

## V.—Native Societies and Religious matters.

The Ahmadis.

4. The *Hakam* (Qadian), of the 6th August 1908, remarks that the Ahmadis are enjoined to take no part in political agitation and to look upon British rule as a veritable blessing to them. After referring to the oppression

practised upon Muhammadans during the Sikh period and to the religious liberty and other blessings enjoyed by them under the present régime, the paper says that the comfort and facilities now enjoyed by them did not fall to their lot during their own rule even. They should therefore consider it a sacred duty to be loyal and obedient to their present rulers. This is incumbent on Ahmadis in particular, who would, but for British rule, have been murdered at the instance of *Ulemas*; and it is a matter for satisfaction that they did not participate in the disturbances which followed Mr. Tilak's conviction, although their number in the Bombay Presidency exceeds 11 thousand. In conclusion, the Editor advises them to steer clear of all seditious movements.

The Hindu Sabha Deputation.

5. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 19th August 1908 :—

"*Loyal Deputations and Assurances.*

"It does not appear clear why so much preliminary fuss is being made about the proposed deputation of the Punjab Hindu Sabha which has been accorded the permission of presenting an address of welcome to Sir Louis Dane on the 22nd instant. Since days preceding the fixing of the date the coming event has been announced with a sort of flourish in all the papers of the country, and one cannot help wondering if there is going to be anything extraordinary in connection with the function or if any particular person or persons is or are interested in doing the advertising. Deputations come and go, and unless in exceptional cases, such as that of All-India Moslem League last year, it is only after the function is over that the public come to know of it when reading the address and the reply in the papers. Is the Punjab Hindu Sabha going to run in competition with the local Muhammadan deputation to necessitate all this blowing of trumpet and beating of the drum? Needless to say, this sort of thing is very much calculated to give an artificial look to these deputations and seems to furnish justification for the meaning which the average man is reading into certain words recently dropped from the lips of the Viceroy. In the telegraphic columns of the *Pioneer* of the 16th instant His Excellency's Private Secretary is reported to have telegraphed to the Maharaja of Durbhanga as follows:—"His Excellency is extremely pleased at the *success* of the manifesto which you presented to the Lieutenant-Governor yesterday, and desires me to thank you and all concerned in *getting it up*. His Excellency is sure that it will have a most beneficial effect." The message evidently refers to the loyal manifesto recently issued in Behar under the auspices of the local Landholder's Association of which the Maharaja of Durbhanga is President. What we wish to draw attention to are the words we have put in italics. The Viceroy thanks those who were concerned in *getting up* the manifesto and congratulates them on its *success*, as if the manifesto was a show or tamasha *got up* by some people who therefore deserved recognition for the *entertainment* furnished by them. It is hardly to be believed that the Viceroy really meant to tell the Maharaja of Durbhanga that these manifestoes and deputations are often got-up affairs and that their immediate success as a show is the chief point worth nothing. But truth sometimes comes out in unexpected ways and from the most unlikely sources; and the profuse advertising which is being given to the Punjab Hindu Sabha deputation would seem to lend color to the theory that some people are *getting it up* who will, in due course, receive the thanks of the Government for the *success* of their efforts.

"We certainly do not wish to discourage the Punjab Hindu Sabha from its mission or carp at its effort to demonstrate the loyalty of the Hindu population to the authorities. Keeping on good terms with the powers that be is what every Hindu would desire, but what we are afraid of is lest these demonstrations should end only in somebody being thanked for *getting up* the show and in congratulations on its *success*. We had Hindu Deputations last year during the trying days of the 'unrest,' but the pity is we cannot recall them with pleasurable feelings. A good deal was heard of the achievements of this man and that, but the Hindu population of the Province at large fared none the better for the efforts of these men or the individual good luck that may have befallen some of them.

Loyalty is a thing which should be understood from people's general conduct and behaviour, and should call for no special protestations unless there be causes at work in the community calculated to foment the opposite feeling. The Hindu Sabha deputation, we understand, propose to assure His Honour the new Lieutenant-Governor of the attachment to the Government of the Hindu population of the Province; but if they are true to themselves they should not fail to explain why such an assurance has become necessary at this date, and what are the causes of any forces tending to disloyalty that may be at work in their midst. The deputationists are all loyal people no doubt, and so are others who may not form part of the lucky company; but they should not neglect to explain why some people, no worse than themselves in character, capacity or social position, should have incurred the risk of being regarded as disloyal. To express 'deep abherrence of the anarchist movement and dastardly crimes' is another object of the deputation. That is likely to be somewhat out of date and place, we are afraid. Abhorrence of anarchist methods has already been expressed all over the country to almost a nauseating extent, and the Punjab happily being unaffected by anarchist activities there is no particular necessity of dilating upon the misfortunes or misdeeds of other Provinces with whose circumstances we are not fully familiar. What it behoves a deputation like that of the Punjab Hindu Sabha at this date is not so much to denounce anarchism in other Provinces, for anarchism is sufficiently denounced already, but to advise and warn the authorities how anarchism may be kept out of their own Province. They ought to tell the Lieutenant-Governor that there may be circumstances in the life of a people, such as were brought about in the Punjab during the late régime, that may drive them to desperation, making them lose there heads and think of wild schemes of fancied relief. What a truly loyal body of men should do is not merely to try to please the authorities with assurances that all is well, but to warn them of dangers that may be ahead. Plain speakers and not *Satbachanias* have been the best friends of Kings and Governments in modern as well as ancient times, though they have generally incurred the odium and disfavour of those in power."

## VII.—General Administration.

### (a)—*Judicial.*

Mr. Tilak's conviction.

6. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 9th August 1908, writing about Mr. Tilak's conviction, says that the sentence passed on him is practically one of death, since he is an old man of 53 years and is suffering from diabetes. The question which the people should consider now is whether they will allow Government to gain its object of stamping out all love for liberty in their minds. It has imprisoned Mr. Tilak with the object of up-rooting the plant of liberty in India, but it should remember that by doing so it has only driven the Marhattas to join hands with the Bengalis, and has increased the people's hatred for the English a thousandfold. The transportation of the Marhatta leader has made 30 crores of Indians swear to God not to abandon the banner of liberty as long as there is breath in their bodies. They have taken a vow that so long as even one Indian is alive, they will never make peace with the English or regard the latter as their friends. They would rather die in their struggle for liberty than lead a life of slavery and disgrace. They are fully aware of their critical position, but this has not made them shrink from making sacrifices for the cause they love. Mr. Tilak was an embodiment of their hopes and aspirations, and his imprisonment means that whoever aspires to liberty will be dealt with like him. But are they, asks the Editor, prepared to say to the rulers that if it is an offence to desire liberty all of them are criminals? Again, are they ready to show the English that the latter are not the Gods of India, but that they merely hold a lease of this country and can do nothing without

the people's consent. The country in reality belongs to the people, and the English have taken possession of it by force. The Editor concludes by remarking that whatever the end of Mr. Tilak may be one thing is patent, namely, that Government's policy of repression has altogether failed in achieving its object. And if Government still persists in its present course the relations between the rulers and the ruled will be further strained from day to day and things will end as they have always ended, in friction between tyrannical rulers and oppressed subjects.

Mr. Tilak's conviction.

7. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 9th August 1908, remarks that Mr. Tilak's conviction has filled the minds of his countrymen with such intense grief that they have not as yet been able to realise the duties which their "national martyr" has entrusted to them to discharge. The struggle for freedom by every nation of the world, it adds, divides itself into two periods. In the earlier period circumstances arise which incline the nation to follow the lead of a great political guide, and leaders of this description come into existence with the exigencies of time. The teachings of such guides evoke universal opposition at first ; but as the messengers come from God they gain in strength by degrees and eventually the sensible among their countrymen are drawn towards them. This attraction is of a religious and imperceptible character and no earthy power can withstand it. Before attaining success, however, the leaders have to pass through an ordeal, from which only the purest souls working in the name of God can emerge unscathed. If the leader comes out unsuccessful it should be inferred that God is averse to his nation advancing and becoming free. In case he emerges from the ordeal with flying colours the first period of his nation's struggle for freedom comes to an end. This period is always so critical that a single false step in it means the ruin of an entire nation. It requires that the people concerned shall sacrifice what they hold dearest and most valuable. A persual of the world's history will show that a nation desirous of freedom can traverse the period in question only after making the highest sacrifices. After referring to instances in support of the assertion, the paper says that fortunate is the nation which can produce a leader who would gladly offer himself for sacrifice. The Editor goes on to say : "My countrymen, . . . . . the night of the 22nd July last will ever remain memorable in the history of India. Reflect a little, however, what the incident meant. There is no cause for fear. It was no visitation from God. Good cometh even out of evil. Misfortune is the greatest of teachers. It does not behove brave men to give way to despair in misfortune. Your aged leader himself has furnished proof of this. Do not think that God is angry with you. On the contrary He is pleased with you. He has (only) demanded a sacrifice from you. In other words, your leader has gladly sacrificed himself for your freedom. The sacrifice offered by you has been accepted. God has granted your prayer for freedom. No human power can now prevent you from obtaining your liberty. You have been tested (and) even your enemies on this earth have realised that you are prepared to make any sacrifice and will not rest till you have gained your freedom. Read with a little care the last words uttered by your leader and ponder over what he has said on parting from you. When Mr. Justice Dayar enquired whether he had anything to say before sentence was pronounced on him, the brave Mahratta replied : 'There are higher powers that rule the destinies of men and nations,

and it may be that the cause I represent may be benefitted more by my sufferings than by my freedom.' Did these words emanate from the heart of a rebel? No, never. It is easy (*lit.* one thing) to hold a person tight in the clutches of law, but commonsense can never believe that a man who fears God and leaves everything to Him will ever wish to break the law or upset Government. The *Aftab* further remarks that Mr. Tilak has sacrificed himself for the country simply because he held the firm belief that his sacrifice would lead to his nation moving a step forward in the path of progress. This is the reason why there is mourning throughout the country and why even Moderate newspapers have unanimously condemned Mr. Justice Davar's decision in the case." The paper concludes by remarking: "My countrymen, you should reflect a little how you can make up for this loss. You have undoubtedly come out successful through the ordeal and have gladly sacrificed your leader. But will you say whether you can put up with this sacrifice. Every nation has to bear great misfortune and to mourn the death of great and popular leaders. But is the separation from national leaders and the accession of strength to the opposite party a thing which can be easily endured? And when it is intolerable what should one do in the matter? ..... should one sit with folded hands and give up all political agitation? No, never. That will be unmanly and cowardly. Your leader struggled for (your) liberty till the very last and even told the Jury that the case would injuriously affect the liberty of the press (in India). But who was there (on the Jury) for the liberty (of the native press). It is impossible for people to participate in the troubles of others. You should work, relying on yourselves. You should try to finish the work of the inspired seer (Mr. Tilak), who knew that his sacrifice would expedite the completion of his work. He relied on you and you (alone) were his support. Will you soon prove and show that you have obeyed his injunctions from your very hearts? This is not the time for 'speechifying' (but) for work. ..... We should give up mutual *quarrels*. We should produce thousands of young men to take the vow of *swadeshi*, boycott and national education and induce their countrymen to follow their example. It is necessary that you should keep alive the fire of sacrifice kindled by Mr. Tilak, and thousands of Tilaks should appear in place of the one (taken away from us). You may not have the ability of Tilak, but you can continue the work begun (*lit.* done) by him. His teachings exist and have been sufficiently diffused (in the country). Work alone is needed now. Mr. Tilak was extremely far-sighted and knew that the country was ready to work. His martyrdom has influenced many a true son of India. For instance, Sardar Ajit Singh, Sufi Amba Parshad and others have proved by becoming Sannyasis that the spirit of self-sacrifice existing in the country is ample. Let no one run away with the idea that our work can be stopped by taking our leader from us in this way. God grant that we may continue our work with the perseverance (which characterised Mr. Tilak) and fulfil the last wishes of our leader, sparing nothing in the cause of our country?

Mr. Tilak's conviction.

8. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 9th August 1908, writes as follows: "Fortunate Tilak! Thy opponents have transported thee. Some wretch has wrenched our souls (out of our bodies) of a certainty and has rendered us lifeless. But we feel fully assured that thou art perfectly at peace. Thou

hadst faith in God and committed thy self to the Almighty even when thou wert taken away (from us). Go! Whether they send thee to the Andamans or to Aden, and whether thy body return to us or perishes in exile, rest assured that thy example will always be before thy followers. We are still free and in our unfortunate country. The more thy chains pain thy body the more will the thought of thy sufferings grieve the hearts of votaries and the more encouraged will they feel to perform their duties. It is only brave soldiers who are told off to lead on the battlefield on the most dangerous occasions, and (*lit.* but) their death does not weaken the army, but fills it with fresh enthusiasm. Each drop of the blood of the brave which falls on the field of battle gives rise to a brave man. O brave man! Thou hast completed thy work. Thou hast taught thy followers how to suffer for thy sake and the country. Thou hast put pseudo-patriots to shame (and) hast taught the lesson of perseverance to cowards. Thou hast proved thyself to be a true leader (and) hast performed the duties of a patriot in a most thorough manner. We find in thee a spirit which makes us regards thee as a peerless man of thy time."

After dilating on Mr. Tilak's qualities of the head, the paper continues :—

"If thou hadst been born in the days of the Peishwas. ..... thou wouldest undoubtedly have become a great Peishwa. Thou art the Nana Farnavis of thy time. If thou hadst been born in a country ruled by a national Government thou wouldst assuredly have risen to be the head of thy nation. If thou hadst been born in America or France thy election to the post of President would have reflected honour on the office. But God has undoubtedly some good object in view even in sending thee to unfortunate India under British rule. It would have been no great thing if, after having been in France or America, thou hadst risen to be a President. True praise lies in this that (although) thou wert born among a people who are held fast in the heavy chains of slavery (and although) thou didst not enjoy the liberty of speech and writing, still thou wouldst not behave like a coward. Whatever thou didst say was said with a pure heart and in clear language."

The *Aftab* then condemns the sentence passed on Mr. Tilak by Mr. Justice Davar, who (it says) is not fit even to untie the shoe-latchet of the former. It adds that now when the people are not trusted by the authorities they should lose no time in determining what they should do next. Apparently Government cannot follow the present policy of repression long, nor will the British public allow it to do so. The English will never have the folly to create disorder in the country by persisting in rigorous repression. The Editor's advice to his fellow-countrymen is to take the vow of *swadeshi*, boycott and national education. They should also establish *panchayats*, boycott Government educational institutions and have no commercial dealings with the English.

Mr. Tilak's conviction.

9. The *Siraj-ul-Akhbar* (Jhelum), of the 11th August 1908, remarks that the fate which has befallen Mr. Tilak should show how foolish it is to write against Government. Mr. Tilak, who was once a member of the Bombay Legislative Council, was not even released on bail and has been sentenced to six years' transportation. It is strange, adds the paper, that after having tried to create unrest among the people by calling the Government tyrannical and oppressive, Mr. Tilak should have stated in his defence

that he had merely replied to the writings of Anglo-Indian newspapers inflaming Europeans against the natives. After remarking that Government does not involve anyone in trouble without cause, it says that if such a case had occurred in any independent Asiatic country the culprit would have been hanged or blown away from the cannon's mouth. It is, however, extremely kind on the part of the British Government that it goes to law in such cases like the meanest of its subjects. The Editor has no doubt that if Mr. Tilak had tendered an apology Government would have hastened to pardon him. As it is, he asks his fellow-countrymen to take warning from cases like the present.

The Jutogh murder trial.

10. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 14th August 1908, writing about the Jutogh murders, remarks that if Karim Khan's conduct was brutal in the extreme that of Corporal Cullen, who killed an innocent native in order to avenge the murder of a European nurse, was no whit less savage.

F. ISEMONGER,

*Asst. to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*
*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

SIMLA :
*The 22nd August* 1908.

Punjab Government Branch Press, Simla—31-8-08—256—97.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 35. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

Received up to 29th August 1908.

---

## CONTENTS.


Page.

I.—Politics.

*(a)—Foreign—*

*Nil.*

*(b)—Home—*

1. The present condion of Indians *(Aftab)* ... ... 515
2. Political religion of natives *(Aftab)* ... ... 516
3. Students and politics *(Aftab)* ... ... *ib.*
4. Recent prosecutions for sedition *(Aftab)* .. ... 517
5. The proposed Tilak Ashram *(Nizam ul-Hind)* .. 520
6. The proposed Tilak Ashram *(Jhang Sial)* ... *ib.*
7. The proposed Tilak Ashram *(Nizam-ul-Hind)* ... 521
8. The proposed Tilak Ashram *(Parkash)* ... ... *ib.*
9. The proposed Tilak Ashram *(Rozana)* ... ... *ib.*
10. Arabtnda Ghosh defence fund *(Rozana)* ... ... *ib.*
11. Khudi Ram Bose *(Parkash)* ... ... ... 522
12. Khudi Ram Bose *(Punjab Samachar)* ... ... *ib.*
13. National history *(Azad)* ... ... ... *ib.*
14. Sedition in India *(Panjabee)* ... ... ... 523
15. Government and the people *(Panjabee)* ... ... 524

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

16. Frontier affairs *(Tribune)* ... ... ... 525
17. Frontier affairs *(Panjabee)* ... ... ... 526
18. Raids on the Frontier *(Tribune)* ... ... 527

III.—Native States.

*Nil.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

*Nil.*

V.—Native Societies and Religious Matters.

*Nil.*

VI.—Legislation.

*Nil.*

Page.

VII.—General Administration.

*(a)—Judicial—*

19. Mr. Tilak's conviction *(Wafadar)* ... ... 527
20. The Delhi *punkha* coolie's case *(Rajput Gazette)* ... *ib.*
21. The Delhi *punkha* coolie's case *(Jhang Sial)* ... 528
22. The Delhi *punkha* coolie's case *(Parkash)* ... *ib.*
23. The Delhi *punkha* coolie's case *(Aftab)* .. ... *ib.*
24. The Delhi *punkha* coolie's case *(Paisa Akhbar)* ... 529
25. The Jutogh murders *(Aftab)* ... ... ... 530
26. The trial by Jury in India *(Aftab)* ... ... *ib.*
27. The prosecution of Saiyad Hydar Rasa under the Press Act *(Aftab)* ... ... ... 531

*(b)—Police—*

28. A new danger to the people *(Rozana)* ... ... 531

*(c)—Municipal and Cantonment affairs—*

*Nil.*

*(d)—Education—*

29. National education *(Indar)* ... ... ... 533

*(e)—Agriculture and questions affecting the land—*

*Nil.*

*(f)—Railways and Communications—*

30. A railway complaint. Grievances of 1st and 2nd Class Indian passengers *(Tribune)* ... ... 534

*(g)—Postal matters—*

*Nil.*

*(h)—Miscellaneous—*

31. The *Aftab* newspaper *(Aftab)* ... ... 534

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 35. ]

# SELECTIONS
## FROM THE
# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS
## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 29th August 1908.**

---

### I.—Politics.

*(b)—Home.*

The present condition of Indians.

1. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 16th August 1908, deplores the present degraded condition of Indians and refers to their past greatness, as also their efforts to civilise the other nations of the world. It adds that Rajas of India did not conquer any foreign countries from lust of power, knowing as they did that no Government can rule abroad for long. Whenever, therefore, they conquered a country their first thought was to civilise its people, and after this object had been attained they hastened to withdraw from the country. Did Ram Chandar retain possession of Ceylon after conquering that island? No, he installed on its throne none other than the brother of his enemy Ravana. What an unfortunate people Indian, are, exclaims the paper. They (once) civilised the whole world, but to-day all men are arrayed against them. Instead of expressing its gratitude to them the world applies diverse contemptuous epithets to them. This has happened because India is no longer as great as she used to be in by-gone ages. She can undoubtedly boast of very good qualities, but her sons are no longer a living people for they are wholly devoid of national enthusiasm. People say that Indians have shaken off their sleep, but the Editor is of opinion that so far from this being the case his countrymen do not show any signs of life. If, he adds, a person wishes to cut off a piece of flesh from any part of a living animal, all the other parts will go to its rescue and will not allow the cutting off of useful flesh from any part in their presence. Do natives possess a similar spirit, for they all form one body? Are they ready in the same way to save the life of any one of them? No, by no means. Do they care in the least how it fares with a Mahratta? Are they not foolish enough to think that his sufferings do not concern them? Do their hearts ache when a Bengali is involved in trouble? Do the Hindus participate in the sufferings of Muhammadans, and *vice versâ*? Do they give a thought to the troubles of a Panjabi? Do Brahmins, Khshatriyas and Vaishas care for Sudras? Do natives shed even one tear when the spleen of a *punkha* coolie, sweeper or syce is ruptured? If not, how can one know that they are a living people? He then goes on to say that Japanese teachers instil feelings of patriotism in the minds of young men reading with them, and enquires whether the same thing is done in India. He next finds fault with Lord Morley for maintaining the partition of Bengal as a settled fact, and says that the condition of the country is ascribable to Western civilisation.

Political religion of natives.

2. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 16th August 1908, observes that thousands, lakhs and crores of human beings are born and die without leaving a name behind them. It is therefore very foolish for a man to feel proud of this transient life. Consequently the wise have always followed the policy of reposing their trust in God alone and of dying for Him, in order that they may gain merit in the next world. The paper then goes on to say that there was a time when it was necessary for Indians to lay down their lives for their religion, and when it was an act of merit to kill others in the same cause. Now, however, their religion consists of their country, and the mission of their lives is to sacrifice themselves in the service of their motherland. The Editor next remarks :—" It is our prayer to Almighty God that if we die we may do so in jail ; (that) if we have to lose our life we may yield it on the cross for the sake of the country ; (and that) if we have to disappear from the world one day, our body, our flesh (and) our skin may, for the sake of the country, resolve into particles and mingle in the soil of the country."

Students and politics.

3. An address to students was published by the *Aftab* (Delhi), on the 22nd June (received on the 21st August) 1908, in which the paper says that although Delhi has been shorn of much of its pristine grandeur it still occupies a unique position among the cities of India. Its mausoleums, in particular, in each of which are interred a hundred corpses, have great attraction for foreign visitors. The city is not, however, famous for its illustrious dead alone ; there are also " living dead men " to be found in it. It is well known that all political and other useful movements of the day alone thrive on the blood of students. (Older) men can spare no time from their worldly affairs (to attend to politics) and their chief occupation consists in the propagation of their species. But students, whose time is their own and whose education fits them to know of the trend of the times, take interest in all (public) movements. The students of Delhi used not to be backward in this respect. Of late, however, a great change has come over them. Those who formerly suffered every hardship for their country's sake and went about like coolies distributing notices, convening political meetings, are now as inactive as if they had been paralysed. After remarking that it was through their efforts rather than those of Syad Haider Raza that the banner of *swadeshism* was unfurled in the "Imperial city," the Editor calls upon the students of Delhi to raise their spirits and not to fear death, remembering that life is transient and all must die sooner or later. Only those gain credit in the next world who give up earthly things, who help the poor and suffer privation and death in cause of righteousness. The students of Delhi should know that the best way to serve God and one's country consists in serving one's fellow-beings. India, the kindest mother to them, stands weeping before them and loudly calls to them. Do they feel no pity for her ? Are they devoid of all feelings of pity ? The paper then writes :—" Are you not the most degraded people in the world ? You show no signs of life. Your breast is the grave of your desires. Your breast is the burial place of your hopes. Your heart (*lit.* liver) is the grave of your high resolves, (and) of your patriotism. It is not the hot blood of your forefathers which courses through your veins but water. Your skin and flesh is only fit for the worms of the grave . . . . . Do you not feel shame (at the thought) that coming generations will call you cowards and poltroons ? Will your sole legacy to your children be faint-heartedness ?

Have you lost all feelings? Are you, as Shakespeare has said, only the graves of your souls? Do you acquire education only to blacken the boots of Englishmen? Are you so bound to slavery that liberty is wholly unknown to you." The Editor then goes on to say that those who advise the students of Delhi to shun political movements are their bitterest enemies, for even a great philosopher like Aristotle regards the knowledge of politics as the highest form of education. Students cannot excuse themselves by saying that there is no one to lead them. If they show by their conduct that they really desire a leader they will not long be left without one. Why do they not stand by those who are ready to help them, and why do they not punish men who wish to drag them down? Because they study the history of England they should not for that reason hate their own country. They should know that people who are at war with one another can never make any progress. They should not have a poor opinion of themselves: they are the future hope of the nation. If they lay up no store of patriotism their descendants will know nothing of that sweet feeling. They should purify their hearts with the fire of patriotism. When the flame leaps from their pure hearts "it will reduce very large pieces of wood to ashes." The Editor concludes by regretting that the students of Delhi have lost ground instead of moving forward. When the *swadeshi* movement found its way to Delhi they gave up the use of foreign cigars. Yet now, they take pride in smoking them. Will the day ever dawn when the youth of Delhi will again bestir themselves and cease to pass their days in a state of living death?

Recent prosecutions for sedition.

4. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 16th August 1908, publishes the following under the heading "The day of judgment":—

"The question is, what should one do if the day of judgment suddenly arrives. What should one do if darkness set in on all sides, so that one hand could not see the other and it became impossible to discern the path? What should one do if arrows rain down from all sides and the heart is pierced through by the darts of oppression? What should a man do if blood rained down from the sky; if snakes and scorpions came out of the earth and bit him; if crocodiles emerged from the river and tried to devour him; if the beasts of the desert tried to crush and eat him; if the birds of the air desired to tear and eat him; if those near him became strangers, and his friends became converted into enemies; if food and water turned into poison; if the sky fell down and the earth yawned asunder? He should not lose heart whatever happened. He should not let his courage abate. He should keep his word and not turn back from it. He should keep his honour intact even at the risk of life. His word and his head should keep company (*lit.* there should be no distinction between his word and his head); he should only relinquish the one (his word) when he has lost the other (*lit.* when the other has been cut off). After all, why have we mentioned the day of judgment? After all, why have we raised such an outcry? After all, why have we raised such a storm? What else could we do? What else has befallen in India? There is turmoil and unrest. There is sorrow and misery day and night. There is a commotion wherever one looks. There are stalwart men with their throats cut wherever one turns. Fountains of blood meet the eye on every side. Streams of blood flow in every direction that one looks. Bodies of stalwart youths lie on every side. One has his hand cut off, another has received a wound in his

arm, another has been hit on the shoulder, another is gasping, another is wailing, another is crying, another is uttering lamentation, (and) another stands beating his head with both hands. A young (and) beautiful (*lit.* moon-faced) lady stands on this stricken field tearing her hair and crying: 'Brother! Brother!' (Arabindo Ghosh*). When no one replies to her she beats her breast. She tears her clothes, and listens carefully again. A groan is heard on one side. She approaches near with a trembling heart (and) sees her young brother writhing in agony. She cannot bear the sight, falls on the ground (and) utters cries. In the meantime an aged, illustrious and chaste lady comes (on the scene), utters the cry: 'Oh my son, Arabindo!' (and) falls down senseless on that dead body. How can this old lady have the strength to see the light (*lit.* the star) of her eyes vanish before her, to see the lamp of her house extinguished in her presence (and) to see the darling (*lit.* the piece) of her heart slaughtered before her eyes? She throws herself on the body (and) writhes (in pain). She rubs her eyes against the feet of her darling and calls to her son to rise. When (her) son does not respond to her call she weeps still more (bitterly). Meanwhile this stalwart youth gasps (in the agony of death). But his aged mother ere this has dashed her head against the ground and passed away with the cry of 'Oh, Arabindo!' on her lips.

*The brackets are the paper's own.

A handsome youth (Chidambaram Pillay*) lies writhing in agony in the dust on another (*lit.* one) side. Experience (*lit.* practice—*tarika*) says that since the youth is strong he will give up the ghost with much difficulty. His soul feels grieved for unfortunate India even when it is about to quit his body. He is in the agonies of death. Who is there to pour a drop of water into his mouth (*lit.* throat)? Those for whom he laid down his life have fled from the field and thrown themselves at the feet of the enemy.

*The brackets are the paper's own.

On another (*lit.* one) side an old woman stands crying: 'O Pindi, my earnings for the past 18 years! Where art thou? Show (me) thy face but once in the moment of thy death. My son, why art thou so angry (with me)?" At her lamentations another old woman comes forward beating her breast and asking 'Has any one seen Dina Nath, the darling of my heart?" Both (weep) together and make rivers of tears flow on the field. On hearing their voices another old woman comes running up and enquires all confused 'Ladies, is my Shanti well? (I hope) he has not been wounded?' Who is to say to her in reply, 'Unfortunate woman, the darling of thy heart has been crushed into the dust. Thy moon has disappeared under the clouds of destruction.' Lo! in the meantime a young girl wearing a *burqa* is seen searching for some one among the dead in this dark night with a torch in her hand. On approaching near she proves to be the wife of Fazl-ul-Hasan. When this grief-stricken (girl) heard these three (old women) uttering lamentations she became alarmed, being young in age. She enquired in a bewildered manner, "Why, ladies, is not my lord well?" With whom (was it) well there? All had been borne away by the horses of death. On the other side of the field some little children with bare heads and feet are raising an outcry (and) are saying, "Father (Leakat Husain*), will you not come home to night? If you remain here what will become of us? Who will put us to sleep? Who will take care of us?" The children cry with these words on their lips. On another

*The brackets are the paper's own.

side the Bengali women stand beating their heads. They say, 'Whole families of us have been ruined. The earnings of a life-time have been swept away.' Meanwhile a light appeared on one side. All turned to see (what it was). They saw thousands of Mahrattas with bare heads and feet, wearing winding sheets, throwing dust on their heads, beating their breasts with their fists (and) weeping loudly—carrying a bier and coming (towards them). The bier was covered with a black sheet, and was overhung by an awning. It appears that the body is that of a great Emperor. Behind it are the dead bodies of many young devoted men (votaries of the deceased). The Mahrattas cry '(Government) has ruined our country, has killed our Emperor (and) sucked the life blood of our youth. We will move heaven and earth to loosen the nails of oppression.' Simultaneously a crowd of Madrasis came from the other side beating their heads (and) saying 'Friends, (Government) has perpetrated a general massacre among us (and) has cut off the heads of hundreds. How can we console ourselves ? How can we repress our afflicted hearts ? If we had only received one wound we would have applied ointment to it. There are, however, wounds all over our hearts.'

"While these grief-stricken persons made a very great noise and filled the entire field with their lamentations, there appeared suddenly a small cloud in the east (Japan*). Its rumblings and the flashes from it terrified all. It thundered and flashed with might overhead. The hearts of the people sank within them (and) their eyes closed. They ceased weeping and crying. The cloud was suddenly rent asunder with a great crash. On looking (up) they saw a throne descend (from the sky). A divine angel with a resplendent face stood on this throne. Four lamps burned on the four legs of the throne. All were charmed at sight of the face of the angel (and) there fell a hush on the jungle. All waited to see what would happen next. Then the angel opened his eloquent lips and said with a smile: 'O ignorant fools ! Why do you make so much noise and cry like cowards ? If you wish for liberty you will have to sacrifice your property (and) your lives (for it). If you seek for me, the aged mother will have to offer her only son, the sister will have to part with her brother, chaste women will have to become widows and innocent children will be orphaned. You have already become dismayed. You have not been sufficiently tested as yet. Much remains still (to be done). If you complain now you had better give up your efforts. If you wish to continue your efforts you should be ready to make further sacrifices. Shameless creatures ! This is all I have to say. He who has heard (me) has heard (what I have said). Go and communicate (my words) to him who has not heard (me). After saying this the divine angel went aloft and concealed himself in the cloud. The cloud thundered and went back in the direction from which it had come. For a while there was complete silence in the field. All remained standing silent like statues. At last the women came forward and began to upbraid the men (saying), 'By losing heart you have discouraged us also.' How could the brave men listen to this ? The sight of liberty had already roused them from the sleep of negligence. They replied at once : 'We shall die (and) sacrifice our lives for liberty.' After saying this all began to laugh and returned to their homes, after having most gladly resolved to die (for their country)."

* The brackets are the paper's own.

5. The *Nasim-ul-Hind* (Lahore), of the 22nd August 1908, publishes a communication from Sufi Amba Pershad, Manager, Tilak Ashram, Lahore, who states that Mr. Tilak, the National Martyr and the apostle of "our" liberty, has been separated from "us" and asks whether it will in any way hamper "our" work if no successor is appointed to him. After replying to the question with an emphatic "no", the writer says that Tilak Maharaj has left his teachings for his followers, telling them in clear language what they should do now. "If strong hands", he adds, "have taken away our political guide from us, will his message remain unaccomplished? This is an impossibility. God wishes that we should now attain salvation. He called upon us to make a very great sacrifice and we have done so. We have won His approval. Tilak Maharaj was 53 years of age. He was a human being like us and would have left us one day. Would you have been pleased if your darling, your chief, your guide had died in his bed from fever or some other disease and had not been taken from you when fighting for your salvation like a lion to the last? This lion-hearted, aged guide of ours has shown us that young men can accomplish even more than he has done. Come let us fulfil his last wishes. Come let us tell him in his prison that we are no unworthy followers of his, (that) we will not let his name perish even in spite of opposition from the whole world (and that) in all probability we shall accomplish his mission in his lifetime." The writer then goes on to say that Mr. Tilak's teachings cannot be kept alive unless there arise young men who will make sustained efforts to disseminate his teachings. Such martyrs can only be produced after great trouble; and consequently he and Sardar Ajit Singh have decided to establish a permanent memorial to Tilakji Maharaj, which will not only perpetuate the Maharatta leader's name, but will also prove beneficial to the country. The memorial will take the form of an Ashram, which will be located at a place decided upon by the majority of the people. The institution will maintain a large library containing all political books and the histories of all countries, especially those books dealing with the history of India and with Indian economies, to which all will have free access. Young men desirous of learning politics and economics will be taught those subjects there, being provided with clothes and food *gratis* if necessary. In short, the Ashram will serve the purpose of a political school or university where eminent men will teach without receiving remuneration. The Ashram will be called after Mr. Tilak and will contain a stone statue of him. After emphasising the necessity for systematising political education in India and organising the forces now engaged in disseminating it, the correspondent says that "it is our duty to place political education on a strong and permanent basis for Mr. Tilak devoted his whole life to establish this and to convey it to the masses. We should produce able Editors at the Ashram and help forward the work which, as a journalist, he performed to perfection throughout his life. We should produce at the Ashram experts in the art of oratory in order to disseminate widely the ideas of which the country stands in sore need." In conclusion, the writer appeals for funds, adding that remittances should be made payable to him and that the Ashram will be opened as soon as sufficient funds have been collected.

The proposed Tilak Ashram.

6. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 22nd August 1908, and *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 28th August 1908, also publish the foregoing communication.

The proposed Tilak Ashram.

7. The *Nazim ul-Hind* (Lahore), of the 22nd August 1908, writing about Mr. Tilak's conviction, says that Indians, who are no longer free to give expression to their feelings, cannot alter the sentence passed on the accused. If British mercy does not stand him in good stead, and if he is destined to live some time longer, the Mahratta leader will have to pass his remaining days in prison. At a time when numberless men have been slain in the political shambles it can serve no useful purpose to make a noise about the real or supposed martyrdom of Mr. Tilak. It is, however, noteworthy that in his able address to the Jury Mr. Tilak denied that he had been guilty of sedition. Nor did he admit that he wished Government ill or that he was given to disseminating sedition or creating feelings of hatred against Government. On the contrary he claimed to be a well-wisher of both Government and the country. Consequently, "we" feel justified in regretting his end, while his services to the country, his profound learning, his literary achievements and his patriotism entitle him to "our" sympathy and call upon "us" to give him his meed of appreciation. The Editor therefore sees nothing objectionable in Sufi Amba Pershad's proposal to found a Tilak Ashram. Mr. Tilak, he adds, was undoubtedly the political hero and leader of the people, and the latter should give proof of their appreciation of his services by establishing the proposed Ashram. He thoroughly approves of the project, looks upon it as a means of spreading education, and appeals to his countrymen to find the necessary funds, promising to give his own mite in aid of the institution. He feels convinced that the Ashram will not prove a strong-hold of sedition.

The proposed Tilak Ashram.

8. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 18th August 1908, announces that Sufi Amba Parshad and Sardar Ajit Singh intend to establish a Tilak Ashram in order to perpetuate Mr. Tilak's name and to complete the work begun by him. The institution will provide a large library of books on politics and supply all newspapers devoted to the service of the nation. It will also impart regular political education to a few young men prepared to sacrifice themselves for the country.

The proposed Tilak Ashram.

9. Writing on the same subject, the *Rozana* (Lahore), of the 19th August 1908, enquires from Sufi Amba Parshad and Sardar Ajit Singh whether the project will ever be carried into effect.

The proposed Tilak Ashram.

10. The *Rozana* (Lahore), of the 14th August 1908, states that the appeal which Sarojani Ghosh issued for funds in aid of her brother has brought in over Rs. 20,000 and that about Rs. 10,000 more is still wanted. After remarking that the entire sum will be paid to a Feringhee lawyer named Jackson, who is to be engaged for the accused, the Editor enquires from Sarojani Ghosh whether, in face of the decision in the Tilak case, she can hope for any justice in the case against her brother. The accused is undoubtedly innocent of the charges preferred against him, but his sister ought to know that he has not been arrested merely to be set free in the end. Sarojani Ghosh should live on the money which may be collected till her brother is liberated and returns to her. The subscriptions represent money earned by the people with the sweat of their brow and should not be wasted by being made over to a Feringhee. All

Arabindo Ghose defence fund.

know how the case against Arabindo Ghosh will end. He loves his country and his countrymen and is the ablest Indian of his time. This alone is more than sufficient to send him to the gallows.

Khudi Ram Bhose.

11. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 18th August 1908, remarks that the 11th August, on which day Khudi Ram Bose was hanged, will always be memorable in the history of India. The news of the execution suggests several thoughts. One of these is how two young men have thrown away their lives simply by having adopted a wrong course in order to obtain a redress of their grievances. Another is that Government has failed to make any arrangements for curing brain sick persons of the type of Khudi Ram and his companion. Khudi Ram was undoubtedly guilty of murder, still he should not be classed with hard-hearted murderers. He committed the offence, not because there was anything wrong with his heart, but because he was suffering from mental derangement. Common murderers take the lives of others from selfish motives, but Khudi Ram had no personal grievance against Government. He felt that Government paid no heed to the grievances of his countrymen, and this led him to adopt a wrong course in order to have them redressed. The act was the result of a diseased brain and he should not have been punished in the same way as a hardened murderer. If Government had restored his mental equilibrium, he could have been made a useful member of society. The paper concludes by remarking that in future Government should treat offenders like Khudi Ram in such a way as to make them useful members of society.

Khudi Ram Bhose.

12. The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 15th August 1908, writing on the same subject, says that although it feels no sympathy for Khudi Ram because of the crime committed by him, still it is of opinion that it would have been better if the authorities had been far-sighted enough to profit by the example of the King of Portugal and had pardoned the unfortunate lad. After remarking that the authorities hold the mistaken view that such punishments will help in uprooting anarchism in the country, the paper observes that history proves that repression has never been successful. It would be far better if the authorities abandoned their policy of repression in favour of one of conciliation. It has no sympathy with anarchists, but it cannot refrain from telling the authorities on the strength of the lessons taught by history that there is still time for them to win the hearts of the people.

National history.

13. The *Azad* (Lahore), for June (received on the 24th August) 1908 publishes an article on "National History" from the pen of Lala Har Dial, M. A. The writer says that one should study history in order to discover the principle which governs the rise and fall of nations. Indians of to-day are making earnest efforts to find out that secret principle in order to enable themselves to defend their religion and country against the attacks made on them from all sides. After remarking that the present helpless condition of India excites the contempt of neighbouring nations, the writer calls upon her sons to gird up their loins and set out in search for the elixir of life. What, he asks, is that elixir and what is the message which history has to give India? A study of the histories of both dead and living nations shows that a people can only maintain their national life by preserving their national history. A nation's fate depends upon its own deeds, *i.e.*, it works

out its own destiny. If it loses power, wealth, honour, &c., it cannot regain the same by accusing its conquerors of bad faith and treachery. When a people are oppressed in their own country and their young men and virgin girls are made slaves by their conquerors, when their children cry for want of food and their religion is insulted, and when Rajas and priests are employed to work as orderlies and the honour of their women is assailed, they should reflect calmly and find out the causes of their being in such a disgraceful plight. It should be borne in mind that a nation numbering thousands of millions cannot be conquered even by the whole world unless it has been first attacked by avarice, laziness, selfishness and cowardice. It is these vices which sap the vitality of a nation and leave it an easy prey for conquerors. It is only a study of national history that keeps alive the virtues on which the life of a nation depends. In case a people happen to possess no history of their own they should merge themselves on some other nation with a history and derive inspiration from the history of the latter. As an instance in point, Lala Har Dial says that the Negroes of Africa could boast of no history, but that since their conversion to Islam they have been making headway in the race for progress and civilisation. After remarking that political progress depends upon moral advancement, the Lala goes on to say that even small nations, which had neither wealth nor arms, have been known to conquer large nations simply owing to their superior morals. On the contrary, if a nation does not possess high morals its forts, its temples, its treasuries and its arsenals can avail it nothing, and all its possessions pass into the hands of others. Its temples are pulled down and the *debris* is used for making graves for its sons. Its treasuries are plundered by its enemies and the contents of its arsenals are used in blowing up its houses and bringing about its downfall. On the contrary, if a nation is possessed of good qualities, it is not only able to protect itself, but also to help others. The writer then states that a people can preserve their morals by leading a virtuous life. He points out next that a people can never form a nation unless they study their national history. In conclusion, he says that so far he has discussed only general principles, and that he will discuss later how natives can utilise these principles and their national history for improving their morals and promoting union in their ranks.

Sedition in India.

14. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore) of the 26th August 1908 :—

*" Sir John Hewett on 'Law and Order.'*

" We must give Sir John Hewett credit for the amiable spirit which on the whole animates his speech on the spread of disaffection delivered at Agra, which is reproduced at length in this issue, though we cannot help differing from some of the sentiments expressed in the same. If Sir John speaks as an official, inspired mainly by official sources of information, he does not divest himself of the manners of the gentleman and is anxious that his audience should have confidence in the Government, just as on behalf of the Government he seeks to take them into his confidence. The matter of regret is that like all officials, and like some of their advisers among Indians, he takes for granted that in the matter of 'sedition' it is only the people who have erred and failed in their duty, while the Government has remained immaculate and above criticism. He denounces sedition and what he believes the persistent efforts of some people to disseminate it, and this he is perfectly justified in doing as the responsible head of a Government. He further calls upon the leaders of the people to come to the help of the Government in 'suppressing certain elements of disorder that have

manifested themselves.' This is matter for congratulation in that only since the outbreak of what is called sedition have the authorities in India shown any anxiety to take the people's representatives into confidence and seek their co-operation; these same representatives having heretofore been egregiously ignored in all the counsels and actions of the Government as if they were a class not at all to be counted with. But in the whole of the speech there is not a single word to indicate a consciousness on the part of Sir John that the Government or the ruling classes may have been at fault now and again to have given rise to this new phenomenon of sedition; or that the duty of the leaders of the people may lie as much in acting as the monitor to the Government, showing how disaffection is bred and encouraged by some actions of the rulers, as in helping the latter to suppress the 'elements of disorder.' Suppress sedition by all means, mild or severe, seems to say His Honour, in the implicit belief that the British Government can do no wrong.

"Everybody admired Sir John Hewett's coolness of head when in connection with the Etawah conspiracy he did not allow himself and his subordinates to be overcome by panic, and took prompt steps to prevent a repetition of the mistake that was committed in the Punjab by giving an easy ear to informers and intriguers. Recent events seem, however, to have perturbed his mind and made him exaggerate the present situation on the strength of one single case in his territory, that of Hoti Lal Varma, to whom more than one reference is made in the speech; though it is a matter still open to question whether the offence for which this man was convicted was sedition, real and proper, or only a case of what the trying Judge called 'exaggerated ego.' Sir John himself tells his audience that he does not want any of them 'to think *for a moment*' that he believes in the existence of 'any widespread disaffection in these Provinces,' or that 'sedition is *in any sense* generally rife in any *part* of them'—(the ilatics are ours). But he is afraid of emissaries from Bengal, and the *fiat* has gone forth from Simla in the Viceroy's speech of June 8th, which is quoted by His Honour calling upon 'all who have the future welfare of the country at heart to unite in the support of law and order, and to join in one common effort to eradicate a cowardly conspiracy from our midst.' Accordingly we see it enunciated all round, and by Sir John Hewett in particular, that 'the first duty of Government is the maintenance of law and order,' even though under the said law and order injustice may thrive and give legitimate cause of discontent to the people, while in the process of maintaining it high-souled and patriotic men, whose anxiety for the country is not a whit less than that of the Government, may be crushed into atoms.

" * * * Maintain law and order if you will, but when law and order presses inconveniently upon a people, know that the time has come for its conditions to be changed. Not only Indians, but even many an unprejudiced and well-informed Englishman (*vide* the comments in the English press), can hardly be made to believe that all is right in a state of law and order which necessitates or justifies a man like Tilak to be placed in the same category with murderers and professional rogues. And if there are self-respecting Indians who hesitate to come forward to sympathise with the Government in the present difficulties, it is because while willing to help in the maintenance of law and order they are not prepared to believe that men like Tilak require to be crushed for its sake. The Indian cannot be true to himself and therefore to others who, while expressing abhorence of sedition and anarchy, will not at the same time confess to his horror at the treatment being meted out to some of his country's best men by the powers that be. Lord Morley himself, in his recent speech in the Indian debate in the Lords, qualified the Government's duty of 'keeping order' with the proviso that 'unless we can somehow reconcile order with the satisfaction of those aspirations which we ourselves have taught the Indian people to think desirable, it will mark the first breakdown of British statesmanship.' So Sir John Hewett will see that he is contradicted by his own Chief."

15. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 29th August 1908:—

Government and the people.

"From all round the cry has been coming from officials calling upon the leaders of the people to help the Government in maintaining law and order. If this call has not

been so widely responded to as it might have been, the reason is not that the large body of the people are interested in the reign of disorder, but that they believe the Government is taking steps on its own account too drastic to require any further help from the people. In fact, they believe that the Government is exceeding bounds, and in the name of law and order is adopting measures whose practical effect will be not to allay unrest, but to suppress liberty of speech and writing. With a dozen or more sedition prosecutions always on the fire in different parts of the country, resulting mostly in staggering sentences, what does the Government want more requiring the leaders of the people to come to its help? Does it want to denude the country of all men who are ready to express independent opinions in speech or writing? If not, what help could these leaders give beyond saying "Amen" to what the Government is doing? But in saying "Amen" they cannot lead the general public with them, for the latter do not fail to see that for a grain of sedition there is a hundred-weight of repression, and humanity calls upon them not to say 'go on!' but to cry 'halt!' Bombay has been rid of its giant Tilak, and now the heavy hand of Government has fallen upon the Madras stalwart, G. Subramania Iyer. Perhaps transportation is also in store for him, seeing that against Tilak's two incriminating articles there are nine to the credit of Subramania Iyer, and the old, broken-down Madras publicist has not the Mahratta leader's energy and tenacity to fight his own battle. But where is the sane Indian who will believe that men like Tilak and Subramania Iyer are Indians who should be made to leave their country for the country's good; or that the state of the country calls for the removal of men whose only weapon is the pen as if they were rebel leaders at the head of armies each a hundred thousand strong? Surely, a stage has been reached where the last straw is likely to break the camel's back; and the dragging of G. Subramania Iyer out of the sanatorium (at Court-allan) where he had repaired for reasons of health, and the refusal of bail to him even by the High Court, although the Government's own Doctor certified its necessity, are things calculated to impress even the Indian most softly disposed towards Government with a sense of its harshness rather than of moral strength. * * * * * *
In a country governed by one's own people a man of G. Subramania Iyer's calibre would have occupied a most honoured position in public life; in India to-day he is only one step removed from the jail or the Andamans. The fact that some of the articles selected for prosecution date so far back as February and March is an index to the temper of the Government and shows that the bomb scare is not the only moving power of Government action. Granting that there is a spirit of unrest abroad in the land, the spirit of repression on the part of the authorities has been in still greater evidence, and the two may be said to be in the relation of cause and effect. Words and sentences that were ignored or overlooked when they were written, and have evidently been forgotton by the general reader, are to be trotted out and invested with new meaning in the light of later events. And the refusal of bail even in the peculiar circumstances of Mr. Subramania Iyer can only mean that the authorities are desirous of making the people see and feel how insignificant such men are after all in the hands of the alien rulers, whatever be their value in the eyes of their own countrymen. Was not Jesus Christ crucified between two thieves?"

## II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

16. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of 29th August 1908:—

Frontier affairs.

"The cry is still they come. There have been punitive expeditions—sanguinary actions in which the wild mountain tribes were said to have been taught a wholesome lesson, followed by the absolute and unconditional surrender of the tribes—at least the jirgas of the tribes gave such assurances—but still the raids have not ceased. The life and property of the Hindus on the frontier have not been made secure. The panic still continues and there are abundant grounds for it. Indeed the reports of new and further raids have been following on each other's heels, so soon after our victory and the publication of the Mohmand Expedition Honours' list. The reports which we published in our

columns from our Bannu correspondent show that the tribes are as recalcitrant as ever. To cap all the *Pioneer* says that the Mullas have been again active in the various parts of the tribal territory and they seem to have denounced the agreement made some three months ago. We are also told that the Mohmands have been able to obtain a large number of rifles and they want to practise it upon their unfortunate and helpless victims. It is further asserted that the only measures possible at this season of the year in order to check the raids are the strengthening of the military outposts in the frontier forts and the reinforcement of the border police, but this, we are told, will not prevent inroads altogether. Are then the Hindus in the frontier to lie at the absolute mercy and sweet will of these marauders? Will the law-abiding and peaceful population be under the painful necessity to sit still and to see their possessions ransacked and pillaged and their near and dear ones killed without being able to raise their hands in defence against these border outlaws? And will the Government quietly acquiesce in this extraordinary arrangement? The marauding parties are generally of small bands, but they are armed to the teeth. Why not relax the provisions of the Arms Act as we have already suggested and allow Hindus to defend their homes and hearths? Allow the Hindus to have arms, we mean with such restrictions as are necessary in the interests of public peace, and teach them to defend their lives and property. They could then beat off the sneaking border outlaws. At present they lie utterly helpless and at the mercy of these ruffians. Lord Morley indeed did right in refusing to sanction the occupation of the tribal territory, for that would have stirred up a conflagration of the jerry buildings. But why neglect the most handy methods of warding off these raids? Let the military outposts be strengthened along the frontier; let the border Police be reinforced; but let the Hindu victims be also armed and let them co-operate with the Police and Military in support of law and order. And if the Government realises this and utilises this reserve force, it will have reared a rampart against which not only marauding tribes, but perhaps, as we have said once more, more subtle and powerful enemies will beat in vain."

17. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 29th August 1908 :—

Frontier affairs. Sedition prosecution and Frontier fanaticism.

"The Indians, or rather the Hindus in particular, are now placed between the two above-mentioned Scylla and Charybdis. Since some time frontier raids have been as rife as prosecutions for sedition, and in both the Hindus have been very great sufferers. But while Government is exerting itself to put down the imaginary horrors of 'sedition' with a strong hand, the real terrors of frontier raids are thriving as brisk as ever notwithstanding two recent expeditions. We have on previous occasions given expression to the popular opinion about these expeditions, and experience is proving that they cannot be of much value in suppressing the lawless spirit of Pathans. These expeditions mean only honours for the officers and a vast expenditure of money, not a little of which goes as contributions to the tribal Maliks and elders as the price of keeping peace. Three serious raids have been reported within the last week, so shortly after the distribution of honours to the Mohmand expeditionary force; and seeing that they are reported in different papers instead of all of them coming to the knowledge of each, the inference seems justifiable that many others go unreported, and those only come to public notice which any newspaper correspondent happens by chance to hear about. An account of one of these was published in our "local" columns of the last issue, in which the raiders carried off two or three persons, including a girl, belonging to a Hindu family from a village near Abazai, while they released another family of Hindus who declared that they had become converted to Muhammadanism. This last fact is a significant one. It not only means that it is the Hindus alone in the Frontier Province who are in danger, but also indicates the probability that Hindu families may have taken refuge in Muhammadanism as the only protection from the hands of the raiders. This is a most serious situation, which it behoves the Hindus of the Punjab to ponder over and enquire into carefully; and our esteemed friends of the Hindu Sabha would, in our humble opinion, show to much better advantage in taking such questions in hand than in deriving reflected glory from visits to Simla or in praying for 'Governmental benefactions' as a price of loyalty and dissociation from politics."

18. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 30th August 1908 :—

Raids on the frontier.

"Rumours of repeated and daring raids on the frontier have, for some time past, been coming thick and fast, and have, with but one solitary exception, been duly confirmed. Villages have been attacked, houses have been looted, persons have been killed, and in one case a boy and girl and in another ten men carried away. This is practically admitted, and the reason so far assigned is smuggling of cheap arms into the tribal territory. No reasonable objection can be taken to the frontier tribes possessing themselves of cheap arms and ammunition, but surely when it comes to raiding peaceful villages and pillaging law-abiding British subjects it is impossible to minimise the gravity of the situation. We are told that there is no development of any importance in those regions, and there is nothing to justify anticipations of extensive trouble. On the whole the border is comparatively quiet, and both in the Bazar and Mohmand country the state of affairs is decidedly better and the Mahsuds are also settling down. The prospect of a good harvest is also expected to keep the recalcitrant tribesmen engaged and thus prevent mischief. But surely these are poor consolations, and as a remedy they can hardly be dignified by the name of prevention. As we have again and again said the situation can hardly be characterised as anything but serious when British subjects are attacked by bands of armed ruffians against whose incursions they are unable to protect themselves for want of arms which they are not permitted to keep. The time has come when the peace-loving and law-abiding British subjects on this side of the frontier were allowed to defend themselves and their hearths and homes, and if need be the frontier, against the encroachment of inhuman and murdering hordes."

## VII.—General Administration.

### *(a)—Judicial.*

19. The *Wafadar* (Lahore), of the 14th August 1908, takes its Hindu contemporaries to task for accusing Mr. Justice Davar of cruelty in transporting Mr. Tilak for six years. Do they know that it is not the first time that the accused has been found guilty of sedition. Part of the sentence passed on him in 1897 was remitted on his assuring Government that he would abstain from writing or speaking on politics in future. He did not, however, keep his word. He not only wrote against Government at a time when the country was in a state of unrest, but went the length of taking up the cudgels on behalf of bomb-throwers. Under the circumstances the complaint of the Hindu Press regarding the severity of the sentence passed on him is nothing short of instigating the people to commit further breaches of the public peace. Mr. Tilak is not a *Mahatma*, an incarnation of God or a leader of the whole country that Hindu newspapers should be justified in defending him with such vigour. It is the general practice that a person contravening the law a second or a third time is severely punished. In conclusion, the paper says that Mr. Tilak has been treated with great leniency in consideration of his advanced age and learning. The law empowered Mr. Justice Davar to transport Mr. Tilak for 10 years or for life, but he has sentenced the accused only to three years' transportation on each charge.

Mr. Tilak's conviction.

20. The *Rajput Gazette* (Lahore), of the 16th August 1908, reports that Fireman Davies of the East Indian Railway kicked to death a *pushka* coolie at the Delhi Station on the 29th July last. After remarking that he is being tried under section 304 of the Indian Penal Code, the paper says that

The Delhi *pushka* coolie's case.

the accused will not escape punishment, provided the coolie did not die of a ruptured spleen. The spleens of coolies, it adds, have a knack of getting ruptured on such occasions.

The Delhi *punkha* coolie's case.

21. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 22nd August 1908, says that incidents such as the death of the *punkha* coolie at Delhi which has just been reported are heard of daily and rend the hearts of the people. The Courts, however, look upon the death of a native as no better than that of a dog. The death of the *punkha* coolie will assuredly be attributed to a rupture of the spleen. It remains to be seen what the doctor will say in his report.

The Delhi *punkha* coolie's case.

22. Writing on the same subject, the *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 18th August 1908, regrets that another *punkha* coolie should have been kicked to death. The authorities fail to realise that the present estrangement between the rulers and the ruled is due more to racial than political reasons. If one white man were hanged once, cases like the one under reference would become a thing of the past, the relations between the people and their present rulers would be greatly improved, and the administration of the country would become a much easier task.

The Delhi *punkha* coolie's case.

23. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 16th August 1908, says that it is but natural that Indians should complain when they are subjected to gross oppression, for there is a limit even to their patience. They can, besides, do nothing beyond bemoaning their helplessness. They dare not even think of revenge, for if they do they have to pay for their impudence with their lives. It is strange that in spite of their patiently enduring the oppression practised on them, they should be accused of using strong and harsh language. One should not enquire into the truth or otherwise of this accusation in India because the country is inhabited by cowards. One should go to a country inhabited by a free, brave and honourable people, and ask them whether the tyrant is he who kicks a fellow-man to death or he who complains on being struck. Indians lack courage as well as a sense of shame. If a member of any other nation had been kicked to death in the manner in which natives are killed by Europeans there would have been a war and lakhs of human beings would have been killed. The brave hold honour dearer than life. Those who have read English history must be aware that the cutting off by Spaniards of the ear of an Englishman named Jenkins was followed by an attack on Spain by an English fleet and in the death of thousands of her sons. Again, if a European is injured in any part of the world his fellow-countrymen lose no time in declaring war (against the offending nation). The civilised world feels that the killing of even one member of a nation means an insult to the whole of that nation. Indians, on the contrary, argue that they have no need to jeopardise their lives in retaliation for the death of one of them. The paper then says :—" Why, O, you shameless Indians, do you feel no shame in regarding those of your own number as strangers and in working your own ruin night and day through your cowardice. O, you shameless creatures (do you know) why Europeans attacked the Chinese ? Because of the murder of only one or two European Missionaries. Three or four (*lit.* two or four) of you are killed every year, but (*lit.* and) this seems to be no concern of yours.

It would be better if, instead of living a life of such disgrace, you were to take poison and kill yourselves. You should not show your shameless faces to the world. You should not bring disgrace on your religion, your country and your forefathers." The Editor then refers to the case in which a Eurasian employé of the Delhi Municipality named Hyde was let off with a fine of Rs. 50 for having kicked a sweeper to death last year. He also makes a reference to the recent assault by the European Accountant in a local bank on a clerk employed under him (*vide* paragraph 26 of Selections No. 31). Next he refers to the recent death of a *punkha* coolie at the hands of a *Sahib* employed at the Delhi Railway station, and says that on being kicked the man "went up to God bearing a complaint against these tyrants." He adds :—

"O, tyrant how terrible is thy kick. God willing, thou shalt go to hell because of thy kicks. It is thy kicks which shall drive thee out of India. O, bloodthirsty one, art thou wholly devoid of pity? Why dost thou oppress the darlings of India in this way? There is still time for thee to mend thy ways. The Day of Judgment is near at hand. How wilt thou be able to show thy face to God? How long hast thou to live that thou committest so many sins? Murderer, thou also wilt be overtaken by death one day. In the next world thou and we shall be equals. Nay thou wilt be subjected to disgrace and humiliation. Thou wilt be punished with repeated flogging there. Thou wilt be told why thou art being beaten. Thou didst flog such and such an Indian; this flogging is on that account. Thou didst kick that Indian; these kicks are given thee in return." A Feringhee murderer, adds the paper, is being prosecuted, but it would be folly to hope that he will be hanged for his crime. It was recently stated by the *Pioneer* that ten natives should be killed for every Englishman done to death in India. How then is it possible that a Feringhee should be executed for killing a native. After exhorting Major Davidson to speak only the truth and not to attribute the death of the *punkha* coolie to a rupture of the spleen, the *Aftab* says that there should be a limit even to oppression. If the general public in India are once convinced that a Feringhee is not punished for killing a native, it is not improbable that they will rebel, and in that event the authorities themselves will be responsible for the unrest. They should not then blame Indians for the oppression practised by themselves. After remarking that since the case is *sub judice* he cannot comment upon it, the Editor says that he can predict the decision that will be arrived at. If Major Davidson deposes in court that the coolie's death was due to a rupture of the spleen the accused will be fined Rs. 100. Mr. Hyde was let off with a fine of Rs. 50, but as there is more unrest in the country now than there was last year, and as the English are in a state of panic, a fine of Rs. 100 will be inflicted in the present case. If, however, Major Davidson fears God and does not attribute the coolie's death to a ruptured spleen, the culprit will be sentenced to 8 or 10 months' rigorous imprisonment. If he is punished more severely it may be inferred that the English are in a state of extreme panic and that India is about to see good days.

The Delhi punkha coolie's case.

24. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 25th August 1908, remarks that the fact that the accused paid on the spot the fine imposed on him shows that he knew beforehand that he would be let off with a small fine. The paper has no doubt that, having regard to the serious nature of the crime

committed by him, Davies has been very lightly punished. After remarking that the gravity of the offence laid at the door of the accused has been admitted even by the Magistrate who tried the case, the paper regrets that the price of a native's life should be fixed so low.

The Jutogh murders.

25. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 16th August 1908, writing about the Jutogh murders, says that it is very fortunate that unlike Corporal Cullen, Indians do not lose their self-control on hearing of the murder of their countrymen. Were they also to follow his example it would become extremely difficult to maintain peace in the country. As it is, natives has not yet fallen so low as not to discriminate between a criminal and an innocent person, and their religion teaches them that it is sinful to injure an innocent person. They feel confident that Cullen cannot escape punishment at the hands of God, although he may succeed in deceiving earthly tribunals by feigning madness. After remarking that the miscarriage of justice in cases like the present case creates far more unrest in the country than the writings of newspapers, the Editor goes on to say that if British soldiers are not prevented from murdering Indians and the *goras* guilty of the crime are not adequately punished, it will not take long to awaken India from her deep sleep. The Native Press has cried itself hoarse, but nothing has yet come of it. He further remarks that the people have to thank themselves alone for the present state of affairs. If incidents like the one in question do not awaken them, then it may be taken for granted that they do not wish to live in this world. If this is not the case why do they not make the smallest sacrifices for the country and why do they not follow the policy of boycott in order to obtain their natural rights from the Government. As long as they do not show that they are a living nation they should not aspire for *swaroj*.

The trial by Jury in India.

26. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 16th August 1908, says that the recent State prosecutions on a fictitious charge of spreading unrest in the country tends to show that Government is determined to exterminate Indian patriots. They also clearly bring out the fact that individual freedom can exist only in a free country. Indians live under a Government whose interests are not identical with theirs. It is not, therefore, a matter of surprise that natives, who are prosecuted by Government, are not dealt with leniently. It requires great moral courage on the part of the Judges to forget that they form part of Government and to place the cause of justice above the interests of Government. In free countries where accused persons are tried by Juries consisting of their fellow-countrymen there is no occasion to appeal against the verdict of Jurors. In India, however, an appeal lies from the verdict of Juries, which should show that in this country a Jury does not serve the same purpose which it does in England. The sacred right of being tried by one's fellow-countrymen is denied to the people of India. As an instance in point, the paper says that the Jury which tried Mr. Tilak was composed of 7 Englishmen and 2 Indians. A Jury like this cannot be considered of any use in any country. How far can it prove beneficial to natives and secure them justice to make foreigners sit in judgment on them in serious cases? The paper then goes on to say that the practice obtaining in India differs materially from that in vogue in England, in that while the verdict of

an English Jury is final and must always be accepted by the Judge, this is not so in India, where the Judge is free to accept or reject the finding of a Jury. This, however, confers no advantage on unfortunate Indians, as is evident from the fact that although Durga Charan Sangal was twice found not guilty by Jurors and Assessors he has been sentenced to four years' imprisonment by the Calcutta High Court. Under these circumstances, the institution of trial by Jury is of no use to Indians. As long as they cannot make their country free they can derive no benefit from the individual freedom enjoyed by them.

Prosecution of Saiyid Hyder Raza under the Press Act.

27. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 16th August 1908, publishes another appeal to its admirers to recoup Saiyid Hyder Raza for the fine of Rs. 200 imposed on him under the Press Act. After remarking that the fine is heavier than those inflicted on the managers of the *Swarajya*, *Hindustan*, and certain other papers for similar offences, the Editor says that the admirers of the *Aftab* can make no better reply to the high-handedness with which the Saiyid has been treated by Government than to recoup him for the fine imposed on him.

(*b*)—*Police.*

A new danger to the people.

28. The *Rozana* (Lahore), of the 14th August 1908, remarks that news is received daily of searches by the police and of the discoveries of bombs in different places. Can this state of affairs, it asks, come to an end and can the bomb be driven out of the country? No, never. The reason for this is that the *Yugantar* has taught thousands how to manufacture bombs; while it is almost impossible for the authorities to arrest all these persons and kill them by making them rot in hellish jails. The infernal bomb will secrectly pass from the hands of political agitators and revolutionists into those of the criminal fraternity and prove instrumental in the ruin and destruction of the people. After remarking that picric acid and fulminate of mercury can be procured by those who wish to obtain them, the Editor says that what is most unfortunate for the country is that the police also have learnt to make bombs and to utilise them for involving people in trouble. They are paid part of the fines imposed in cases under the Excise Act, and in order to secure this paltry sum they have been having innocent persons punished in 99 per cent. of the cases sent up. Whenever they wish to involve a person in trouble they manage to search his house on some pretext. Their victim is so frightened at the sight of these sprites of hell and messengers of death that he forgets to search their persons (before allowing them into his house); and so these black-habited and black-hearted men take some opium or *charas* out of their pockets, place it in the house and put the owner under arrest. As regards the courts, they hasten to convict the poor men sent before them by the police, and the latter receive a share of the fines imposed on the accused. The paper goes on to say that now that Government has promised a reward of Rs. 1,000 to any one who discovers a bomb, and since the authorities are in a state of panic and consider it tantamount to subverting the British Empire in India to exercise their judgment and administer even-handed justice, the police may be relied upon to involve innocent people in trouble in order to secure the promised

rewards. It then goes on to say that no one could have kept bombs in his house after the discovery of the Manicktollah conspiracy and after it had become known to all that a person found in possession of a bomb would be transported to the Andamans. And if there are any persons who are mad enough to still keep bombs in their houses or who thirst for the blood of Englishmen, why do they not throw bombs at the police when their houses are searched and they know that their fate is sealed. The fact is that the persons accused (of having bombs) feel so secure in their innocence that they do not make a thorough search of the persons of the police (before allowing them into their houses), and the result is that the latter succeed in accomplishing their object. It is possible that persons with a suspicious turn of mind or gifted with foresight may think that the police act only on hints from above and get those men imprisoned who are thorns in the side of Government. This may or may not be so, but there is, at all events, no reason why the police should not discover bombs daily when they can procure bombs and know how to manufacture them; when they feel confident of securing the conviction of the accused and know that no suspicion can attach to themselves; when they have the temptation to secure the proffered reward; and when they can pay off old scores and have an excellent opportunity of pleasing the authorities. After enquiring whether there is any one among the people who can consider himself safe in these days of martial law, the *Rozana* complains that unfortunately for the country the authorities and the police have recently been afforded several other facilities. In the first place, the existence of a press depends entirely on their sweet will and a newspaper can live only as long as they will allow it to do so. Again, it is the easiest thing for them to accuse a respectable and independent-minded man with sedition. The police can themselves paste some seditious notices (in public places), arrest some man of straw after 10 or 15 days' pretended search for the offender, and threaten or bribe him into confessing that he had been given the notices to paste by such and such persons. Some five or ten "marked" men can thus be arrested at once and thrown into jail indiscriminately. In short, of late the people have been in an extremely dangerous and critical condition, and every one of them considers his honour, life and property in danger. It would perhaps be seditious to say that India is now being governed on Russian methods; but there can be no doubt that in these days India resembles a conquered country, where the conquerors consider it politic to commit all sorts of excesses in order to establish their prestige and postpone the administration of justice till after the consolidation of their power. The Editor can assert with the fullest confidence that the people regard British rule with feelings of disgust, but not with animosity, as the police have been misleading the authorities and Government to believe. If the people were really inimically disposed towards British rule, which God forbid, Government would not be able to obtain recruits for the police force, because these traitors to the country are also Indians after all. But even if Government were able to find natives to serve as policemen they would soon meet their deserts at the hands of their countrymen. Ninety-five per cent. of the people do not as yet feel dissatisfied with (British rule), although all of them feel very uneasy at Government's disregard for justice. Their eyes are fixed on the future, but they have not given way to despair as yet, and it is the Editor's prayer that they may never lose all hope.

(*d*)—*Education.*

National education.

29. The *Indar* (Lahore) for July (received on the 24th August) 1908 publishes an article on "National Education" from the pen of one Deputy Lal Nigam of Delhi. The writer says that it is a gross mistake on the part of the people to regard education only as a means of earning one's livelihood. Education is meant to better the morals and improve the mode of life of its recipients, as also to teach them their rights and duties. If natives, adds the writer, had been acquainted with their rights and duties from the very outset the political affairs of the country would never have acquired their present complexity. They have always been implicitly obeying the authorities and should not find fault with Government if it does not listen to legitimate criticism from them, even when they have come to realise that they have a right to criticise official measures. When Government deported two of their recognised leaders, *viz.*, Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Ajit Singh, they protested against the step under the impression that they had a right to do so. This was a surprise to Government, because it thought that the semi-savage Indians were ignorant of their rights and duties. And as they had never before demurred to its orders it was at a loss to understand why they should protest against the deportation of their leaders and not praise its despicable conduct in the matter. Government must have felt alarmed at the awakening of the people and at their looking upon themselves as a living nation. The result was that their efforts to secure the release of the deportees led to their being branded as rebels, while all know how it fared with some martyrs in the cause of the nation. Subsequently, however, Government released Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Ajit Singh of its own record, which meant that it cared nothing for public opinion. It did not release them out of regard for the people's right, but at its sweet will. After remarking that a grosser insult cannot be offered to a nation, the writer urges lazy natives to shake off their lethargy and to introduce a system of national education, which will teach the people their rights and duties as also how to demand their rights from Government. He next finds fault with the system of education now obtaining in the country, and remarks that the best way to properly educate the people is to instruct them through the medium of their vernaculars. It may be urged, he adds, that the graduates of national colleges will not be able to secure appointments in Government offices; but those who raise the objection should bear in mind that these graduates will have ample scope for the exercise of their abilities in national factories and other industrial concerns. He then discusses the question of funds required for the establishment of a National University in the country. He is of opinion that if the leaders and other influential persons were to take the matter in hand they would not find it difficult to collect the money needed. The writer also asks Lala Lajpat Rai to devote his energies exclusively to the founding of a National University in the Punjab. He regrets that Sardar Ajit Singh, whom he describes as a lion, should have done nothing for the country since his return from Burma. After thanking the Sardar for his previous services to the country, he urges the Sardar to work for the establishment of a National University in the Punjab, which will not only prove of great help to Panjabi students, but will also raise him in the estimation of Government.

## VII.—General Administration.

### (f)—*Railways and Communications.*

30. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 30th August 1908 :—

A railway complaint. Grievances of 1st and 2nd Class Indian passengers.

"Sir,—On the 7th instant when going to Delhi by the Calcutta Mail I saw in front of the first and second class compartments for Europeans the following words:—'For Europeans only,' while in front of the same compartment for Indians it was written 'Indian gentlemen.' The difference in the two sets of wordings implies that a European may sit in a compartment for Indians, but an Indian cannot do so in a European compartment. In my opinion the word 'only' should also be added after the words 'Indian gentlemen.'

"Yours, &c.,

"CHUNI LAL."

### (h)—*Miscellaneous.*

31. The *Aftab* (Delhi), of the 15th August 1908, publishes a report of a recent interview between Mr. Tancred and Saiyid Haidar Raza in which the former questioned the latter about the proprietorship of the paper. The Superintendent of the Delhi Police, it adds, was wrong in going direct to the Saiyid's house in the first instance. He should have made the necessary inquiries by letter or gone to the house of the Saiyid after having obtained the latter's permission by the same means. The Delhi Police should remember that they also are amenable to some laws, and that if they begin to harass the local public for no reason, there is a fear of the latter being inflamed against them. The Editor then alleges that he has learnt from a reliable source that a warrant of arrest is out against Pandit Ram Chand, late Editor and Proprietor of the *Aftab*. The Pandit, however, went on a pilgrimage to different temples some time ago and will not be back perhaps for another six months, as he intended to visit Thibet, China, and Japan. After remarking that the long-expected prosecution of the *Aftab* is about to take place after all, the Editor writes as follows :—"We welcome the prosecution most gladly. We have always been convinced that if we were solicitous for our well-being, we must offer cupfuls of our blood to our motherland. No nation ever awakes unless its youths are slaughtered before its very eyes. A man only starts to work when his blood boils, rushes to his brain and blinds him. How can we be displeased with anyone unless we have witnessed tyranny and oppression with our own eyes ? The secret of advancing in this world consists in laying down life. If Curzon had not come out to India and practised the brutal oppression he did, India would never have risen from her sleep of negligence. We should all mutually endeavour that every province, city, *muhalla*, lane, and household may be oppressed in the same manner as befell in Eastern Bengal and that Gurkhas should forcibly enter every house and disgrace the inmates. Our salvation lies only in this that we should be trampled upon. We are such shameless brutes that we can never become active unless we are beaten."

The *Aftab* newspaper.

F. ISEMONGER,

*Asst. to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*

*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

SIMLA :
*The 29th August* 1908.

Punjab Government Branch Press, Simla.—7-9-08—279—97.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 36. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 5th September 1908.**

---

## CONTENTS.


Page.

I —POLITICS.

*(a)—Foreign—*

*Nil.*

*(b)—Home—*

1. Pensioners and political agitation *(Tribune)* ... 535
2. Murder of Narendra Nath Gossain *(Panjabee)* ... 536
3. Government and the people *(Hindustan)* ... 537
4. Government and the people *(Indar)* ... ... 538

II.—AFGHANISTAN AND TRANS-FRONTIER.

5. Recent Mohmand raids into the British territory *(Akhbar i 'Am)* ... ... ... ... 538
6. Recent Mohmand raids into the British terrirory *(Hindustan)* ... ... ... ... *ib*

III.—NATIVE STATES.

*Nil.*

IV.—KINE-KILLING.

*Nil.*

V.—NATIVE SOCIETIES AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

7. Recent Muhammadan deputation to Sir Louis Dane *(Jhang Sial)* ... ... ... ... 539

VI.—LEGISLATION.

8. Mysore Press Act *(Tribune)* ... ... ... 539

Page.

VII.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

*(a)—Judicial—*

9. The Jutogh murder *(Panjabee)* ... ... 540
10. The Delhi punkha coolie case *(Tribune)* ... 541
11. The Delhi punkha coolie case *(Panjabee)* ... *ib.*
12. The Delhi punkha coolie case *(Hindustan)* ... 542
13. The Delhi punkha coolie case *(Haq Pasand)* ... *ib.*
14. The *Jhang Sial* libel cases *(Jhang Sial)* ... ... *ib.*

*(b)—Police—*

*Nil.*

*(c)—Municipal and Cantonment affairs—*

*Nil.*

*(d)—Education—*

*Nil.*

*(e)—Agriculture and questions affecting the land—*

*Nil.*

*(f)—Railways and Communications—*

*Nil.*

*(g)—Postal matters—*

*Nil.*

*(h)—Miscellaneous—*

*Nil.*

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 36. ]

# SELECTIONS
FROM THE
# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS
## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 5th September 1908.**

---

## I.—Politics.

### (*b*)—*Home.*

1. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 2nd September 1908 :—

**Pensioners and political agitation.**

"The latest issue of the *Central Provinces Gazette* contains the announcement of a Government Pension having been forfeited by order of Government for participation 'in political agitation directed against the Government of a kind inconsistent with that loyalty and good behaviour subject to which all pensions are granted by the Government.'

* * * * * * *

"The facts contained in the notification may be analysed as follows:—That the said person to whom the notification refers is a pensioned Tahsildar, in other words, that he earned his pension in Government service from which he retired as Tahsildar; that he engaged in political agitation *directed against Government* of a kind inconsistent with loyalty and good behaviour which is a necessary condition precedent towards the enjoyment of Government pension: and lastly that a warning was given to him some time before, which he ignored. Now it must be recognised that a pension is earned by a long and unbroken service for the best part of life—indeed it is the fortunate few that live to enjoy it, and very rarely for a long period so far as Indians are concerned, and we think no harder step could be taken by Government than forfeiting a man's hard-earned pension, earned in most cases by the sweat of his brow, and generally the main support of his old age, and a provision for his family and children, and it will be admitted that such an action should not be resorted to except under the most flagrant circumstances, as it not only deprives a man of something to which he has become entitled by his past services, but may also be open to misconception. Then again we should like to know if the warning given to the offending pensioner included the threat that in case he did not desist from the course objected to, his pension would be forfeited, for on a general threat the step should not be sanctioned.

"It is a pity the notification does not specify the exact nature of the conduct which has brought this displeasure of Government, for the information of the person concerned as well as other government pensioners. We should again like to know if it is merely political work of a lawful and constitutional character that has been regarded as objectionable in the case in question and whether the Provincial Government has taken the view that the restrictions which apply to Government officials in actual harness should continue to be imposed on them even after they have retired, for this would be a most objectionable interpretation and pensioned people have always been permitted to take their legitimate share in civic and political activities. But if the activities objected to have related to something transgressing lawful and constitutional agitation, the Central Provinces Government would have lost nothing by taking the people at large into confidence. For if the person in question had been guilty of sedition or participation in acts of violence or revolutionary propaganda, he would most probably, like many others, have

been brought to trial, and we cannot help expressing the opinion that the real danger in such cases is that an innocent man engaged in legitimate constitutional work may be condemned and punished on the basis of departmental or police reports towards the close of a life-long career, although there may not be a little of evidence to charge him in Court. We have no desire to contend that cases are not conceivable where Government may not be within their rights in acting under this provision, but we do think that the less they resort to this exceptional procedure the better and it is essential in the public interest that when they do so, all the details available should be placed at the disposal of the public and the individual concerned to make it possible for him to rebut them. The *Pioneer* is right glad at the forfeiture of pension in this case, and hints that its application should not be confined to ex-Deputy Collectors, but that it should be extended to ex-Collectors and ex-Commissioners as well. The absurdity of the suggestion is self-evident and Sir Henry Cotton and his Anglo-Indian colleagues in the Commons and outside Parliament might snap their fingers at the ill-conceived suggestion of depriving them of their pension for standing up for the cause of righteousness and justice. And in the long run the Government may be trusted to appreciate the difference between wise critics and foolish eulogists.

2. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 5th September 1908 :—

Murder of Narendra Nath Gossain.

"The murder of Narendra Nath Gossain, the Approver in the Calcutta Bomb case, by two of his fellow-prisoners, is one of those incidents in the history of crime which betoken a most deplorable state in the social and political atmosphere, and which should mark the beginning of steady and combined efforts on the part of all to give a new turn to the order of things. * * * That Hindu boys, Bengalis in particular, would be led to adopt methods and means so dangerous and desperate for fanciful relief against what they believe to be political or individual wrongs, would not have been even dreamed a twelve month ago. To-day, however, it is a patent fact, and the reality surpasses even the most audacious conceptions that might have been thought possible for the luxuriant imagination of the untrained youth fed on the blood-and-thunder stories of the Far West. What can have led to such a phenomenal development, such a sudden change from national traditions? Not that we believe there is a general spread of the dare-devil spirit in the country; but the fact that a number of intelligent youths, belonging to the best classes, some of them apparently possessing faculties intellectual and moral that might have been put to the highest uses under proper training, should have been drawn into paths abhorrent to the natural instincts of their countrymen, and bestrewn with dangers for themselves, is a problem that cannot be lightly shelved. No single cause, political, social, or religious, will account for it, nor even the individual proclivities of the persons concerned, seeing that they have been drawn from such varied sources. There must be a combination of causes at the bottom, which it behoves both the rulers and the thoughtful amongst ourselves to probe into. It will not do to dismiss the matter simply as a crime committed by hair-brained youths, or as a case of race-conflict in which each side should do its best to throw the blame upon the other. The problem is as much a psychological as a social or political one.

"The approver's is a character that is seldom calculated to excite respect or sympathy, yet no well-ordered mind can have failed to be shocked at the tragic manner in which Narendra Gossain has met with his death. Nor can the motive of his murderers be explained by the standards of character which those concerned in the Bomb affair seem to have set up for themselves. If they were for giving his deserts to one whom they regarded as a traitor, it might have been expected to be apparent to them that the effects of such a shocking deed would redound upon their other comrades and throw fresh suspicions upon them, implicating even those who might be wholly innocent. Nor was their country, to which they believe themselves to be devoted, likely to be benefited in the least by their action, for the country as a whole, even where not effusively and demonstratively loyalist, has disclaimed connection with their plans

and policy, and no Indian in his senses is prepared to derive reflected glory from such manifestations of the determination 'to do or die.' But, as we have said, this Bomb affair has brought to light types of character which it is for psychologists and sociologists to study. They can no more be dismissed as mere criminals than they are to be adored as saints and martyrs. The character of Narendra Gossain is a mixture of cunning and simplicity unique in itself, for only a simpleton would have allowed himself to be decoyed into the trap in which he was caught. But not the least inexplicable in this connection is the conduct of the Jail authorities, whose utter light-heartedness only can have made the tragic occurrence possible. Not to speak of the smuggling of revolvers with several rounds of ammunition, which speaks of the utmost laxity in jail discipline, it was criminal folly on their part to allow Narendra Gossain to repair without guard and protection into close proximity with men who could not but bear the bitterest feelings against him. Even if the existence of revolvers could not be suspected, it might have been supposed to be understood that the desire for revenge can effect its object with a pen-knife or even with a pin. Apparently, they had thought that all his fellow-prisoners were as simple and coaxable as Narendra Gossain himself. The fact cannot be concealed that it was the anxiety to secure fresh confessions and get as many of the prisoners as possible to turn round upon their comrades that made the jail authorities neglect all precautions in their eagerness. This fact cannot but redound to the discredit of the said authorities, and perhaps of the Government also. Not only have they failed to give protection to the man, who simply for the sake of the protection turned informer against his confederates, but they have been the indirect means of the committal of a fresh crime and two more lives being brought nearer to the gallows. This gruesome incident will invest this whole business of trying to secure conviction by means of approvers with the most painful associations. The theory set up that the revolvers were probably smuggled in by means of the loose garments of lady visitors is not simply absurd, but atrocious. The lady friends of the prisoners had already enough of anxieties on the latter's behalf, and must be supposed to have been absorbed in praying for their release rather than busy in helping them into still greater perils. There is no getting round the fact that the Jail authorities have gone about their business in an entirely loose and light-hearted manner, forgetting that what was a matter of mere routine duty to them involved questions of life and death to a number of men who could not be supposed to be moved by the motives and desires, the hopes and fears, of the ordinary criminal."

Government and the people.

3. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 28th August 1908, says that in his speech on the occasion of the last Indian budget debate in the Commons Mr. Keir Hardie stated that the unrest in India had very much to do with England's unredeemed promises to natives. It then continues by saying that if the pledges made to the people by the Crown and various British statesmen from time to time had been honestly fulfilled there would not have been any unrest in the country now. If Indians had really been given the status of British subjects and had been treated as such in all parts of the world they would not have felt their present condition of subjection and would have had nothing to say against British rule. After referring to the aforesaid pledges, the paper says that if they had been fulfilled there would have been no necessity for the people to complain against Government now or to point out defects in British rule nor would Government have been forced, under a sense of exasperation, to send to Jail the utterers of unpleasant truth. *Hindustan* next quotes an extract from a despatch from Lord Lytton when Viceroy of India in which he charged Government with having converted the Royal proclamation of 1858 into a dead letter with the aid of trickery. It then goes on to say that Indians cannot be called seditious for urging Government to treat them in accordance with the pledges made to them. Seditionaries are those who are contemptible

enough to make efforts to prevent the fulfilment of the sacred promises in question. It reflects unspeakable shame on the British that the promises made by their Sovereign to a subject people remains unredeemed. After remarking that new promises are being made to extend the rights of Indians, the paper says that the same should be made conscientiously and with a desire to fulfil them. In conclusion, it says that if all the promises made to the people were filled there would be no unrest in India.

Government and the people.

4. The *Indar* (Lahore), for August 1908, observes that now-a-days Government resembles a man whom long illness has rendered extremely irritable. Such patients feel a desire to destroy every one who acts in opposition to their wishes. Similarly to criticise any action of Government in the present day is to wilfully involve ourself in trouble. It is dangerous to characterise as oppressive punishments which have been inflicted on Editors by Government. It is therefore politic to speak of them as acts of kindness on the part of the authorities. The journal then says that the greatest of the acts of kindness performed by Government in July last has been done in favour of Chidambaram Pillai, who has been transported for life on a charge of disseminating sedition. It next refers to the sentences passed on Siva and Tilak, the Editors of the *Kal* and the *Swarajya*, and the printer of the *Yugantar*. After observing that it is not known who are to be the recipients of favours from Government, he regrets that the flower of the Indian intellect should be made to rot in jails or in the Andamans.

## II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

Recent Mohmand raids into the British territory.

5. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* (Lahore), of the 27th August 1908, writing about the recent Mohmand raids into the country round Peshawar, says that the raiders have carried off two Hindus as prisoners. It is apparent from these raids that Hindus who live in the neighbourhood of the Mohmand territory are exposed to great danger. After stating that the captives have not been released as yet, the paper enquires whether Government does not consider itself responsible for their safety. It then goes on to say that the Hindus on the frontier look for protection to Government alone and that it will assuredly go hard with them if the authorities allow them to be plundered by frontier dacoits. Moreover raids like those under reference are bound to lower the prestige of Government and thereby deprive it of its most valuable asset. If the Mohmand expedition had proved a success, tribal raids into British territory would not have been committed again so soon. In conclusion, the paper urges the Chief Commissioner of the Frontier Province to look into the matter without delay.

Recent Mohmand raids into the British territory.

6. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 28th August 1908, writing about the recent Mohmand raids into the British territory, remarks that the Mohmand expedition has proved barren of result. It is a pity that the authorities should be powerless to protect the lives and property of Hindus who reside on the frontier. If the savage frontier tribes had been treated properly tribal raids into the British territory would not have become the order of the day. Leniency is thrown away on tribesmen and is construed

as weakness by these savages. Their lenient treatment by Government has whetted their spirit of *jehad and ghazi-ism* against Hindus who are British subjects. It is the bounden duty of Government to put them down with a strong hand.

## V.—Native Societies and Religious Matters.

Recent Muhammadan deputation to Sir Louis Dane.

7. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 29th August 1908, says that although the ostensible object of the Muhammadan deputation which recently waited on Sir Louis Dane was to congratulate His Honour on his appointment to his present post no Indian is ignorant of the ulterior motive with which such deputations have been waiting on the heads of administrations. The paper then goes on to say that in the course of his reply to the address presented to him by the deputation Sir Louis Dane remarked that English would become the *lingua franca* of India in a few years and that this was desirable from commercial and other standpoints. It is surprising, says the *Jhang Sial*, that His Honour should have forgotten the lesson taught by history that nations which have discarded their mother tongue have been swept off the face of the earth. Therefore if natives cease to use their own language the efforts that are being made to improve the political condition of the country will assuredly prove futile. The Editor further remarks that if the prophecy made by His Honour is fulfilled the Indian nation is undoubtedly doomed to destruction. He next calls upon young Indians to shake off their lethargy and to preserve their vernaculars and national history.

## VI.—Legislation.

Mysore Press Act.

8. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of 2nd September 1908 :—

"The model state of Mysore was singularly ill-advised in undertaking and rushing through its far-reaching press legislation, for its terrible effects are already becoming visible. Day after day flashes the news that such and such a paper has shut its doors and ceased publication after giving vent to its conviction that under the changed state of things introduced by the new Press Act it has become impossible to conduct an independent organ true to the people and loyal to the Maharaja. The *Mysore Herald*, which had the painful task of writing its obituary notice after a useful and sustained existence of a quarter of a century, said that the fate of the newspapers henceforth rested in the hands of the executive whose actions they had to criticise and it became manifestly impossible for a newspaper under these circumstances to be true to its high calling. And the latest telegram to hand brings the painful intelligence that the *Mysore Standard* too has followed suit into the dark unknown by ceasing to exist. So far as it is permissible to say at this distance the last-named paper has been a bright and vivacious paper anxious to advocate the cause of the Mysoreans, in a bold and independent tone, and yet thoroughly loyal to the ruler of the State and entirely respectful towards him. It is indeed regrettable that such a paper should find it impossible to continue, and with all deference it must be said with great pain that the measure against the press does not by any means redound to the credit of the administration or the seasoned statesman at the helm of affairs. The mere fact that journals cease to exist in a state hardly reflects on the purity and salubrity of the atmosphere or the healthy and normal conditions of life that pervades in it, precisely as the burning or extinguishing of a lamp in a well signifies the healthy or poisoned condition of the air within it. And we have noticed with deep regret that the state of Mysore, which has justly won the title of "the Model State" in the past, should have come to this pass under its present admittedly enlightened ruler and his able and resourceful Dewan. And the sad results that have followed so

promptly on the wake of the recent legislation in the stoppage of as many as five papers cannot but convince those responsible that it has come as a veritable extinguisher on the Mysore Press. And it is deplorable that an indigenous administration like that of Mysore should have proceeded to lengths that British Indian Legislature has yet refused to sanction. And it will have to be admitted here that thanks to Lord Morley's intervention the press in British India has escaped some of those rigours in the law which the administration of Mysore, free from such moderating influence, has hastened to incorporate in its legislation with such dire results."

* * * * *

## VII.—General Administration.

### *(a)—Judicial.*

9. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore) of the 2nd September 1908 :—

The Jutogh murder case.

"We print the judgment of Mr. Rose, Sessions Judge, in this case as well as a letter on the subject from a resident of Simla. We understand an appeal has been filed on behalf of the accused Karim Khan in the Chief Court. It is a risky as well as ungracious thing to speak a word on behalf of one who has been charged with and convicted of murder, and we can have no motive or reason for sympathising with the accused in this case. But our attention has been drawn to certain features of the case which strongly suggest that in the interests of justice further light requires to be thrown on its facts. The correspondent whose letter we publish points out that the blanket in which the deceased was said to have been wrapped when shot did not show the least traces of blood. If, as was alleged by the prosecution, it had been washed by an officer's nurse, the question then arises how could it dry in the short time by which it came in the hands of the police, and what led the nurse in question to wash it so soon after the occurrence and before it was made over to the police, containing as it did one of the strongest proofs of the crime. The Sessions Judge also makes certain remarks from which it is plain that there are points in the case which require to be cleared up. 'The precise circumstances of the crime are obscure,' he remarks, and more than once in course of the short judgment he confesses to being puzzled as to how the accused got into the nurse's bed room. The finding of the cartridges on the accused, he further remarks, 'cuts both ways,' and 'the finding of the gun proves nothing' against him. Further, 'his conduct in running away might conceivably be explained by the fact that he had robbed his master of Rs. 15 in cash.' It is upon the dying statement of the deceased that the Judge entirely bases the conviction, but this statement was taken down not by a magistrate, but by one Captain Hull, and was not signed by the deceased."

* * * * * * * *

"'*The Jutogh murder case.*

"'The Jutogh murder case came up for trial before the Sessions Judge and the assessors at Simla on the 24th August and the assessors having found the accused guilty of murder sentence of death has been passed by the Sessions Judge upon the accused. It was said by the prosecution that the gun and 15 cartridges were found as early as 6 A. M. on the morning of 31st July, *i. e.* a few hours after the occurrence, at the kilns by a servant of the Forest Department. One would therefore naturally ask the question why the gun and the catridges were safely deposited by the accused at the *kilns*, why he did not simply hurl them down the steep *khud*, where their clue would never have been found and which would not have involved the trouble of going round to the kilns and thus losing the time which was so much valuable to the accused when running from being arrested. The blanket in which the deceased, it is said, was wrapped when shot was also produced in court. It was said it was all soaked with blood and had a whole in it, said to be the hole made by the shot. But when produced in court it was quite clean, it being said in reply to a question that it had been washed by the European nurse of a certain officer. It may have been washed, but how it dried up so soon, *i. e.* before it was handed over to the Police within two hours, is a wonder.

"'Wonder of wonders, that the faint cries of the dying woman were heard by the servants whose quarters are said to be at a distance of 15 paces from the room where the occurrence took place, but the sound of the gun was neither heard by them nor it even created an alarm in the Cantonment. It is further in the evidence that when the report of the occurrence was first taken to Captain Thatcher by his servants they told him that the nurse was ill; they did not say that she had been shot.

"'Are these not matters for enquiry?

"'Yours, &c.,

"'*Simla August, 26th.* SPECTATOR."

10. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 1st September 1908 :—

The Delhi punkha coolie case.

"We need scarcely tell Government that the result of the Delhi punkha coolie case has given rise to great disappointment. Cases such as these go a long way to injure the prestige of our courts. We all know that faith in British justice and British righteousness is one of the strongest factors—if indeed it is not the strongest factor—contributing to the strength and solidarity of British rule in India. We do not at all exaggerate matters when we say that one case like that of Delhi does infinitely more harm to Government than the most seditious and scurrilous articles or speeches imaginable. The masses of the people have both eyes and ears. They see and hear that a man has lost his life immediately after a kick administered to him by another; that the assailant is awarded no greater punishment than a month's imprisonment and a hundred rupees fine. They imagine also that the punishment has been inadequate because the assailant was a European. They, under the circumstances, are not much to blame if they entertain the belief that in cases between Europeans and Indians the former do not meet with their full deserts. If Lord Minto and Morley could overhear the talk about the Delhi case that is being indulged in Indian bazars, they would certainly feel startled. In private and informal talk our countrymen do not mince matters, and this is true of even those who in their meetings with officials adopt a reserve quite foreign to both their habit and nature. No Government can prevent assaults of the kind which gave rise to the Delhi case, but a strong Government can ensure, and we think it is its duty to do so, that the law is administered in such a stringent manner as to secure the adequate punishment of the offenders no matter what their nationality, creed or position in life."

11. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 2nd September 1908 :—

The Delhi punkha coolie case.

"In the Delhi punkha coolie case the Magistrate's judgment, which we have printed in full, it is again the inevitable 'enlarged spleen' that was responsible for the fatal issue of the assault by Fireman Davies on Karan Singh. The medical evidence was that 'death was due to hœmorrhage resulting from the rupture of the spleen. The deceased man's spleen was enlarged, weighing nearly three times as much as a normal spleen.' We do not dispute the correctness of the *post mortem* examination or the truth of the Civil Surgeon's statement. But seeing that the instances of death of Indians caused by rupture of the spleen, due to assaults by Europeans on punkha coolies or similar menials, are by no means infrequent, is it not time that some measures were adopted to check the evil? The Government has in recent times thought fit to pass the Explosives Act, the Newspaper Sedition Act, and other measures with a view to stop the spread of disaffection. But many are the persons of eminence, European as well as Indian, who have borne testimony to the fact that one of the most fruitful causes of the discontent which ripens into disaffection is the number of fatal assaults committed on Indians by Europeans which are so lightly punished because of the death being found to be due to 'ruptured spleen.' In the case under notice Magistrate Mr. Burdon, while characterising

the assault as 'brutal,' finds reason for mitigation of punishment in the fact that the death of Karan Singh was due purely and simply to the ruptured spleen, an eventuality which, according to the medical evidence, might 'easily have occurred without any blow being struck.' The public, however, will not be so easily satisfied with the argument. The fact is patent that Karan Singh, notwithstanding his enlarged spleen, had lived up to about 50 years of age. It cannot be said that he had never before received a fall or blow in his life, nor had had any tussle with any fellow-Indian over little matters such as men of his class are known often to have. And yet he was living and going about his business as if nothing was the matter with him. And the same may be said of most Indians who have been found by Courts to have died of ruptured spleen resulting from the blows of Europeans while one can hardly recollect a case in which an Indian's blow was the cause of such fatal rupture. The inference therefore seems clear that there is something in the blow of the vigorous and able-bodied European which in the frail constitution of the Indian facilitate the rupture of his enlarged spleen. Although the law may justifiably treat the offences as 'simple hurt,' the results are generally of a 'grievous' nature such as is associated with the idea of 'violence.' If therefore the Government is sincerely anxious to put a stop to discontent and disaffection, the stopping of these spleen ruptures is one of the measures that it behoves it to adopt. The object cannot be gained by merely issuing a circular insisting on exemplary punishment in such cases, for that would be executive interference with the discretion of judicial officers. There should be an amendment of the Penal Code prescribing a minimum of punishment which should be sufficiently deterrent. In all seriousness therefore, and not in a spirit of carping or jest, we suggest the introduction into the Legislature of something like a Spleen Rupture Prevention Act as a measure calculated to stop the growth of disaffection."

The Delhi punkha coolie's case.

12. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 28th August 1908, remarks that the fireman who killed a punkha coolie at Delhi has been sentenced to undergo one month's imprisonment and to pay a fine of Rs. 100. "This" it adds, "is the price of a native's life. Fie on such justice."

The Delhi punkha coolie's case.

13. Writing about the Delhi punkha coolie's case, the *Haq Pasand* (Amritsar), of the 21st August 1908, deeply regrets the occurrence of such incidents, on the ground that the present estrangement between the rulers and the ruled is not due to political agitation, but to racial hatred. It adds that if one white man guilty of killing a native were punished with death, cases like this would assuredly become unknown and a marked improvement would take place in the relations between the people and their British masters, and it would become much easier for Government to carry on the administration of the country.

The *Jhang Sial* cases.

14. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 29th August 1908, publishes an open letter to Mr. Harcourt, in which the Editor says that there are some traitors in the Jhang district who are not only always ready to cause the throats of the people to be cut, but also feel no hesitation in injuring Government and the authorities. Mr. Harcourt has been fascinated by the sweet words of these traitors and the result is that innocent people are in trouble, the respectable are being disgraced and the selfish are having a good time of it. Matters have come to such a pass that the so-called friends of the Deputy Commissioner have been serving their selfish ends under cover of his name. The Editor then goes on to say that Lala Atma Ram, Honorary Magistrate, has been going about saying that he has only prosecuted the *Jhang Sial* for

defamation in deference to the wishes of Mr. Harcourt. Some respectable residents of Jhang recently tried to arrange a compromise in this case, but they were told by the Lala that the matter should first be discussed with the Deputy Commissioner lest that officer should believe that the mere rumour of his transfer from Jhang had prompted the complainant to hasten to effect a compromise. These words show clearly enough that the prosecution was launched at the instance of Mr. Harcourt and that it is only with his permission that the case can be compromised. If this is really so, it is a matter for regret that the head of a district should have stooped to such mean conduct. It was solely in the performance of his journalistic duties that the Editor commented on the case in which the Deputy Commissioner caused a student to be beaten for having failed to salaam him. His writings about the careless manner in which Mr. Wakefield constructed the road and about the Deputy Commissioner's silence in the matter were prompted from the same consideration. Mr. Harcourt should certainly have taken up these matters carefully and not have become a mortal enemy of the Editor. If the prosecutions launched against the Editor were not instituted at the instigation of the Deputy Commissioner, the latter should make a public declaration to this effect in order to undeceive the people and remove the influence which the allegation now exercises on the Magistrates who are trying the cases. After remarking that the greatest grievance at present voiced in the country is that the courts do not administer even-handed justice, the Editor concludes by calling upon Mr. Harcourt to clear his position.

F. ISEMONGER,

*Asst. to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*
*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

SIMLA :
*The 5th September* 1908.

Punjab Government Branch Press, Simla.—11-9-08—299—97.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 37. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

**Received up to 12th September 1908.**

---

## CONTENTS.


Page.

I.—POLITICS.

*(a)—Foreign—*

1. The Turkish Revolution *(Panjabee)* ... ... 545
2. The Turkish constitution *(Parkash)* ... ... 546
3. The Chinese constitution *(Paisa Akhbar)* ... *ib*
4. Ill-treatment of Indians in America *(Haq Pasand)* ... 547

*(b)—Home—*

5. British rule in India *(Civil and Military News)* ... 547
6. The situation in India *(Hindustan)* ... ... 548
7. The situation in India *(Parkash)* ... ... 549
8. An objectionable poem *(Wafadar)* ... ... 550
9. The Ahmadis and anarchism *(Hakam)* ... ... 551
10. Forfeiture of a retired Tahsildar's pension for participation in disloyal agitation *(Paisa Akhbar)* ... *ib.*
11. Forfeiture of a retired Tahsildar's pension for participation in disloyal agitation *(Akhbar-i-'Am)* ... *ib.*

II.—AFGHANISTAN AND TRANS-FRONTIER.

*Nil.*

III.—NATIVE STATES.

12. Grievances of the subjects of Native States *(Akhbar-i-Am)* ... ... ... ... ... 553

IV.—KINE-KILLING.

*Nil.*

V.—NATIVE SOCIETIES AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

13. The Arya Samaj *(Parkash)* ... ... ... 553

Page.

VI.—LEGISLATION.

*Nil.*

VII.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

*(a)—Judicial—*

14. The Delhi punkha coolie's case *(Vakil)* ... ... 556
15. The Delhi punkha coolie's case *(Haq Pasand)* ... *ib.*
16. Mr. Iyer's release *(Tribune)* ... ... ... *ib.*
17. Mr. Iver's release *(Panjabee)* ... ... ... 557
18. The *Jhang Sial* libel cases *(Jhang Sial)* ... ... *ib.*

*(b)—Police—*

*Nil.*

*(c)—Municipal and Cantonment affairs—*

*Nil.*

*(d)—Education—*

19. National Education *(Hindustan)* ... ... 557

*(e)—Agriculture and questions affecting the land—*

*Nil.*

*(f)—Railways and Communications—*

*Nil.*

*(g)—Postal matters—*

*Nil.*

*(h)—Miscellaneous—*

*Nil.*

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 37. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 12th September 1908.**

---

## I.—Politics.

### (a)—*Foreign.*

1. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 12th September 1908 :—

**The Turkish Revolution.**

"The account which we print in another page of the manner in which Turkey's constitutional revolution has been brought about, the events which preceded it in the past and those which led immediately to it, will undoubtedly read like a chapter of romance. It has suddenly swung the old world into line with the new, yet there is in the rapid transition all the elements of a careful preparation and a natural evolution, under which the bold scheme and daring deed that are generally associated with Revolutions have had a comparatively lesser part. It will be seen that the Constitution is thirty years old from its conception, having been first promised by Murad Pasha in 1878, and it has all these years remained in a state of suspended animation, as it were, to spring out into sudden life under favourable circumstances. During these three decades—the lifetime of a generation—men who have given birth to the Young Turkish party have sighed for it and laboured for it until the party grew strong enough to wrest it from the Sultan's uncertain hands almost without a struggle. There is in the history of this movement lessons alike for the people and the Government of India. The former should see that a constitutional form of Government may be won without bloodshed and seismic convulsions in the body politic if the process of education and organisation be kept up steadily, even if slowly. It will appear from the account published how the Young Turks, educated in Western Europe, kept up their propaganda, with immense pluck and resourcefulness, until they brought over to their side everyone in the country who could think. For the last eight years no effort had been spared to familiarise the Army and its officers with the principles of Constitutionalism. Indeed, so quiet has been the process that even on the eve of the Revolution the leaders of the new movement were not fully aware of their chances of success, and it was only when by sounding they found the Army almost to a man for the change, that they knew the battle to be practically won. And thus it is that the change from Autocracy into Constitutionalism in Turkey may be said to be capable of being described in the memorable words—*Veni, Vidi, Vici*. It is true that the Army being in the hands of the Reformers meant an element of force, pregnant with possibilities of bloodshed if any resistance had been offered, and the chances of civil strife are probably not yet over. There was also the necessity of shooting down one or two men of the old party who, if left alive, might have worked mischief. Still there is no gainsaying the fact that the reformers have from the beginning sought to attain their object by peaceful methods and have never resorted to terrorism as a means to their end. If one or two shots had to be fired, it was after the work of organisation had become complete, only by way as it were of offering a sacrifice at the altar of Justice and Righteousness in atonement for the sins of a generation of miscreants. The men were shot in open assembly and not in the dark by unseen hands, so that there was no danger of the reformer being confounded with the

assassin and the dark stain of the shedding of innocent or useless blood being cast upon the propaganda. Compare the success of this bloodless movement with the fruitless efforts of the Nihilists of Russia.

"For the Government in this country there is lesson in the Turkish Revolution, as to how men who have been brought up under theocratic and autocratic influences, and surrounded by the corruption supposed to be inseparable from Oriental life, may develop an aptitude for democratic associations and a fitness for profiting by whatever is good in modern civilizati on.

* * * * * * * *

"It is a 'wonderful Revolution,' as the *Westminster Gazette* calls it, in every sense, and English writers are the foremost in declaring that everything is going on 'miraculously well' in the changed Turkey without the surface of society being disturbed even by a ripple. 'The whole system is changed as if in the twinkling of an eye.' Yet Englishmen will insist that Orientals are incapable of self-government, and that the Indians, who as a people are much more enlightened than the Turks, and with whom the Panchayat system is an ancient institution, must go through centuries of training before they can be entrusted with the management of their own affairs. And, strange enough, there are Indians who are found to echo this disgusting cant."

The Turkish constitution.

2. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 1st September 1908, publishes a paragraph under the heading "our rulers should learn a lesson from the (recent) events in Turkey."

Reports are being daily received from Turkey that peace now reigns supreme in that country; that the followers of different religions have been fraternising of late; that strikes have come to an end and labourers have resumed work, and that crime has greatly decreased at Constantinople. After remarking that there can be no better proof of the popularity of the new *régime* in Turkey, the paper enquires whether Anglo-Indian officers will now continue to iterate that since India is inhabited by people who profess different faiths, it is impossible to grant *Swaraj*. These officers are blinded by self-interest. To burden Indians with the administration of their country will be certain to create a sense of responsibility in the different sections of the population and make them discontinue fighting with one another. God grant that the authorities may soon realise that (the love of) liberty is a natural feeling which it is inadvisable to suppress! They should foster it with the aid of education and fit Indians to govern themselves at no distant date.

The Chinese constitution.

3. In a paragraph headed "Constitutional Government in China" the *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 7th September 1908, says that the grant of a Parliament to the Chinese constitutes one of the most important events in the history of the world and will, in a decade or two, result in an accession of great strength to the Celestial Empire, which will affect not only the whole of Asia, but the Continent of Europe as well. After remarking that this is what European writers and journalists have been calling "The yellow peril" for a long time past, the Editor says that the establishment of a constitutional government in several Asiatic countries cannot but affect India also. The authorities in India who have the country's destinies in their hands cannot escape the influence of the change.

4. The *Haq Pasand* (Amritsar), of the 1st September 1908, publishes an article under the heading "An exposure," in the course of which the writer reports the proceedings of a secret meeting alleged to have been held in an American village with the object of expelling Hindus from the place. The meeting was addressed by one Mr. Smith, who stated that he was an agent of the California Union League, which had been formed with the object of turning all Asiatic labourers out of the United States. He added that there were already 50 Indians in the village and that the number was certain to increase daily. If the residents of the place did not quickly bestir themselves to remedy the evil, the day would assuredly come when their wives and children would have to starve and Indian labourers would hold the field to the exclusion of all others. On the conclusion of the speech one of the white labourers present suggested that if three or four Indians were shot that very night the rest would hasten to leave the place the following day. The plan was approved of by eight or ten men, one of whom remarked that the white labourers in Africa were in the habit of according the same treatment to Asiatics. Mr. Clarke, however, in whose house the meeting was held, said, "Friends, everything should be done after careful consideration. We should proceed in such a manner that the snake may be killed and the stick may also be saved. It is true that in Africa Hindus are subjected to ill-treatment of this kind, but we are Americans. To do such things openly would bring disgrace on the American nation." His suggestion was that the boys of the village should be encouraged to annoy, abuse and beat every Indian who might pass through the streets. It was also decided that the white mill hands should go on strike the next day and refuse to work with Indians. The writer then goes on to say that both plans were put into operation and that more than 30 Indians left the village in one day. In conclusion, he condemns the treatment of Indians by Americans as mean and unjust, but adds that different classes of natives treat one another no better.

Ill-treatment of Indians in America.

(*b*)—*Home.*

5. The *Civil and Military News* (Ludhiana), of the 7th September 1908, publishes an article headed "A comparison between the past and present systems of administration." It states that the political aim that is most cherished in the present day by the people of every country is to secure a constitutional form of government. This is true of Indians also. It is, however, necessary to enquire first of all what kind of self-government is desired by them and on what principles the administration of the country was based in the ancient days. In other words, it should be ascertained whether they like the sort of self-government enjoyed by them in the past or whether they like their present political status better. After quoting extracts from a pamphlet written by Chanikya describing the methods of administration in vogue under Chandragupta, the Editor observes that a comparison of these methods with those followed by the British Government reveals the latter's immense superiority over the former. Even a hundredth part of the security of life and property enjoyed by natives under the present *régime* did not fall to their lot in ancient times. Indeed, British administration is incomparable and those who rebel against Government or incite others to do so in speech or

British rule in India.

by writing commit the heinous sin of ingratitude. They also meet their deserts in the end and their countrymen do not regret their punishment in the least. The paper then goes on to say that educated natives do not want the *Swaraj* of Chandragupta's time, and asks for self-government on colonial lines. In view of the existing condition of the country, however, their wishes are wholly impossible of realisation.

The situation in India.

6. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 4th September 1908, publishes a communication headed "The causes of sedition" from one Bawa Narain Singh, a Pleader at Amritsar. He begins by saying that it is written in the *Shukra Niti* that a King, under whose rule famine and disease prevail and the people fight among themselves or are robbed by thieves and dacoits, is not fit to rule. It is inhuman, he adds, for a ruler to occupy the throne and at the same time to evade the performance of his kingly duties. It is unlawful for him to take his food while even one of his subjects suffers from the pangs of hunger or stands at his door asking for justice. Similarly it does not become him to live in comfort while his kingdom is in the grip of disease, to lie in a warm bed or wear warm clothes while his subjects suffer from cold, and to enjoy himself in a cool climate while the people are restless from heat. The correspondent then goes on to say that it is wrong to say that natives are dissatisfied with their present rulers merely owing to the latter being Britons. They look upon their Sovereign as God, although they cease to regard him as their ruler if he fails to perform his royal duties. And since they are now discontented owing to the non-performance of those royal duties to them, there can be no truth in charging the people with disloyalty. If a ruler performs his duties towards his subjects and the latter still refuse to obey him they may rightly be charged with disobedience. It is, however, far from just to lay the blame for his mistakes and selfishness at their door. The present unrest in the country is due solely to Government not performing its duties. The people take offence at Government's conduct, but it is unjust to confound their feelings of indignation with opposition to Government or with sedition. As all Europeans in India regard themselves as the kings of the country, it should be their duty to take no food as long as a single native is hungry. Similarly as long as even one child of the soil is in distress they should not enjoy themselves in soft beds at their bungalows. They should know no rest when the people fall victims to epidemic diseases or kill and oppress one another. So long as the people starve and Europeans take four meals a day, so long as the former earn one pice for a day's hard work, while the latter go on amassing wealth, there can be no peace and content in the country. Natives are not beasts that they should be unable to distinguish between good and evil; on the contrary, they are noted for their loyalty throughout the world. The unrest prevalent in the country is attributable wholly to the doings of Anglo-Indians. A famine prevails in the land and the people have been undergoing privations, but Europeans are busy exporting abroad crores of maunds of food-grains. Again, while the former die from disease for want of pecuniary help the latter drain away lakhs of rupees from the country. Nor is this all. While the educated and well-informed Indian cannot get public appointments which carry a salary of only Rs. 10 or Rs. 20, raw European lads are appointed to posts on Rs. 400 or Rs. 500. After enquiring whether natives are not justified in raising an outcry in these circumstances, the writer says that British rule in

India rests but on the obedience and good-will of the people and not on brute force. The artizan classes in India, he adds, have been thrown out of employment owing to the export of European manufactures to India, and that there can be nothing seditious in their complaining of this. If Government (*lit.* the Sovereign) is just it should first mend its own ways, which will silence the people. The correspondent further remarks that the people are right in complaining that while Government can obtain devoted soldiers in the country on Rs. 10 or Rs. 15 a month it persists in importing British soldiers, who each cost Rs. 150. Again, those natives who advise Government from honest motives are punished with fine, imprisonment and death. It is therefore high time that Government afforded practical proof of its claim that it is a good and enlightened Government and wishes the people well in every respect. The fact that natives, unlike Europeans in India, have been getting poorer from day to day makes it impossible for one to believe that the British Government has proved beneficial to India.

The situation in India.

7. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 1st September 1908, publishes an article under the heading "Evolution or Revolution." After explaining what "evolution" and "revolution" mean, the paper says that it wishes to discuss whether natives should resort to the one or to the other in order to make progress. The National Congress was for evolution, and up till only a few months ago its view was shared by the whole country, even the passive resistance of the boycotters having nothing revolutionary about it. Unfortunately for both the rulers and the ruled, however, some events of the past few months tend to show that there has also arisen a party in the country who desire the immediate expulsion of the English and would like to create a revolution in the land. After remarking that bomb is the first weapon used by them, the paper says that it does not wish to discuss how and why this party came into existence. It cannot, however, refrain from remarking that while some impulsive young men, forgetful of the fact that centuries are years in the lives of nations, may have undertaken their present course of action in order to ensure a speedy attainment of their object, it is equally true that the conduct of certain Anglo-Indian officers is also responsible for the birth of the evil. There is not a single sensible native who does not desire the grant of *Swaraj* to the people, but the question is what kind of *Swaraj* is needed for the country. After stating the difference between *Swaraj* demanded by the extremists and that asked for by the moderates, it says that, according to the latter, there is practically very little difference between the two kinds of *Swaraj*. Again, the evolutionists do not ask for an instant grant of *Swaraj*, while even Mr. Tilak explicitly stated before the Decentralisation Commission that the people should have an increasing share in the administration by degrees so as to fit them to manage their own affairs one day. If Government had granted the most reasonable prayer made by the political leaders of the people it would have been spared the spectacle of a section of natives declaring openly that they wish to drive the British out of the country. Nor would the extremists and the monstrous bomb have appeared in the country, while Government would not have had to bring disgrace on itself by transporting popular and respected leaders. There is still time for Government to retrieve the past. Its proposal to celebrate the jubilee of the Royal Proclamation of 1858 on the 1st November is commendable in the extreme. It should release

political prisoners on this occasion and allow able Indians a large share in the administration of the country. The Editor can confidently assert that if this is done, the ideas of the people will undergo a surprising change. He then reminds his fellow-countrymen that although Government has been unusually dilatory in introducing reforms, although the English govern India in a despotic manner and although some Englishmen treat Indians with unbearable haughtiness, the best way for natives to raise their country is to make gradual progress and so strengthen their sense (of self-respect) as to render it impossible for the authorities to act in opposition to the wishes of the ruled. On the contrary, if they try to create a revolution disastrous consequences will be certain to ensue. In the first place, they are weak and disunited and can achieve absolutely nothing against Government. Again, the after-effects of a revolution prove extremely injurious to a people really unworthy of independence. The *Swaraj*, moreover, which can be obtained by killing one's fellow-men, is not worth having. If Indians can get *Swaraj* without shedding blood they should try to do so, although it may take them long to reach the goal. They should make gradual progress and so increase their power that Government may feel compelled to grant them their rights. The *Parkash* then quotes an extract from the August number of the *Modern Review*, in which the writer refers to the efforts which the leaders of the Russians have been making to spread education among the masses in order to ensure the advancement of Russia. When gradual progress is necessary even in Russia for obtaining *Swaraj* those who advocate the adoption of the contrary course in India are assuredly labouring under a mistake. It concludes by promising to revert to the subject in its next issue.

An objectionable poem.

*This is also the heading of the article.

8. The *Wafadar* (Lahore), of the 28th August 1908, reports that a Panjabi poem entitled "Take care of (thy) hat, O Babu !*" written by one Pandit B. D. Mal Datewalia and priced at one pice has been published by the *Rozana* Press. The poem champions the *Swadeshi* movement and is written in a strong and inflammatory style. The paper reprints a few stanzas for the information of the police and the authorities. In these "the Babu" is told that his wealth is being drained away to Europe, that he gets iron in exchange for his wheat, and that famine is always knocking at his door. He is asked to exert himself to banish famines from the country and bring back the good old days. After being told that he imports his clothes, boots and cigarettes from London, he is asked to say whether there is anything *swadeshi* about him. He eats English-made sugar and Huntley and Palmer's (*lit.* Papar's) biscuits which contain the blood of bullocks and the fat of pigs and thereby wastes his money and contaminates his religion. He should save the county's sinking ship, which has been caught in an eddy. Lakhs of his countrymen have been dying from starvation and immolating themselves at the altar of the goddess of famine. It will be false on his part to assert that India is in a prosperous condition. She used to produce men like Arjun, Bhim, Qama, Lakhshman and Krishna, but the present day leaders of the people hunger after fame. Tiny Japan has thrashed the Russian bear and cured the latter of all desire of fight. The verses adds that Indian cotton is bought dirt cheap (by foreigners) and returns to India (in the shape of cloth) worth its weight in gold ; while the wheat produced in the country is exported, being paid for at the price of *bhusa*. It is these things

which have brought about the ruin of the country. "The Babu" is told next that foreign-made cigarettes have poison mixed in them and that he should not be so fond of them.

After remarking that Panjabi verses like the above can exercise no good influence on the ignorant masses, the *Wafadar* says that the last page of the booklet contains another poem entitled "Mother Bharat's Wailings" by one Agha of Delhi. Its language is fiery and the paper reprints a few verses for the information of the police and the authorities. In these India laments the extinction of her warriors and the destruction of her forts and of her cities like Delhi and Agra. Her peacock-throne, she adds, has been wrested from her and her Koh-i-Noor has been shattered into atoms. Her children go about begging for a crust of bread, but they are driven away wherever they go.

Verses like those quoted above, says the Editor, can only inflame the masses. Their writers should know that pseudo-swadeshists have only proved a source of injury to the people and the country.

The Ahmadis and anarchism.

9. The *Hakam* (Kadian), of the 30th August 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "Secret Societies" in which it says that the late Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was strongly opposed to the establishment of Secret Societies and regarded such organisations as a menace to the public peace. After quoting a saying of his in support of the contention, the paper observes that the Ahmadis can never tolerate Secret Societies, for the reason that their establishment is against the teaching of the Quran. Those, it adds, who incited young lads to make and throw bombs and have thereby brought about the arrest and punishment of the latter are deserving of the strongest reprobation. It can never benefit the country to take the life of an innocent person, nor can the act be ever approved of by God. The Ahmadis will show by their conduct that they are extremely disgusted with Secrect Societies, which can never prove beneficial to the conntry, the nation and the Muhammadan religion. Intriguing in secret is the work of cowards and mischief-makers.

Forfeiture of a retired Tahsildar's pension for participation in disloyal agitation.

10. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 3rd September 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "The forfeiture of a retired Tahsildar's pension." Sheoraj Singh, a retired Tahsildar, in the Central Provinces, it says, has had his pension forfeited for taking part, in spite of repeated warnings, in political agitation of a kind inconsistent with that loyalty and good behaviour subject to which all such pensions are granted by Government. This, states the paper, is the punishment of those short-sighted Government servants and pensioners who do not refrain from participating in undesirable agitation in spite of warnings, although owing to their eating the salt of Government it is incumbent on them to wish it well. It is a matter for regret that they should have the ingratitude to strike the head which feeds them.

Forfeiture of a retired Tahildar's pension for participation in disloyal agitation.

11. The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 5th September 1908, publishes an article headed "The punishment of a pensioned Tahsildar." It must be patent to all, says the paper, that the punishment inflicted on Babu Sheoraj

Singh is severe and cruel in the extreme. The pension granted to the Babu was the reward for meritorious services rendered by him during a lifetime, while nothing has happened to detract from the praiseworthy character of those services. If Sheoraj Singh was accused of sedition he should have been formally prosecuted and given an opportunity of clearing himself. If he had then been found guilty and punished with the forfeiture of his pension there would have been no cause of complaint in regard to his treatment by the Central Provinces Government. As it is, the present *ex-parte* forfeiture of his pension is a grossly illegal and high-handed act and constitutes an extremely dangerous precedent. If the procedure followed in Sheoraj Singh's case is open to no objection, where then is the necessity for Courts of law? They had better be closed forthwith, any person suspected of being disaffected towards Government being unhesitatingly imprisoned or hanged. The Editor then goes on to say that the question arises whether Government pensioners ought to be treated in such an arbitrary manner and deprived of their legal right of defending themselves. The question is of extreme importance, nay one of life and death, to Government pensioners, and justice demands that it should be carefully considered, otherwise one more cause will have been added to those of the prevailing unrest, which will be a source of disappointment to law-abiding persons in the country. Some extremist leaders have been openly asserting that Government has descended to Russian methods of administration, which constitutes a gross insult to the British Government. The treatment of Sheoraj Singh by the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, however, is calculated to put Government's loyal subjects to shame. The paper concludes by requesting Lord Minto and Lord Morley to look into the matter and reverse the decision of Mr. Craddock.

## III—Native States.

Grievances of the subjects of Native States.

12. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* (Lahore), of the 4th September 1908, publishes a communication headed "Wanted non-official members on the Executive Councils in Native States." The writer begins by saying that the existing Executive Councils or Councils of Regency in Native States are defective in the extreme and that State subjects have no voice in their constitution. As the members of these Councils are the final arbiters of the destinies of State subjects, it is necessary that they should know all about the latter as well as the States concerned. Their decisions should be based on personal experience and not hearsay, while they should always decide a case on its merits alone. The present frequent sufferings of the subjects of Native States are due to some short-sighted and inexperienced councillors who, in their pride of power, look upon a State as their own property, who fear neither God nor Government, but behave as they please, regardless of the misery of the people or the ruin of the State. They think only of acquiring property or avenging personal grudges and try to make hay while the sun shines. The writer then goes on to say that since State subjects are illiterate they regard those who are appointed to govern them as their overlords and consider the orders passed by the latter as final. It is for this reason that they submit very few or no appeals against these orders to the Government of India. They have to endure all sorts of oppression in silence and dare not write to the papers for fear of setting the authorities against them. Coercion, repression and

despotism are so rampant in Native States that the people tremble at the sight even of a common peon. A common *chaukidar*, constable or (other) official can disgrace even the most respectable zamindar in the name of *begar*. The people are fleeced so indiscriminately that even a constable on Rs. 5 maintains buffaloes and mares worth Rs. 500. After remarking that this should enable the readers to form an idea of the affluence of officers, the writer says that State authorities not only suck the life-blood of the people, but also manage to prevent the latter from making any move against their oppressors. Government, he adds, possesses no means of obtaining first-hand information about the condition of the subjects of the feudatory States. The information obtained through political agencies and (other) official channels does not represent the true state of affairs. It is Government's ignorance of the real condition of State subjects which is at the bottom of their misfortunes. Government's conduct in treating with indifference one-half of the people committed to its charge and leaving them at the mercy of the local authorities is to be deeply condemned. If it were to participate in their sorrows and joys with the assistance of trustworthy private informers they would also unhesitatingly lay down their lives in its service in the hour of need. The best way to remedy the evil is to appoint non-official representatives of the people to different State Councils. They would lay before Government facts about the subjects of Native States which would surprise and stagger it. In conclusion, the writer observes that as long as Government does not look upon State subjects and the inhabitants of British India with an equal eye, the former will continue to be subjected to new sufferings daily.

## V.—Native Societies and Religious Matters.

The Arya Samaj.

13. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 1st September 1908, publishes a translation of an article headed "The Arya Samaj and the present crisis" contributed by Lala Lajpat Rai to a recent number of the *Vedic Magazine*. "That we are in the midst of a crisis no one can deny. How that crisis is to end, no one can tell. It is enough if in drawing our inspiration from the past we are making an honest effort to live out a life of duty in the hope that our future is in the hands of a just and benevolent ruler who dispenses even-handed justice without being biased by considerations of race, colour or creed. It is quite sufficient, if placing implicit faith in the never-erring operation of our *Karma*, we are working in the right spirit, trying to do what is righteous and in accordance with our *Dharma*, regardless of whether it brings immediate pain or pleasure." The sheet anchor of the invincible faith of that great seer who founded the Arya Samaj was the Sanskrit *Shloka* meaning: "Whether the worldly wise praise or blame, whether wealth should enter (their house) or leave (from it), whether death should come to-day or in another age, earnest men do not swerve from the path of justice." "His followers and admirers can do no better than be guided by the same rule of life which he laid down for himself in his life time, and which he bequeathed to those in whose hands he left the great heritage of the ancient master minds of this land.

The Arya Samaj is one of those living forces which are just now influencing the lives of the people of this country, and thereby moulding its future

destiny. Living forces are at times bound to come into conflict with other living forces, and there is no use fretting over this constant action and interaction of the different forces of nature that is going on in this world. It is a sign of life to be now and then put in opposition to adverse forces. It is testing the vitality of an organism to put it in a position where its powers of sustenance against influences which threaten extinction may be tried. The Arya Samaj, as a living organism, has already passed through several such tests, and God only knows how many more are yet to be passed through before its mission is fulfilled and mankind, including the people of India, are once more free to acknowledge the truths and beneficence of the teachings of those than whom no greater truth-seekers have yet been produced by the world. In the world of men we are only pigmies to-day, in the world of intellect, with a noble exception here and there, only base imitators ; but in the world of spirit we are still the proud possessors and inheritors of a religion and a philosophy which has defied the ravages of time and superstition, and which stands as glorious and resplendent to-day as when the Persian, the Arab, the Greek, the Chinese, the Jap and a host of others came to drink from its pure fountain, and drank to their hearts content. To-day we are the object of other people's contempt and ridicule because we are devoid of the spirit that dominated the religion and the life of our forefathers. If by some process or other we could imbibe the old spirit again, all our difficulties would vanish as darkness vanishes on the advent of the sun. The mission of the Arya Samaj is to revive that old spirit, to rekindle the flame whose glare has been dimmed, but not extinguished ; to inject the elixir of life into the blue Aryan blood which, though just now cold, has come to us in its pristine purity. The Arya Samaj, with its founder, believes that it is the spirit which requires to be reborn and revivified ; the mere taking care and fattening of the body will not do. The social disintegration and chaos that prevails now among the descendants of the old Aryans is the result of that perversion of spirit which has proceeded from the decay of the simple, natural and true religion of the Vedic period." After asserting that the Vedas teach a universal religion and remarking that it will be a travesty of truth to attempt to maintain that love of country and love of one's own people form no part of the religion of the Arya Samaj, the Lala says "The Arya Samaj is, has been, and by the grace of God shall continue to be a standing *yajna*. It has so far been fed by the sacrifice of the best and the noblest in it. Shall it continue to do so ? Shall the fire continue to burn and will it be extinguished and leave nothing but a handful of ashes behind it is the question that is passing from mouth to mouth just now ? A reply in words is not what is needed and wanted. The reply must be given in deeds, in conduct and in life. 'The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church' has so often been proclaimed from the Samajic pulpit, platform and press, that in the opinion of some the time has come when the sincerity of those who have preached it so long is about to be practically tested. The clouds are gathering, a storm of impenetrable magnitude is brewing, the hurricane has already commenced blowing ; some of the tallest, the strongest and apparently the most well-grounded poplars have been rudely shaken by the very first blast ; the hearts of the people have begun to palpitate in the case of many with fear, in the case of a few with enthusiasm. The former are swayed by the danger imminent, the latter by the calm that must follow every storm. To the former, everything seems to be tottering, to the latter everything looks as if heralding the dawn of a bright and lovely morn. The one lives in fear, contracting his

body and soul within the narrowest limit possible, and thinking of his comforts, his titles, his children and his property ; the other lives in hope, expanding his vision, giving full play to his imagination of thinking only of the blessings to come and of the promised kingdom of heaven on this earth. One is morose and gloomy, in fearful agonies of impending loss and trouble, the other is serene and hopeful in the certainty of righteousness prevailing in the end. Yes, it will be idle to deny that the minds of the Arya Samajists are agitated. The experiences of the last twelve months have thrown many people off their balance. Gigantic and stupendous efforts are being made to identify the refractory and the 'dangerous' and to hand them over to the hangman in the name of, and for, the safety of self and others. The others only add to the weight. Really it is the self that determines every one's course. The cry of the 'movement in danger' has already been raised and by people who have never cared a straw for religion in the whole course of their lives. There are some who are being drawn by these cries not knowing their nature and the antecedents of those who are indulging in the same. There are others who know from their past reading of history the real value of the cry and its significance. The times are no doubt critical. No one advocates rashness, but nothing is to be gained by cowardiee. The kingdom of heaven is for the brave, the stout-hearted, the true and the faithful Let the weak, the cowardly, the selfish and the hypocritical fall behind and bide his time till the strong, the brave, the truthful and the believer wins the day by the force of his undying faith and his unflinching devotion to the cause of truth and righteousness. Every honest man knows that the Arya Samaj, as a body, does not deal with politics. Government and Government measures it has always let alone. It concerns itself with the soul..... It is enough that it has authoritatively declared that it is a religious and social body eschewing everything that goes by the name of politics. The bureaucracy, however, does not believe it. It serves their purpose not to do so. The louder the Arya Samajists are in declaiming politics the more suspicious they grow. They have perhaps good reason to do so, as there are many people who give them ample grounds for their belief by their nervousness. Those who have sold their souls to the devil and want to raise the structure of their power and greatness on the bodies of their fellow-beings cannot bring their minds to realise that there is something even higher than *pol cy* in the realm of thought and action, and that politics, such as they are understood by the politicians and statesmen of the day are not the only stay of the people. It is impossible to convince them. The attempt is futile and in the name of self-respect ought to be given up." The writer concludes as follows :—"Thank God, that the heart of the Arya Samaj is sound. The Arya Samaj does not discard the rich nor the seekers after titles, places and offices, but it does not consist of them only. It is safe in the hands of those who care more for it than for the world and its transient and ephemeral goods. It is the latter who are the seed of the Church and its mainstay. The Church is safe and in no danger so long as the latter are firm in their faith and unshakable in their devotion. The experiences of the last twelve months have proved to us without a shadow of doubt, and we say it with a sense of pride, that the latter are as immovable as the rocks. It is they, relying on whose support and devotion the Arya Samaj hopes to tide over the crisis without yielding an inch in its principle and its methods of work. May God bless them."

## VII.—General Administration.

### (a)—*Judicial.*

The Delhi punkha coolie's case.

14. The *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 29th August 1908, writing about the Delhi punkha coolie case says that, although the Magistrate charged the accused with murder, still he has punished him under section 323 of the Indian Penal Code, saying that the deceased having been a weak old man died from the effects of kicks from the accused, who is strong and young. This means that if in future a strong man kills a weak person he will not be punished with death even if the offence of murder is proved against him. Again, the necessity for putting forward in such cases a plea of the rupture of spleen has also been dispensed with. Henceforth the strength of the murderer and the weakness of the murdered person will be sufficient to mitigate the gravity of the crime.

The Delhi punkha coolie's case.

15. In a paragraph headed "four days' imprisonment" the *Haq Pasand* (Amritsar), of the 1st September 1908, writing on the same subject, says that Davies has been imprisoned only for four days. Commenting on the sentence, it adds, the *Swarajya* of Allahabad writes :—"Indeed, this piece of justice might have stirred the spirit even of Nawsherwan in his grave. Propriety demands that the murderer of Miss Hooper should now only be sentenced to four days' imprisonment. This, however, will not be done (because her murderer) has set the house of whites (*lit.* the white house) on fire."

Mr. Iyer's release.

16. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 8th September 1908 :—

"The news that Mr. Subramania Iyer, the veteran and distinguished publicist and patriot of Madras, has been released, and the cases for sedition and racial hatred against him withdrawn, will be received with intense relief and unalloyed satisfaction. The spectacle of a man of Mr. Iyer's brilliant antecedents, long public record, and unique literary services having to stand in the dock, when weighed down by age and bodily infirmities, was so profoundly painful that the wish was universal that Government might still be induced to reconsider its position. And the decision of the Courts to refuse bail to a man in Mr. Iyer's condition was calculated to add to the troubles of an already afflicted man. The satisfaction will be general that the Madras Government have risen to the demands of the case, and their decision to withdraw the charges against Mr. G. Subramania Iyer will be hailed in all quarters as an act of real statesmanship, on which it can be heartily congratulated. Mr. Iyer's statement in Court is transparently frank and candidly sincere, and there is nothing in his utterance which cannot be accepted by the most punctilious as a bare statement of facts. Mr. Iyer says he has, at no time, had the intention to spread sedition and disloyalty, nor any desire to foment race-hatred, nor has he any such intention in future. That Mr. Iyer could not have had any such intention is the unanimous belief of his countrymen, and his whole course of public life is a guarantee for the future. We would have certainly preferred if the Government had seen their way to dispense with securities after the clear and explicit declaration of Mr. Iyer, but we are not disposed to quarrel over a comparatively trifling matter in the face of the great readiness shown by the Local Government to meet the general expectation. The Government has taken into serious consideration the age and health of the veteran publicist, and his undertaking for the future, and to make assurance doubly sure, in the words of Mr. Iyer himself, the Government have taken Mr. Iyer's personal bond

and two sureties. The Government has every way gained by this. It could not have taken greater guarantees for the future than Mr. Iyer's own word, and the satisfaction and gratitude of the people they have into the bargain. Mr. Iyer has lost nothing by reiterating the principles of action which guide the conduct of every right-minded man and law-abiding subject, and there is nothing to cavil at in this course. On the other hand it would have been cruel to expect him to maintain a severe reserve and to suffer for views he has never entertained and ideas he has never cherished. All's well that ends well, and the parties concerned, the Government, Mr. Iyer, and the people have reason to rejoice at the end of what was, in any case, a most painful tragedy."

Mr. Iyer's release.

17. The following is from the *Punjabee* (Lahore), of the 9th September 1908 :—

"From the report of proceedings in the Madras Police Court, printed elsewhere, it will be seen that the Madras Government has withdrawn the cases instituted against Mr. G. Subramania Iyer under sections 124 A and 153 A on his furnishing security for his future conduct. It is said that Mr. Iyer has further given a private undertaking to the Government to abstain in the future from any speech or writing or action that might tend to excite class hatred or promote sedition and disloyalty to Government. This is a result upon which both parties may be congratulated. The Madras Government has done well in not showing a vindictive spirit and pursuing the matter to the bitter end, while for Mr. Subramania Iyer, considering all circumstances, probably this was the best course open to him. To attempt to fight out the case and have the inoffensive character of the incriminating articles established was a matter attended with risks and uncertainties which a man in Mr. Subramania Iyer's age and state of health was perhaps not in a position to undertake. As to the public, there was little possibility of gain to them from such a procedure, for, as things are, in these sedition and other political cases the Courts are seldom likely to give decisions agreeable to popular opinion. So far as the giving of an undertaking is concerned, it need cause no personal inconvenience to a journalist like Mr. Subramania Iyer, who is a believer in constitutionalism and not by nature disposed to act in defiance of the law. It must, however, be a matter of concern to the public if Mr. Subramania Iyer's experiences in this matter should act as a damper to his spirit, and in view of the risks of public speech and writing, even when carried on with the best of motives and in the most guarded manner, should induce him practically to retire from public life.

The *Jhang Sial* libel cases.

18. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 5th September 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "The second notice" over the signature of Parabh Dial, the Editor. The writer says that he published an open letter to the Deputy Commissioner in the last issue of the paper and that "to-day rumours are afloat about some slips, &c." (*sic*). In the libel case against him, he adds, which was filed by Mr. Wakefield, the Deputy Commissioner, brought discredit on himself through his own doings ; but in the second libel case he is being brought into bad odour by the complainant, Atma Ram. Mr. Harcourt should cause it to be proclaimed publicly and should also warn the courts concerned that he has nothing to do with these cases. Perhaps he remembers that when giving the Editor a warning (some time back) he told the latter that British rule was the best in the world. The Editor ventures to remind Mr. Harcourt of these words, and adds that it is a matter for deep regret that he should be oppressed in the latter's time.

### (*d*)—*Education.*

National education.

19. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 4th September 1908, publishes a communication from Lala Har Dayal, M. A, headed "National Education" which was written on boardship near Aden. The writer begins by saying that

the affiliation of the schools and colleges which the nation has established after very great exertions and on which it prides itself with (official) Universities is extremely injurious to the interests of the people. Rich and patriotic Indians have given money in aid of the institutions and able graduates dedicated their lives to the service of the same. Those connected with these schools and colleges have, however, now discovered that their feet are sticking in the quagmire of Government's influence. Now when the scourge of official discipline has descended on students and Government has revealed itself in its true colours the founders and supporters of educational institutions have begun to realise their mistake. They have been discovering by degrees that their labours have not proved beneficial to the nation; that by manufacturing graduates year after year they have only added to the power and prestige of the English, and that these schools and colleges constitute great obstacles in the way of true national education. They wish to remedy the evil, but their pace is so slow that before they introduce the necessary reforms many more promising young men will have disgraced themselves by graduating. Moreover more additional disgrace will be heaped on them owing to their being taught the History of India as compiled by Lethbridge. They should be quick about their work, hasten to severe their connection with Universities and cease to work as agents for supplying boys to be spoiled by Universities. Some educated and patriotic natives, however, argue that if this step is taken at once the schools and colleges will forthwith be emptied of their students, who only read in order to qualify themselves for Government service or the legal profession. They are therefore of opinion that a fondness for national education should first be developed among the people, so that when National schools and colleges are established students may be forthcoming to read at them. The idea, adds Lala Har Dayal, is so aburd and ridiculous that he feels shame in referring to it. In the first place, the managers of educational institutions should lead and not follow the people. Again, if those who wish the nation well and have been working heart and soul for its good continue to support the official system of education, how will a desire for national education be created among the people and how will their countrymen learn to know of the injurious character of the existing University education in India? An educational institution, moreover, which is injurious to the interests of the nation should be broken up at once. It is not necessary that an institution of another and a better kind should come into existence in its place forthwith. The nation wishes to spend its money in giving its sons a good and useful education and not in manufacturing pleaders and Government servants. If students are not forthcoming now to read at national schools and colleges it does not follow that hundreds of young men should have their souls spoiled (by reading in officialised educational institutions). The writer then urges the immediate disaffiliation of existing schools and colleges, and remarks that each school and college should have pasted in front of it a notice to the effect that students who wish to add to the influence of foreigners by becoming legal practitioners or Government servants need not apply for admission. Only such students should be taken who wish to study their religion, their national history and language and other useful branches of knowledge in order to improve their intellect and morals and enable themselves to earn their bread by trade, journalism and the like. Only those students will then come for tuition who do not wish to injure their nation and country on growing to

man's estate ; and it should not matter if their number happens to be small. The object in view should be to provide means for supplying a great need of the nation by enabling those who wish to give an excellent education to their sons to realise their wishes.

F. ISEMONGER,

*Asst. to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*
*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

SIMLA :
*The* 12*th September* 1908.

Punjab Government Branch Press, Simla—21-9-08—305—100.

(a)—

1.

(b)—

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

8.

9.

10.

11.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 38. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

Received up to 19th September 1908.

---

## CONTENTS.


Page

I.—Politics.

*(a)—Foreign—*

1. The situation in the Transvaal *(Tribune)* ... 561

*(b)—Home—*

2. Government and the people *(Siraj-ul-Akhbar)* ... 562
3. Self-government for India *(Hindustan)* ... ... *ib.*
4. *Swaraj* for India *(Parkash)* ... ... ... 563
5. The situation in India *(Parkash)* ... ... *ib*
6. The situation in India *(Jhang Sial)* ... ... 565
7. Why some political agitators have left for England recently *(Parkash)* ... ... ... 566
8. Misplaced sympathy with political prisoners *(Paisa Akhbar)* ... ... ... ... 567
9. Forfeiture of a retired Tahsildar's pension for participating in disloyal agitation *(Punjab Samachar)* ... *ib.*

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

10. Mohmand raids into British territory *(Akhbar-i-'Am)* 568

III.—Native States.

*Nil.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

11. Kine-killing in India *(Hindustan)* ... ... 568

V.—Native Societies and Religious matters.

*Nil.*

VI.—Legislation.

*Nil.*

Page.

VII.—General Administration.

*(a)—Judicial—*

12. Withdrawal of sedition cases against Mr. Iyer *(Akhbar-i-'Am)* .. ... ... ... 569
13. Withdrawal of sedition cases against Mr. Iyer *(Paisa Akhbar)* ... ... ... ... *ib.*
14. Withdrawal of sedition cases against Mr. Iyer *(Hindustan)* ... ... ... ... 570
15. The Delhi punkha coolie's case *(Army News)* ... *ib.*
16. The Delhi punkha coolie's case *(Jhang Sial)* ... *ib.*
17. The *Jhang Sial* libel cases *(Jhang Sial)* ... ... 571

*(b)—Police—*

*Nil.*

*(c)—Municipal and Cantonment affairs—*

*Nil.*

*(d)—Education—*

*Nil.*

*(e)—Agriculture and questions affecting the land—*

*Nil.*

*(f)—Railways and Communications—*

*Nil.*

*(g)—Postal matters—*

*Nil.*

*(h)—Miscellaneous—*

18. Difficulties of Native Editors *(Jhang Sial)* ... 572
19. Trade in Indian-made sugar *(Jhang Sial)* ... 573
20. The policy of Rais-ul-Hind *(Akhbar Rais-ul-Hind)* ... ... ... ... *ib.*

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 38. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

**Received up to 19th September 1908.**

---

### I.—Politics.

#### (*a*)—*Foreign.*

1. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 15th September 1908 :—

**The situation in the Transvaal.**

"The Transvaal imbroglio has again come to a head. The Afrikander Government in that land has again been threatening to do their worst. Some of the most prominent members of the Indian community are now in gaol, having been sentenced to three months' hard-labour for the offence of re-entering a part of the dominions of His Majesty. The situation is again grim and gruesome. Nothing can exceed the pathos and subdued note of agony apparent in the telegram of our brethren, already published in our columns, calling for help and succour against the iniquities and persecution of a purblind and morbidly selfish Colony. The spectacle is one which must cause shudder to every lover of humanity and human progress, and to every advocate of true Imperialism. Here are law-abiding and peaceful subjects of His Majesty—men of high culture and respectable status in life, men who as *ex*-Volunteer sergeants have shed and are always prepared to shed their blood in the service of their Sovereign and Empire—being maltreated, incarcerated in prison and put to the most degrading forms of labour as though they were criminals and felons. And what is the head and front of the indictment against them, the sum total of their offence? It is nothing else but that these men stood by the pledges of their Sovereign, and claimed their birth-right as British subjects—they believed in the good faith of the Boer Government and the efficacy of the compromise arrived in January last. And so they are suffering. They do not, we may remember, claim any right of citizenship; they simply claim the right of re-entry into the Transvaal; they simply insist that they should be accorded some fair treatment and not punished as felons. The arrest of these leading Indians in the Transvaal has sent a gloom in the Colony of Natal as it has no doubt done in India. The Indian stores in Natal were closed, and our countrymen there have in a public meeting appealed to the Imperial Government to intervene for the protection of Indians in the Transvaal. The attitude of the Imperial Government is rather hard to understand. The new-fangled Boer executive owes a heavy debt of obligation to the present Liberal Government. The latter granted the Boer people an autonomous constitution; it guaranteed on the security of the Imperial Exchequer a big loan to the new Government to keep it going. It is simply inconceivable that it cannot bring its influence to bear upon the Boer Government in favour of a somewhat decent treatment of the Indian settlers there. Lately Colonel Seeley, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, said in the House of Commons that although the maxim *Civis Romanus sum* was not capable of rigid application, still the Imperial Government would see that the existing rights of Indians in the Colonies were safeguarded and that they were accorded fair treatment while there. But from the manner in which things have been allowed to drift in South Africa, it seems that the Imperial Government has not moved to accord even the elementary right of

protection from oppression to its Indian subjects there. Is it too much to hope that the Liberal Government will now realise its heavy responsibility in the matter, and at once put a check to this disgraceful state of things? The most imperative demands of humanity and statesmanship require that some heroic step should be immediately taken.

(*b*)—*Home.*

Government and the people.

2. The *Siraj-ul Akhbar* (Jhelum), of the 15th September 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "What do we demand from the Crown." Both Hindus and Muhammadans, it says, have been making demands on Government with the object of securing a hand in the administration and removing the (present) distinction between whites and black men. They should, however, never forget that they can achieve absolutely nothing by having recourse to anarchism. They are already appointed to high posts under Government, but if they wish to secure a larger share in the management of their country's affairs they should make further progress in education and promote their trade. After remarking that they cannot obtain a parliament for a long time to come the paper goes on to say that if they keep within the bounds of law in promoting the cause of *swadeshism* Government can never take offence at their efforts. Nor will Government prevent them from establishing *panchayats* for the settlement of their disputes, as has been done in Patiala and Mysore. It will, however, be gross foolishness on their part to altogether boycott the British Courts for at least 50 years to come. They should also promote union in their own ranks, spread education in the country and take more kindly to trade, leaving empty talk alone. The *Siraj-ul-Akhbar* further remarks that the extreme fondness of natives for service under Government prevents them from accomplishing anything (solid). If they were to learn arts and industries and to discontinue begging for bread from the English, the latter would, of their own accord, begin to mix with them and treat them with consideration.

Self-Government for India.

3. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 11th September 1908, publishes an article headed "Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji and the prevailing unrest." After reprinting the telegrams exchanged between the Governor of Bombay and Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji on the occasion of the latter's last birthday, the paper says that the unrest in the country is due wholly to the people having no hand in the management of their own affairs. The drawing away of wealth from the country, it adds, has increased poverty from day to day and makes them an easy prey to famine and plague. It then quotes an extract from a speech in which Mr. Naoroji ascribes the evil to the absence of self-government in India, and says that the aged Parsi leader has always contended that the only way to make the country prosperous is to confer on it self-government on colonial lines. There is nothing unnatural in the people complaining that the Government of India unlike those of other countries does not guide and help them in making progress. Indeed, if this were not so Indians would not have lagged behind other nations in the race for progress, despite their paying Government nearly one-fifth of their entire earnings (in taxes). Matters will mend only when the people are allowed a larger share in the administration of the country, when the bulk of the public revenues is spent in supplying their most urgent needs, and the principle "no taxation without representation," which forms the keystone of the British Empire, is observed in India also.

After complaining that Government spends much more on the army than on bettering the condition of the country, and after suggesting that it should not distrust natives and should fit them to defend their motherland, the Editor says that, of late, the Governors of provinces have been requesting the people's representatives to co-operate with Government in suppressing anarchism. The principle, he adds, should be extended and Government should associate the leaders of the people with it in everything, which will assuredly prove a blessing to both the rulers and the ruled.

*Swaraj* for India.

4. In a paragraph headed "Is *Swaraj* a dangerous ideal?" the *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 8th September 1908, says that *Swaraj* is palpably the political ideal of every country. When Government itself, adds the paper, has been loud in proclaiming that its sole object in governing India is not to benefit the English, but to fit natives for self-government, it is inexplicable why some persons should denounce as dangerous and seditious the cry of the children of the soil that, in everything done by England (in India), she should keep in view the fact that this country is one day to become free and that she should abstain from doing anything calculated to lead to a contrary result. Have these worthies, it asks, ever spoken of the Egyptian agitation for *Swaraj* also in the same terms? The conduct of Indian Muhammadans in preaching a crusade against the idea of *Swaraj* for this country is assuredly based on selfish motives. Every country in the world either already enjoys *Swaraj* or is loudly asking for it. Peace could not be established even in Turkey till the people were promised *Swaraj*. It is dangerous to try to put down the cry for *Swaraj*, and the attempt has proved fraught with danger in other countries. Those who wish Government to suppress this cry are dangerous advisers and wish to carry things in India to that shameful pass they have attained in France, Russia, Persia and Turkey. Nothing but disastrous consequences can follow the efforts to suppress a people's natural longing for liberty for an indefinite period of time. This being so, it should be the first duty of every patriotic native to make a strong appeal to Government, regardless of involving himself in trouble or displeasing foolish friends, to tread the path to *Swaraj*. This is the only way to make Government strong and to establish a reign of peace and prosperity in the country.

The situation in India.

5. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 8th September 1908, publishes an article headed "Evolution or Revolution," in which, in continuation of its previous remarks (*vide* paragraph 7 of Selections No. 37), it says that in a healthy body the head and the trunk should work in unison. Similarly, it adds, it should be the first duty of the leaders and the servants of the country to win over the masses to their side. Political agitation cannot bear fruit unless it has the masses at its back. The masses have no sympathy with any of the existing political movements in the country. It can be said without exaggeration that crores of Indians have not even heard the name of the Indian National Congress. If the masses had been among the supporters of agitations like the Congress, the Anglo-Indian Press would never have dared to ridicule the movements, while Government also would have thought twice before insulting the same. After referring to Lord Curzon's refusal to allow Sir Henry Cotton to lay before him the resolutions adopted at the last Bombay Congress, the paper

enquires why His Lordship did not hesitate to insult the Congress and all educated natives, simply because, it replies, he knew that his conduct could lead to no untoward results. If, however, the masses had been on the side of the Congress and jealous of its dignity, the *ex*-Viceroy would not have ventured to put off Sir Henry Cotton with a curt reply. Again, he offered an insult to the whole population by asserting in a public speech that they and their ancestors were not scrupulously truthful. This, however, created no commotion in the country, the reason for which consisted in the indifference of the bulk of the population to political movements. The *Parkash* does not blame the masses for this indifference, and says that the evil is due to their being illiterate and unable to read newspapers, which alone supply them with information about the happenings in the country. Bengal is the only province in India, it adds, in which the masses evince interest in political movements and are in a position to read newspapers. The result is that when Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal in defiance of the voice of their leaders, the entire Bengali nation took a vow to avenge the insult. And such dangerous consequences have ensued from the vow that every true statesman has condemned the partition. Even Lord Curzon dare not avow the responsibility for the measure and has been blaming others for the step. But for the partition of Bengal the extremists would not have come into existence, nor would there have taken place those lamentable occurrences which may be relied upon to greatly retard the progress of the country. Lord Morley may declare the partition to be "a settled fact", but his successors will assuredly regret his refusal to reverse the measure. Again, why does not Government, asks the Editor, come down on Bengal in the manner adopted in other provinces ? Because it knows that there is some public opinion in Bengal and that there is a fear of undesirable consequences ensuing in that province if Government swerve but a step from the path of wisdom and statesmanship. Maharashtra and Madras come next : political movements there also are living organisms, for the reason that they have public opinion at their back. The difference between the Punjab and Bombay can be illustrated by citing a concrete example. When Lala Lajpat Rai was deported without a trial, no one in this province could muster courage enough to express indignation at the proceeding. Nor did the residents of Lahore close their shops by way of protest. On the contrary, Mr. Tilak's conviction was followed by a *hartal* in several parts of the Western Presidency and as many as 50,000 mill hands went on strike at Bombay. Some sensible persons hold that such methods of voicing one's feelings can serve no useful purpose. There can, however, be no gainsaying the fact that the people concerned did at least give expression to their feelings. Even the Governor of Bombay felt the necessity for seeking the co-operation of the leaders of the people (in restoring the peace). This, adds the paper, is right. It is true that Government can boast of troops and arms and can do what it likes ; still the incidents which followed his conviction have shown that moral victory rests with Mr. Tilak and that the public sympathise with him. The *Parkash* then goes on to say that it should be the first duty of those who wish to ensure the salvation of India to do their utmost to create a public opinion in the country. When this opinion, it adds, has grown into a power new life will be breathed into all political movements in the land. After remarking that the object can be gained with the aid of education alone, it exhorts the extremist leaders to take

the education of the nation into their own hands. They should let Government do in the matter what it can and should accomplish the rest themselves. Government realises (an education) tax from the people and they can legitimately claim that the receipts should be utilized for educating their children. It is quite impossible for the people to bear the entire cost of the education of the nation. Besides, if they do not bring pressure to bear on Government to spend the money on the education of their children, it may spend the same for the benefit of the children of Europeans and Eurasians. Their constant efforts should be to force Government to make primary education free in the country. There should be no illiterate person in the land, and when that result has been achieved all political movements will receive a great accession of strength. Again, when education enables the people to realise their duties and obligations the attainment of *Swaraj* will have been rendered easy. The Editor further remarks that if natives were to take a vow to use only Indian made articles Government could not possibly prevent them from doing so. So far they have been making a great noise, but have done very little solid work and have set Government against them. If they wish to secure *Swaraj*, their first step towards realisation of their wishes should be the establishment of *Panchayats* for the settlement of their disputes. Affairs in India have become very complex of late, and it requires great wisdom to set them straight once more. Politics, which had hitherto been child's play, has become a different game now. Experience has shown that while the Government is a very powerful one natives are an extremely weak nation. Their weakness is due to a large section of the nation being hostile to it. They should chalk out a straight path for them to follow in the future. So far they have not decided on any political programme and it is high time that they adopted one now. They should not mind if in carrying out this programme they have to come into collision even with Government. In this article the Editor has laid before the nation the programme which he considers proper and useful. It is for wiser and abler heads to consider it and carry it out.

The situation in India.

6. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 12th September 1908, publishes an article headed "What should we do?", in which it says that cries of sedition have been raised in all parts of the country. Arrests and prosecutions for sedition have become the order of the day, and patriotic natives are being intimidated, punished and transported. The tyrannical and oppressive authorities are acting Pharoah-like, care for no one and are bringing discredit on British justice by having things their own way. The grievances of the people are not listened to, nay, so far from receiving justice and being rescued out of the clutches of "these wolfish shepherds" (the authorities) the people are being defamed and worried by being represented as rebels and mischief-makers. Their demands for rights and justice are confounded with sedition and the cries emanating from their wounded hearts are spoken of as (attempts to create) unrest. Should they keep silent and let their throats be cut by the butchers appointed by Government to protect them? Should they go on enduring oppression and allow their houses to be plundered without opening their lips in complaint. Is it to their interest to keep silent, and can they preserve their existence by persisting in their present policy of silence? No sensible person can answer these questions in the affirmative. Their daily observations should tell them that nature has created every living being free. Every

creature from the ant upwards cannot tolerate being deprived of its God-given liberty, and does its utmost to regain its freedom. This being so, can Indians, who are human beings, consent to live in a state of slavery for ever, especially when they are harassed by being subjected to new hardships daily? No person can be a slave to another unless he is weak and of questionable morals. When even an ant discovers that it is about to be trampled upon it does its utmost to save its life, going the length of biting the foot of the person from whom it fears danger. Self-defence is incumbent on all. Can Indians, who are human beings, overlook the principle of self-preservation? They were born free and liberty is their birthright. It has however always been their nature to render willing obedience to a good and just ruler, a fact to which history bears ample testimony. Even the British Government cannot deny that so far they have been thoroughly loyal to it. It is therefore to be regretted that a loyal people like them should be treated in the manner in which they are being dealt with by the British authorities in these days. They are and will continue loyal to their present rulers, and do not wish that the British Government should become weak in any way. All that they wish is that it should give them their rights. Liberty is their birthright and ought to be conferred on them. Should they, however, keep silent when in reply to their demand (for it) they are being deprived even of their existing rights and are not allowed to express their feelings in writing or by speech. No, certainly not. It will be suicidal on their part to keep their lips sealed. If they continue silent they will assuredly be swept off the face of the earth. They may be trusted to reply to the repression. Their reply should, however, be such that no nation or community will dare call them rebels and the like. It will be madness to think of opposing the powers that be. They can keep themselves within the bounds of law and still return a reply to Government which would open its eyes and induce it to grant them their rights. The paper concludes as follows:—"Brethern, rise and cease your complaints to the authorities. Redress your grievances yourselves and manage your own affairs. Try to spread national education (in the country), promote the cause of *Swadeshi*, settle your own disputes, and prove to the authorities that you can accomplish everything without extraneous help and that you are a living nation. It is possible that your path may be beset with numerous difficulties, but, instead of being frightened and retracing their footsteps at the sight of difficulties and hardships, (brave) men take their lives into their hands and step forward."

Why some political agitators have left for England recently.

7. In an article headed "Why has Mr. Pal gone to England?" the *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 8th September 1908, says that the news that Mr. Pal intended going to England made the people wonder why he should undertake the journey. Mr. Pal also felt that an explanation was called for from him; and accordingly in his reply to the address presented to him by some young men of Sylhet on the eve of his departure from India he stated his reasons for going to England. After reprinting a report of the speech, the paper observes that as a result either of his six months' imprisonment or of the recent discoveries (at Calcutta) Mr. Pal wishes to abandon his present position. He has fled to England in order to save his skin, but does not like to betray his weakness of heart. It is to be hoped that the British public will refuse him a hearing and send him about his business.

The *Parkash* then goes on to say that all the so-called representatives of the people who have of late been flying from India have been doing so with the sole object of escaping from the clutches of the Government. They do not, however, admit their weakness, it adds, and have been trying to practise deception on the people. Is it such cowardly persons, it asks, who are deserting India at a critical time like the present, who can carry political agitation in the country to a successful issue ? The people are having a hard time of it owing to the repression practised by Government, and these men ought to have kept up the spirits of their fellow-countrymen. They are, however, flying to England for dear life on the pretext of laying the popular grievances before the British public. After invoking a curse on this lie, the Editor enquires whether Mr. Gokhale was not already there to accomplish that task. He also wishes to know who elected these worthies to represent the people in England. In conclusion, he says that nothing can please Government better than that all those whom it regards as its opponents should rid the country of their presence.

Misplaced sympathy with political prisoners.

8. The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 9th August 1908, publishes a communication headed "Bethink yourselves, friends," in which the writer regrets that Chidambaram Pillay and others should have involved themselves in trouble by taking the law into their own hands after having been forbidden to hold a meeting to express joy at the release of Babu Bepin Chandra Pal from jail. The Babu, he adds, is a man of straw, and it was a mistake on their part to extend their sympathy to him. It did not become Mr. Pillay and his companions to set Government and the local authorities against them for the sake of a Bengali of no position. What have the people gained, enquires the correspondent, by showing their misplaced sympathy with persons like Tilak, Arabindo Ghosh, Bepin Pal and others ? The last named can render no pecuniary help to, or confer any title or jagir on, those who sympathise with them. If the latter had displayed such energy in rendering loyalty and obedience to Government they would have gained not only true honour, but material benefit also. After remarking that those who call the English tyrants and oppressors are themselves devoid of all sense of gratitude, the writer refers to some of the blessings conferred by British rule on natives and advises his fellow-countrymen to demand their rights from Government in a respectful manner to avoid involving themselves in trouble. He concludes as follows : "Friends, for God's sake, bethink yourselves ! Have pity on the wretched condition of your country. Lessen its difficulties and not add to them. Spread peace in the land, co-operate with Government in the administration and in suppressing unrest. Promote arts, industries and *swadeshism*, which enjoy the support even of Government. Render obedience to your present ruler, which is equivalent to obeying God, inasmuch as it is He who appoints men to rule. His (the King's) unbounded generosity should never make you insolent."

Forfeiture of a retired Tahildar's pension for participation in disloyal agitation.

9. In a paragraph headed "Pension and agitation" the *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 5th September 1908, says that Babu Sheoraj Singh, a pensioned Tahsildar in the Central Provinces, has had his pension forfeited on the charge of having participated in disloyal agitation. Commenting on the proceeding the paper observes that the authorities in India have

been conducting themselves differently from the rest of mankind. It would like to know which political movement in the country is carried on on lines inconsistent with that loyalty and good behaviour subject to which Government grants pensions to its servants. The existing commotion (in Bengal) is undoubtedly to be deplored, but the state of affairs in other parts of the country is not akin to that in Bengal, and the entire population should not be condemned because of the doings of a few foolish and short-sighted Bengalis. After remarking that, generally speaking, the political agitation carried on in India is constitutional in character, the *Punjab Samachar*, observes that a pension is earned after approved service for the best part of one's life, and that consequently it is anything but just to forfeit a pension owing simply to the pensioner participating in political agitation. The notification, it adds, confiscating Babu Sheoraj Singh's pension does not specify the exact nature of the offence on account of which the Babu has been deprived of his pension. The paper thinks that his offence consists merely in taking part in the political agitation which is being carried on in the country in a lawful and constitutional manner. And if this surmise is correct it cannot but deprecate the conduct of the Central Provinces Government in issuing the above notification. The *Pioneer* and other (Anglo-Indian newspapers are jubilant over the matter, and suggest that (offending) *ex*-Deputy Collectors and *ex*-Collectors also should be dealt with like Sheoraj Singh. If they think that the threat will have the effect of leading Sir Henry Cotton and others (retired Anglo-Indian officers) who think with him to abstain from standing by India they are labouring under a mistake. In conclusion, the Editor remarks that official measures like the one under reference are calculated to deepen and not to decrease the unrest in the country.

## II—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

Mohmand raids into British territory.

10. In a paragraph headed "Complex difficulties," the *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 11th September 1908, says that the Mohmand raids into the Peshawar *ilaka* are due to the existence of two Governments in Mohmand territory. The inhabitants of the part of the territory under the Kabul Darbar are in the habit of inciting the other Mohmands against the English, while fiery preachings by Mullahs help to add fuel to the fire. After referring to the punitive expedition recently despatched against the Mohmands, the paper expresses surprise that they should not take warning even from the punishment and losses inflicted on them and should fail to mend their ways. They look, it adds, not to Peshawar but to Kabul, and play into hands of those of their number who own allegiance to the Amir. It then goes on to say that it is invariably Hindus who are looted and murdered in tribal raids into British territory. They are, however, neither compensated for their losses nor have satisfactory arrangments been made to ensure the safety of their lives and property. It must also be patent to all that the raids referred to help to lower Government's prestige in the eyes of the people. In conclusion, the Editor suggests that, as a tenative measure, Government should supply fire-arms to its subjects in the frontier districts to enable them to defend themselves.

## IV—Kine-Killing.

Kine-killing in India.

11. The *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 11th September 1908, publishes a communication headed "Cow-protection" from one Hira Singh Datt. The writer begins by saying that it is incumbent upon every Hindu to afford protection

to the cow, adding that the animal is a source of innumerable advantages and that the existence of the people of India is bound up with it. After remarking that the ancient Hindus used to hold it dearer than life and relating a story to illustrate the point, he says that their descendants of the present generation see this sacred and useful animal marched to the shambles in thousands and have to keep quiet. They undoubtedly feel a wish to go to the rescue of the ill-used creature, but they lack the necessary courage and daring. Although they may not say so openly non-Hindus also feel the cruel treatment of the cow, for the reason that the animal is useful to Indians of all classes and creeds. The correspondent next refers to the extreme importance of kine to agriculturists, and goes on to say that all sections of Hindus—Aryas, Brahmans, Sanatanists, Sikhs and Parsis (*sic*)—are unanimous in holding that cows should be protected and prevented from being slaughtered. The people, he adds, derive immense benefits from the animal and it is the height of ingratitude to kill it for food. If it were to become extinct the country would be utterly ruined, while its indiscriminate slaughter has nearly trebled the price of bullocks and quadrupled that of *ghi*, which enters largely into dietary throughout the country. It is, therefore, the duty of Indians of all classes to make united efforts to put down kine-slaughter in the land. After referring to Swami Dayanand's efforts in this behalf, the writer expresses satisfaction at the establishment of cow-protection societies at Amritsar and Gujranwala, and calls upon the leading Hindu residents of Lahore to imitate the example and save hundreds of cows and bullocks from the butcher's knife.

## VII.—General Administration.

### (*a*)—*Judicial.*

Withdrawal of sedition cases against Mr. Iyer.

12. The *Akhbar-i Am* (Lahore), of the 10th September 1908, publishes an article headed "The Madras sedition case," in which it says that it is very glad to learn that Mr. G. Subramania Iyer has expressed sincere regret (at the writings objected to) and has assured Government that he will never indulge in seditious writings or speeches in future. His conduct, adds the paper, argues extreme prudence on his part, and the Madras Government also is deserving of praise for not having shown a spirit of vindictiveness and for having pardoned Mr. Iyer out of regard for his gentlemanliness, old age and ill-health. It then goes on to say that it is quite possible that some persons, especially the extremists, may attribute Mr. Iyer's conduct to cowardice, but that all moderate and thoughtful persons will be certain to praise him for the step taken by him. It is human to err, but woe to those who do not acknowledge the mistakes committed by them and confound this with perseverance. The paper further remarks that Mr. Iyer has admitted by his conduct that he had undoubtedly been guilty of sedition, for otherwise there was no necessity for him to tender an apology and save his skin by furnishing securities for good behaviour. After advising its contemporaries to conduct themselves with extreme caution in these days it concludes with the remark that all is well that ends well.

Withdrawal of sedition cases against Mr. Iyer.

13. In a paragraph headed "All's well that ends well," the *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 9th September 1908, remarks that it argues extreme mercy and magnanimity on the part of Government to have withdrawn the

prosecution, for which not only Mr. Iyer but also the entire public should feel thankful to Government. The authorities, it adds, have made ample amends for the pain caused to the public by the institution of proceedings against Mr, Iyer and his non-enlargement on bail in spite even of his old age and poor health. After praising Government for the manner in which it has ended the prosecution, the Editor says that it was recently remarked by the Governor of Bombay that Government would not treat any one in a vindictive spirit, and the Governor of Madras has afforded practical proof of this by releasing Mr. Iyer.

Withdrawal of sedition cases against Mr. Iyer.

14. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 11th September 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "Sedition cases withdrawn," in which the paper expresses satisfaction at the release of Mr. Iyer. It adds that in other sedition cases also the Government of India should have directed the Local Governments concerned to follow the procedure adopted in the case against Mr. Iyer. It would have been better to put down seditious writings by binding down (offending) Editors to keep the peace rather than by wounding the feelings of the people and widening the gulf between the rulers and the ruled by inflicting heavy punishments on the said journalists. If the Bombay and Madras Governments were to pursue the same policy in other sedition cases also not only would the ends of justice be (equally) served but further unrest would not be created in the country under the pretext of preserving the peace.

The Delhi punkha coolie's case.

15. The *Army News* (Ludhiana), of the 12th September 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "A concession to public opinion," in which it says that all justice-loving persons will be gratified to learn that the Local Government has applied to the Chief Court to enhance the sentence passed on Fireman Davies. After expressing satisfaction at the Punjab Government having listened to public opinion regarding the inadequacy of the sentence, the paper observes that there can be no doubt that the unrest in the country is due to justice not being done between whites and black men. It concludes by remarking that it is the duty of Government to remove the complaint.

The Delhi punkha coolie's case.

16. In a paragraph headed "Two dissimilar pictures" the *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 12th September 1908, says that only recently an aged native Pleader named Durga Charan Sanyal was sentenced to four years' imprisonment on the charge of assaulting two Europeans in a moving train, no regard being paid to his grey hair or to his having been pronounced "not guilty" by the Assessors. Fireman Davies of Delhi, however, who kicked a punkha coolie to death, has been merely sentenced to undergo one month's imprisonment and to pay a fine of Rs. 100. The reason why he has been let off so cheaply is only that he is a white man. After enquiring whether the terrors of the Indian Penal Code are reserved for black men alone, the paper says that decisions like the one given in the Delhi punkha coolie's case constitute a blot on British justice. It is matter for regret, it adds, that innocent (native) Editors should be punished under sections 153 A and 124 A of the Indian Penal Code, while Magistrates who create class-hatred by passing unequal sentences like those referred to are not interfered with.

The *Jhang Sial* libel cases.

17. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 12th September 1908, publishes an article headed "An appeal for help" over the signature of the Editor. The writer begins by saying that since the 4th April last, on which date he wrote about the road constructed by Mr. Wakefield and the action taken against a local student for not having salaamed the Deputy Commissioner, he has been subjected to gross oppression. It would fill a book if he were to recount the attacks made on him by Mr. Harcourt quite openly and in utter disregard of his official position. Although that officer knew that the road referred to had been badly constructed he caused Mr. Wakefield to institute legal proceedings against the Editor. At first he was also a witness for the prosecution, but subsequently began to pull the strings in secret. The result has been that a second libel case has been filed against the Editor, while in the first case he has been punished with fine and imprisonment. After remarking that his enemies have set the Deputy Commissioner against him for nothing, he says that he finds himself pitted against the head of a district. Only the subscribers to his paper can help him in maintaining his position, and he calls upon them to help him with money and by securing more subscribers for the *Jhang Sial*. He has resolved to manfully oppose the oppression to which he is being subjected, to bring the true facts to the notice of Government and to baffle the Deputy Commissioner in his attempts to throw a veil over his irregularities. The Editor can accomplish this object only if his readers make a liberal response to his appeal. In conclusion, he says that the cases instituted against him should clearly show Government what class of (Anglo-Indian) officer is deepening the unrest in the country and what sorts of people are increasing distrust between the rulers and the ruled.

In another paragraph the Editor says that he is not a man of property and has been incurring considerable expenditure in connection with the case filed against him by Mr. Wakefield. He did not wish to trouble his readers over a common case, but the proceedings instituted against him by Mr. Wakefield are no longer of an ordinary nature. The severe sentence passed on him, and a consideration of the facts of the case, will reveal at once that he has to do not with the complainant but with a (more) powerful man (*lit.* power) who works against him, sometimes in secret and sometimes openly. After remarking that all this has not frightened him in the least, he calls upon his readers to help him with money in his hour of need and to prove to the world that the native public appreciate the services of the servants of their country and do not hesitate to extend their sympathy to the oppressed.

Difficulties of native Editors.

18. In a paragraph headed "Why has *The Mysore Herald* ceased to exist?" the *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 12th September 1908, remarks that the sword of sedition hangs over the heads of (native) journalists in a threatening manner and that the new (press) laws have made life a burden to them. They are between two fires and do not know how they are to conduct themselves. If they keep silent they are found guilty, before both God and man, of not performing their duty, while by exposing irregular and illegal doings (on the part of the authorities) they run the risk of being imprisoned, transported and hanged. Nevertheless, they would not have been deterred from performing their duty if they had known that (on being prosecuted by Government) they would be dealt with justly. As it is, they are tried by those very persons

whose doings they venture to criticise. It is this consideration which has induced an old newspaper like *The Mysore Herald* to put an end to its existence. In conclusion, the paper reprints an extract from the said journal bearing on the subject.

Trade in Indian-made sugar.

19. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 12th September 1908, publishes an article headed "Trade in country-made sugar threatened." The paper begins by saying that the cry of *swadeshism* in India has led foreign Governments to take steps to protect the trade of their respective countries. The public, it adds, is fully aware that the import of foreign-made sugar has greatly injured the trade in its indigenous rival and has brought about a decrease in the cultivation of sugarcane. Lord Curzon's Government levied a countervailing duty on imported sugar; and although the import was meant for the benefit only of England, it was a source of some consolation to the heavily-taxed natives. After stating that the duty has recently been taken off Russian-made sugar, the paper says that the concession will be certain to decrease the trade in country-made sugar still further. Can the people, it asks, request Government to lower the rates of land revenue fixed by it for sugarcane in order to kill the trade referred to? Will it at least empower Municipal Committees to levy heavy duties on foreign-made sugar? The Editor has no hope that it will do so, seeing that it has ever turned a deaf ear to thousands of prayers from the people in the past. He therefore exhorts his fellow-countrymen to prepare themselves to ward off the attack, adding that their inactivity at the present juncture will be certain to put an end to the cultivation of sugarcane in the country. They should gird up their loins to encourage the trade in Indian-made sugar and should exert themselves to improve the manufacture of the article The rich among them should establish sugar-factories on a large scale. Nothing can be accomplished by simply petitioning the authorities. If Government sees that the people can achieve something single-handed, it will lend them a helping hand of its own accord.

The policy of the *Nazim-ul-Hind*.

20. The *Nazim-ul-Hind* (Lahore), of the 12th September 1908, publishes an article headed "Anger at our policy," in which it says that if it pleads for reconciliation between Hindus and Muhammadans (even) the far-sighted among the latter try to silence it. As for its efforts to bring the Shias and Sunnis together, it is accused of stirring up sectional hatred in the Muslim community. After remarking that it finds itself in a fix in consequence, the paper observes that India is likely to fare ill owing to its being inhabited by peoples professing different religions. The country's political struggle, it adds, constitutes the most important question of the day, and furnishes food for thought even to schoolboys. Whether Hindus or Musalmans turn out to be the hero of the drama, each community will have to play some part in it or move off the stage. It is impossible for the followers either of Hindnism or of Islam to keep themselves aloof from legitimate agitation, while they can never supply their common wants by refusing to work together. The *Nazim-ul-Hind* then goes on to say that the prevailing unrest and the (anarchist) conspiracy have prompted even careless minds to avoid speaking the truth in the present troublous times. Musalmans are being told that the National Congress is viewed by the authorities with feelings of anger and distrust and that they should give it a wide berth on pain of dismissal. Endeavour is made to

impress on them that the Congress is a temple raised by idolatrous Hindus and that by entering it "the faithful" will be set down as disloyal subjects of the Crown. After remarking that loyalty in India is a sensitive plant which withers instantly on being touched, the paper says that, according to the political beliefs held in certain quarters, the imprisonment of Mr. Tilak should make the people overlook his scholarship, his eminent position and his life-long services to the country. Similarly if a native is punished with transportation on the charge of seditious writing his countrymen should on no account put in a good word for him. Those who believe that the British Government is fond of flattery and given to oppression hold the opinion that they and their community can win honour only by offering mean flattery (to the authorities). Apparently their sole object is to serve their selfish purposes by practising deception on Government, and their conduct is very far from being patriotic. The just, sagacious and vigilant Government is, however, fully aware of the astute moves which are being made by the so-called loyalists in the country. It is not inimically disposed towards *any* section of its subjects and affords even avowed rebels an opportunity of clearing themselves in a court of law. After enquiring why he should not, then, speak the truth, the Editor observes that by holding themselves aloof from Hindus the Prophet's followers cannot fully acquit themselves as loyal subjects of Government. The different classes of natives, he adds, should not overlook the advantages of union and should live like friends, which will deepen the peace, and ensure the progress of the country. True loyalty to Government consists in not breaking the collective strength of the people, in avoiding mutual jealousies and in living in peace and amity, so that even an undesirable movement may be converted into legitimate agitation. "This," says the *Nazim-ul-Hind* in conclusion, "is the policy which we follow. Whatever is now happening in the country should be dyed with the colours of friendship and moderation and the British Government should be sincerely considered the permanent Government of India."

F. ISEMONGER,

*Asst. to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*
*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

SIMLA :
*The* 19*th September* 1908.

Punjab Government Branch Press, Simla—25-9-08—314—97.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 39. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

**Received up to 26th September 1908.**

---

## CONTENTS.


Page

I.—Politics.

*(a)—Foreign—*

3. Ill-treatment of Indians in South Africa *(Paisa Akhbar)* ... ... ... ... 575
2. Ill-treatment of Indians in South Africa *(Hindustan)* 576
3. The problem before Turkey *(Punjabee)* ... ... *ib.*

*(b)—Home—*

4. Anarchism in Bengal *(Review of Religions)* ... 577
5. Sir Agha Khan and *Swaraj (Hindustan)* ... 578
6. Proposed Jubilee of the Proclamation of 1858 *(Hindustan)* ... ... ... *ib.*
7. The *Swadeshi* movement ... ... ... 579

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

*Nil.*

III.—Native States.

*Nil.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

*Nil.*

V.—Native Societies and Religious matters.

8. Hindu civilisation *(Sanatan Dharm Gazette)* ... 579

VI.—Legislation.

*Nil.*

Page.

VII.—General Administration.

*(a)—Judicial—*

9. Mr. Tilak's conviction *(Tribune)* ... 580

*(b)—Police—*

*Nil.*

*(c)—Municipal and Cantonment affairs—*

*Nil.*

*(d)—Education—*

*Nil.*

*(e)—Agriculture and questions affecting the land—*

*Nil.*

*(f)—Railways and Communications—*

*Nil.*

*(g)—Postal matters—*

*Nil.*

*(h)—Miscellaneous—*


INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY & RECORDS

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 39. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

**Received up to 26th September 1908.**

---

### I.—Politics.

#### (a)—*Foreign.*

1. The ***Paisa Akhbar*** (Lahore), of the 16th September 1908, publishes an article headed "***The forbidden land for Indians***," in which it remarks that the condition of Indians in South Africa is going from bad to worse. The failure of the Transvaal Government to fulfil its promise to repeal the Asiatic Registration Act has revived the difficulties which were witnessed at the time of the passing of the measure. Although Indians in the *ex*-Boer Republic have been voicing their grievances and the press in this country has been drawing the Ministry's attention to their pitiable condition, still both the Transvaal authorities and the Imperial Government will not consent to take pity on them. Their cries for justice resemble a cry in the wilderness, for they have failed to evoke any response. The doors of Natal and of the Transvaal have been shut in their faces with one stroke of the pen. Although thieves, robbers and other bad characters in Europe and America are free to emigrate to these colonies, there is no room in them for the poor, frugal, hard-working and well-behaved Indian labourers and traders. It was the Indians who converted Natal and the Transvaal from howling deserts into smiling gardens, and although, according to the Proclamation of 1858, the colonists there stand to Indians in the relation of fellow-subjects and enjoy every facility for carrying away immense sums of money from this country, they are so mean and narrow-minded that they cannot bear to see Indian labourers earn a few rupees in South Africa. The paper then praises the determination of Hindu, Muhammadan and Parsi immigrants in the Transvaal to stand by one another, and says that the conduct of the local Government in going back on its word to repeal the Registration Act has led them to burn their registration certificates and to resolve to endure imprisonment and every other hardship rather than to obey this objectionable law. A very large number of Indian traders have closed their shops and the immigrants have adopted other methods to express their indignation at the Transvaal Government's shameful disregard of its promise to repeal the Act. The Editor next reprints two telegrams recently received from Indians at Durban and Johannesburg calling upon the country to stand by its children in South Africa. It is to be hoped, he adds, that the appeal will find an echo in the hearts of all natives and make them extend their sympathy to their oppressed countrymen in the dark

Ill-treatment of Indians in South Africa.

INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY & RECORDS

continent. Mr. Gandhi's son was first imprisoned, and now the distressing news of the arrest and imprisonment of other respectable Indians has been received. This should leave no room for doubt that Indian immigrants in South Africa are being grossly ill-treated by their white neighbours. The people repose deep faith in the sense of justice of the British nation and God forbid that they should ever waver in this faith in the least! Having regard, however, to the fact that some unrest already prevails in this country the ill-treatment of Indians in the Transvaal and Natal may be relied upon to produce an undesirable impression on the minds of the people. It is therefore to be hoped that the Imperial Government will not continue to be indifferent to the rights of Indians in South Africa.

Ill-treatment of Indians in South Africa.

2. Writing under the heading "*A cry for help*" *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 18th September 1908, says that Indian immigrants in South Africa are being grossly ill-treated by their white neighbours. After remarking that it is a very unequal struggle which is going on between the two parties, the paper says that the only hopeful sign of the situation is the matchless courage of the Indian immigrants in enduring the hardships to which they are being subjected. It next reprints the cablegram recently received from Indians at Johannesburg and says that the holding of protest meetings by natives can serve no useful purpose. When the voice raised at such gatherings is not listened to by the authorities in India, there cannot be the least likelihood of its being heeded by the Governments of the Transvaal and other British colonies. The only way in which to put an end to the troubles of Indians in South Africa is to confer the full rights of British subjects on the people of this country. These rights are enjoyed by the English, the Scotch, the Irish, the Canadians, the Australians, the New Zealanders and all white men in South Africa and no one in any quarter of the globe dare treat them with contempt or contumely. Indians also own allegiance to the same Sovereign, but in spite of repeated promises to them, they have not yet been granted the full rights of British subjects. The paper then goes on to say that all they can do in the existing circumstances is to convene public meetings and bring pressure to bear upon the Viceroy, the Secretary of State and the Colonial Secretary to prevent the Governments of the Transvaal and Natal from practising oppression upon Indian immigrants. It also asks the British Government not to be indifferent to the disastrous consequences to which the detestable ill-treatment of Indians in the Transvaal will be certain to lead. Wherever the British flag floats natives of India should receive the same treatment that is accorded to other British subjects. It is inadvisable that feelings of hatred should exist between different parts of the British Empire, and it will be a serious mistake on the part of the Imperial Government not to put a speedy end to the oppression practised upon Indians in South Africa. It is with the ulterior object of injuring England's Empire that the Boers are oppressing Indians in the Transvaal, and the British Government should not leave its loyal Indian subjects at the mercy of its enemies, the Boers.

The problem before Turkey.

3. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 26th September 1908 :—

"Advices from Russia received in Western Europe state that one of the persons taking the greatest interest in the changed order of things in Turkey is the Czar, who has been specially impressed by the spontaneously responsible attitude of Sultan Hamid

that has made such a bloodless revolution possible. His Majesty King Edward also has, according to Reuter, telegraphed his congratulations to the Sultan on his birthday, wishing him success in the new regime he has inaugurated. Both these facts go to show that the 'Unspeakable Turk' has surprised Europe by the tact, moderation and capacity for the true art of government which he has displayed in the present crisis; and Turkey's example will be added to that of Japan that Oriental peoples need not wait for centuries to develop the qualities necessary for attaining self-government or any of the other arts of modern civilisation. What is needed is the proper attitude on the part of the ruling powers, and the Sultan has so far followed in the footsteps of the Mikado with credit to himself as well as to the advantage of his people. The young Turks have, on their part, given ample proofs of their sincerity and earnestness, and the way in which they have proceeded to deal with the Christian subjects of the Empire has given the lie to the theory that the Islamic law forbids the admittance of non-Moslems to a footing of equality. The Committee is now hard at work elaborating the legislative and administrative programme which is proposed to be submitted to the electors and the first Parliament, and the chief feature of the programme is said to be the appeal it will make to the national feeling of the people. The watchword will be liberty and equality for all races and religions. All the subjects of the Empire—Turks, Greeks, Bulgars, Serbs, Albanians, &c., be they Muhammadans, Christians, or Jews—are to be invited to remember that they are all Ottomans and subjects of a great Empire, and that it is possible for them to have a common patriotism as Ottomans without forgetting their respective blood, language, or faith."

### (*b*)—*Home.*

Anarchism in Bengal.

4. In his manifesto published in the *Review of Religions* (Kadian) for September the head of the Ahmadiya community writes:—"Unfortunately political circumstances in this country have taken such a turn that I think it necessary to draw your attention to the exhortations of our late leader. The danger which he had foreseen has begun to manifest itself, and in Bengal it appears in the rise of an Anarchist movement which aims to carry out its evil designs by the manufacture and throwing of bombs. But the Government has been informed in time of their anarchic designs and many men have been arrested. Personally I view these mischievous designs with the greatest horror and condemn such doings as the blackest deeds of which any human being can be guilty, and I believe that the same view is held by every member of this community whose leader pronounced in clear words that any one who was guilty of hiding in his heart any seditious idea against this Government could not be called his follower. I therefore once again enjoin in the most emphatic words all members of the Ahmadiyya community in general, and such members as live in the province of Bengal in particular, that they should shun the company of all such mischievous and seditious people and sever their connections even with those persons whose ideas savour of sedition in the least, and so far as it lies in their power they should bring the entertainers of all evil designs against the Government to the notice of the authorities.

"There is another point I wish to mention in this connection. There are newspapers in India which are either openly preaching sedition or inciting the public against the Government and its high officials. I enjoin upon my followers not to subscribe to or in any way support such papers, and not to show any sympathy for the seditious writers who are being punished for their seditious writings, for expression of sympathy with them is nothing

but wishing evil for the peace of the country. I know that there are people who think that the offence of preaching sedition against the Government is not a heinous crime, but such people are clearly in error and, no doubt, promote the spread of seditious ideas. To excite disaffection against the Government and to spread seditious ideas is not only an attempt against the Government established by law in the country, but is really a step directed against the peace and freedom of the country itself. Such people are the enemies of their country, though they might pose to be its well-wishers.

"Bear in mind also that Islam condemns all kinds of secret societies, as the Holy Quran says : 'Verily secret societies are satanical.' And again it says : 'O ye who believe ! when you hold private converse together, converse not with wickedness and hate and disobedience towards the Apostle, but let your private converse be with justice and the fear of God,' (lviii : 10, 11). These are plain injunctions contained in the Holy Quran which prohibit the Muslims from joining secret societies such as those which have been discovered as carrying on the manufacture of bombs in secret, and everyone who calls himself a Muhammadan should act upon the words of the Holy Book."

Sir Agha Khan and *Swaraj*.

5. In a paragraph headed "*Swaraj is an impossibility* !" *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 18th September 1908, says that it is a gratuitous assumption on the part of Sir Aga Khan that the idea of *Swaraj* for India is idle and michievous. He should bear in mind that it is by giving the idle and mischievous idea of *Swaraj* a practical shape that Turkey has acquired a new lease of life and saved herself from eternal death and obscurity. Nor would the establishment of *Swaraj* in India lead to complications in the country as Sir Aga Khan seems to apprehend. On the contrary, the change would make the native community taste of peace and happiness. The representatives of the people would be enabled to attend to the latter's wants and complaints, while any difficulty or complication arising in the country would promptly be removed. Sir Aga Khan is also wrong in saying that the grant of *Swaraj* to India would arrest the country's intellectual, industrial, material and political advancement. So far from this being the case, the scattered forces now engaged in achieving progress would be brought to a focus. Again, Sir Aga Khan says that he can never ask for *Swaraj* for India ; and his position is perfectly intelligible. Being of Persian extraction he cannot bear to see Indians have a hand in the administration of their country. It is perhaps, nay, undoubtedly, his heart's desire that instead of obtaining *Swaraj* India should become a Persian or at least a Muhammadan possession. There is also another reason for his opposition to the idea of *Swaraj* and that is that in the event of the people managing their own affairs their mental condition would no longer be so low as to enable him to continue feathering his nest by making Hindus confound Krishna with Ali. *Pir* worship, on which alone his present greatness rests, will have been swept away.

Proposed Jubilee of the Proclamation of 1858.

6. In a paragraph headed "The Jubilee celebrations to be held in 1908" *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 18th September 1908, reports that it is rumoured in official quarters that these celebrations will be held on the 1st January 1909 and not on the 1st November next. Although the event may take place on the next New Year's Day the authorities should not fail to promulgate on the 1st November a proclamation in order to reassure the people.

After remarking that all Editors under arrest should be released on this occasion, the paper says that Government should also disabuse itself of the idea that there exists any sedition in the country. No native journalist has ever entertained the impracticable thought of attempting to subvert British rule in India. The cry for reform which has been confounded with sedition is always excusable, and Government has been inflicting severe punishments in an *ex-parte* spirit, wholly overlooking the mistakes committed by itself. *Hindustan* then goes on to say that Lord Minto stated in his Budget speech of 1906 that he believed in the existence of a new spirit in India and that he would consider it his duty to guide this spirit aright. So far, however, he has done nothing practical in this direction, nay, he has crushed the spirit by severely punishing patriotic natives. After remarking that there can be no denying the fact that this mistake on his part is responsible for the birth of anarchism in the country, the paper observes that a Government cannot commit a more serious mistake than to delay in conciliating its subjects.

The *Swadeshi* movement.

7. In a paragraph headed "The success of *Swadeshi*" the *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 12th September 1908, says that, according to Reuter, the Lancashire weaving mills were to be closed for 15 days in the current month. This shows how British manufacturers are being affected by the *Swadeshi* movement in India. Such news encourages natives to think that their efforts have not been in vain and that if they devote full attention to the movement their salvation will undoubtedly be assured. Till the achievement of that result, however, Great Britain should rule India with sympathy and justice. Further on, however, the paper says that it is not sufficient that natives should only be treated with sympathy and justice, adding that even a dog receives sympathy at its master's hands. Natives have not yet fallen so low that they should be content with sympathy alone. What they desire is that they should not only be treated with justice, but that they should also be placed on a footing of equality (with the English) and have the liberty of speech and action conferred on them.

Hindu civilisation.

8. The *Sanatan Dharm Gazette* (Lahore), of the 16th September 1908, publishes an article headed "*The civilisation of the Hindus*," in which it says that India has been under personal rule since the earliest times. Her Rajas and Maharajas were not, however, despotic as the ancient rulers of other countries used to be. They had to obey the laws embodied in Manu's Code, while the Brahmins and Kshatriyas entrusted with the task of legislation occupied a position higher than that of the Sovereign After quoting an extract from Magasthenes describing how the affairs of towns and villages were managed, the paper says that a perusal of Asoka's inscriptions reveal that that Monarch's Government was highly civilised; that he sympathised not only with human beings, but also with animals; that he had hospitals established for the treatment of both; that although he was a Buddhist himself he allowed no interference in the religious affairs of others; and that he used to employ censors to correct the morals of his subjects. It then goes on to say that the Hindu laws have been adversely criticised. It is asserted that there were different laws for the Brahmins and Sudras, and that while a Sudra guilty of killing a Brahmin was punished with death, a Brahmin murdering a Sudra was only exiled from the country. The critics, however,

forget that exile was not a lighter punishment than transportation of these days, and that a white man killing a native is not even transported but escapes scot-free. In conclusion, the paper says that the war laws of Hindus were more humane than those observed by any other ancient nation.

9. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 20th September 1908 :—

Mr. Tilak's conviction.

"As we go to press, we understand that the sentence of six year's transportation passed on Mr. Tilak has been commuted to one of six years' simple imprisonment. There can be no two opinions as regards the wisdom and generosity which have prompted this act of commendable clemency and kindly forethought on the part of the Government, and as such the news will be received with feelings of profound relief and universal satisfaction. This is not the occasion to discuss Mr. Tilak's politics nor to pass in review the incidents of his trial, but this much is recognised on all hands, that Mr. Tilak is a scholar of European repute and his researches in the realms of Sanskrit learning and antiquarian lore have won for him a distinguished place among Oriental savants the world over. His books, the "Orion," and the article "Home in the Vedas," command deserved respect for the author's originality of research and his thorough mastery of the subject. Considering his erudition, and his age and state of health, the wish was generally expressed that Government might generously see its way to relax the rigours of his incarceration, and allow him facilities to pass his hours in the realms of thought and scholarly pursuit. It speaks well of the Government's broad statesmanship and wise solicitude that they have not proved oblivious of this important consideration and have exercised their power in a beneficent manner. We lately remarked that after the withdrawal of the case against Mr. G. Subramania Iyer there would be nothing extraordinary in Government showing some consideration to Mr. Tilak. This they have readily done, and we heartily congratulate Government on its humane exercise of its prerogative."

F. ISEMONGER,

*Asst. to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police,*
*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

SIMLA :
*The 26th September* 1908.

Punjab Government Branch Press, Simla—2-10-08—337—97

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 40. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

**Received up to 3rd October 1908.**

---

## CONTENTS.


Page.

I.—POLITICS.

*(a)—Foreign—*

1. Indian coolies in the Mauritius Island *(Arya Gazette)* 581
2. Indians in the Transvaal *(Bedari)* ... ... *ib.*
3. European civilisation *(Arya Gazette)* ... ... 582

*(b)—Home—*

4. The so-called awakening in India *(Makhzan)* ... 583
5. India and self-government *(Hindustan)* ... 584
6. The Ahmadis and Government *(Hakam)* ... *ib.*

II.—AFGHANISTAN AND TRANS-FRONTIER.

*Nil.*

III.—NATIVE STATES.

*Nil.*

IV.—KINE-KILLING.

*Nil.*

V.—NATIVE SOCIETIES AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

7. A dispute over the use of *jhatka* meat *(Paisa Akhbar)* ... ... ... ... 585
8. A dispute over the use of *jhatka* meat *(Akhbar-i-'Am)* ... ... ... ... ... *ib.*

VI.—LEGISLATION.

*Nil.*

Page.

VII.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

*(a)—Judicial—*

9. The sentence on Mr. Tilak *(Hindustan)* ... ... 586

*(b)—Police—*

10. Assault on Mr. Glass *(Hindustan)* ... ... 586

*(c)—Municipal and Cantonment affairs—*

*Nil.*

*(d)—Education—*

11. National Education *(Hindustan)* ... ... 587

*(e)—Agriculture and questions affecting the land—*

*Nil.*

*(f)—Railways and Communications—*

12. A railway complaint *(Vakil)* ... ... 588

*(g)—Postal matters—*

*Nil.*

*(h)—Miscellaneous—*

13. The murder of Miss Taylor *(Panjabee)* ... ... 588
14. The *Hindustan* newspaper *(Hindustan)* ... ... *ib.*

# LIST OF NEWSPAPERS RECEIVED DURING THE QUARTER ENDING 30TH SEPTEMBER 1908.

| No. | Name. | Locality. | Name of Publisher. | Circulation. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **ENGLISH.** | | | |
| | **DAILY.** | | | |
| 1 | Tribune ... | Lahore ... | Mul Chand ... | 1,700 copies. |
| | **BI-WEEKLY.** | | | |
| 2 | Observer ... | Lahore ... | Abdul Rashid ... | 1,000 " |
| 3 | Panjabee ... | Do. ... | Ratan Chand ... | 3,100 " |
| 4 | Punjab Times and Frontier News | Rawalpindi ... | Jiwa Ram, Thappar ... | 300 " |
| | **WEEKLY.** | | | |
| 5 | Arya Messenger ... | Lahore ... | Arya Samaj, Anarkali ... | 700 " |
| 6 | Khalsa Advocate ... | Amritsar ... | Khalsa Advocate Committee. | 1,000 " |
| | **URDU.** | | | |
| | **DAILY.** | | | |
| 7 | Akhbar-i-'Am ... | Lahore ... | Govind Sahai ... | 2,000 " |
| 8 | Paisa Akhbar ... | Do. ... | Mahbub Alam ... | 700 " |
| 9 | Rozana ... | Do. ... | Munshi Ram ... | 200 " |
| | **BI-WEEKLY.** | | | |
| 10 | Hakam ... | Kadian, Gurdaspur district. | Yakub Ali ... | 900 " |
| 11 | Punjab Samachar ... | Lahore ... | Hira Lal ... | 2,000 " |
| 12 | Vakil ... | Amritsar ... | Ghulam Muhammad ... | 1,150 " |
| | **WEEKLY.** | | | |
| 13 | Aftab ... | Delhi ... | Saiyid Haidar Raza ... | 500 " |
| 14 | Aftab-i-Hind ... | Jullundur ... | Haji Barkat Ali ... | 200 " |
| 15 | Ahl-i-Hadis ... | Amritsar ... | Sanaulla ... | 700 " |
| 16 | Ahluwalia Gazette ... | Do. ... | Lehna Singh ... | 500 " |
| 17 | Army News ... | Ludhiana ... | Hira Lal & Co. ... | 1,300 " |
| 18 | Arya Gazette ... | Lahore ... | Bhowani Das ... | 550 " |
| 19 | Bedari ... | Do. ... | Ishari Pershad ... | |
| 20 | Civil and Military News ... | Ludhiana ... | Saiyid Muhammad ... | 1,325 " |
| 21 | Civil and Military Organ ... | Do. ... | Shah Dn ... | |
| 22 | Curzon Gazette .. | Delhi ... | Mirza Hairat ... | 4,000 " |
| 23 | Dost-i-Hind ... | Bhera, district Shahpur | Ram Labhaya ... | 200 " |

## LIST OF NEWSPAPERS RECEIVED DURING THE QUARTER ENDING 30TH SEPTEMBER 1908—CONTINUED.

| No. | Name. | Locality. | Name of Publisher. | Circulation. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | URDU—CONTINUED. | | | |
| | WEEKLY—*continued.* | | | |
| 24 | Haq Pasand ... | Amritsar ... | Ram Nath ... | 500 copies. |
| 25 | Hindustan ... | Lahore ... | Atma Ram ... | 1,300 ,, |
| 26 | Hitkari ... | Do. ... | Do. ... | 850 ,, |
| 27 | Janhar-i-Arb'a ... | Do. ... | Amar Chand ... | |
| 28 | Jhang Sial ... | Jhang ... | Parabh Dial ... | 700 ,, |
| 29 | Kapurthala Akhbar ... | Kapurthala ... | Hamid Husain ... | 155 ,, |
| 30 | Khair Khah-i-Alam ... | Delhi ... | Mir Hassan ... | 110 ,, |
| 31 | Khair Khah-i-Hind ... | Do. ... | Maha Narain ... | 50 ,, |
| 32 | Mr. Gazette ... | Lahore ... | Ali Bakhsh ... | 150 ,, |
| 33 | Native States Gazette ... | Do. ... | Ashik Ali and Sayad Ahmad. | |
| 34 | Nasim-ul-Hind ... | Do. ... | Nasim Husain Khan ... | 200 ,, |
| 35 | Nur Afshan ... | Ludhiana ... | Revd. Dr. E. M. Wherry | 500 ,, |
| 36 | Paisa Akhbar ... | Lahore ... | Mahbub Alam ... | 13,500 ,, |
| 37 | Parkash ... | Do. ... | Soma Deva ... | 700 ,, |
| 38 | Punjab Organ ... | Sialkot .. | Brij Lal ... | 300 ,, |
| 39 | Rajput Gazette ... | Lahore ... | Thakur Sukhram Das ... | 650 ,, |
| 40 | Municipal Gazette and Sada-i-Hind. | Do. ... | Din Muhammad ... | 500 ,, |
| 41 | Sadiq-ul-Akhbar ... | Bahawalpur ... | Maulvi Ata Ulla ... | 392 ,, |
| 42 | Ditto ... | Rewari ... | Safdar Hussain ... | 200 ,, |
| 43 | Sanatan Dharm Gazette ... | Lahore ... | Pandit Hari Kishan ... | 600 ,, |
| 44 | Sher-i-Babar ... | Do. ... | Bishan Singh ... | 500 ,, |
| 45 | Sialkot paper ... | Sialkot ... | Todar Mal ... | 500 ,, |
| 46 | Siraj-ul-Akhbar ... | Jhelum ... | Maulvi Fakir Muhammad | 450 ,, |
| 47 | Tahzib-ul-Niswan ... | Lahore ... | Mrs. Mumtaz Ali ... | 240 ,, |
| 48 | Victoria Paper ... | Sialkot ... | Gian Chand ... | 600 ,, |

## LIST OF NEWSPAPERS RECEIVED DURING THE QUARTER ENDING 30TH SEPTEMBER 1908—CONCLUDED.

| No. | Name. | Locality. | Name of Publisher. | Circulation. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | URD—UCONCLUDED. | | | |
| | WEEKLY—*concluded.* | | | |
| 49 | Wafadar ... | Lahore ... | Fazal-ud-din ... | 600 copies. |
| 50 | Watan ... | Do. ... | Muhammad Insha Alla... | 1,800 „ |
| 51 | Zamindar ... | Karmabad, Gujranwala district. | Siraj-ud-din Ahmad ... | 750 „ |
| | FORTNIGHTLY. | | | |
| 52 | Anwar-ul-Islam ... | Sialkot ... | Karim Bakhsh ... | 900 „ |
| 53 | Jain Ratan ... | Ambala ... | P. Rishi Kesh Shashtri ... | 400 „ |
| 54 | Mohyai Gazette ... | Kala, Jhelum district ... | Mehta Sham Das ... | |
| | MONTHLY. | | | |
| 55 | Almujadad ... | Lahore ... | Taj-ud-din Ahmad ... | |
| 56 | Amrit ... | Hissar ... | Ganeshi Lal, B. A. ... | |
| 57 | Azad ... | Lahore ... | Bishan Sahai ... | |
| 58 | Indar ... | Do. ... | Dharm Pal ... | |
| 59 | Kakezai Social Reformer ... | Do. ... | Fazal-ud-din ... | |
| 60 | Makhzan ... | Delhi ... | Abdul Kadir ... | |
| 61 | Oriental Gazette ... | Lahore ... | Meraj-ud-din ... | |
| 62 | Sadhu ... | Do. ... | Shivrat Lal ... | |
| 63 | Sewak ... | Hansi ... | Kishori Lal, B. A. ... | |
| | PUNJABI. | | | |
| | MONTHLY. | | | |
| 64 | Raghbir Patrika ... | Jhang ... | Prab Dial ... | 500 „ |

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 40. ]

# SELECTIONS
FROM THE
# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS
## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 3rd October 1908.**

---

### I.—Politics.

#### (*a*)—*Foreign.*

Indian coolies in the Mauritius Island.

1. The *Arya Gazette* (Lahore), of the 24th September 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "The Emigration Agent's letter about the Mauritius Island." It begins by saying that in its issue dated the 17th July last (*vide* paragraph 3 of Selections No. 30) it published a communication from one Lala Brindaban making certain allegations regarding the ill-treatment of Indian coolies in Mauritius. The communication, it adds, has elicited a reply from the Government Emigration Agent at Calcutta, who says that no person is shipped to the above Island without his consent and that if a person expresses his unwillingness to go even on reaching Calcutta he is allowed to return home without let or hindrance. He further intimates that if Brindaban will furnish him with his full address and the date of his embarkation from Calcutta, as well as the name of the ship in which he sailed, he will very gladly take the necessary steps against the authorities of the Mauritius Island. The paper is, however, of opinion that the Emigration Agent has done nothing to refute the allegations made by Brindaban or to remove the consequent misapprehensions. It is true that, according to regulations, all intending emigrants are required to appear before several competent officers to declare their willingness to go to a foreign land, but the fact should not be lost sight of that those who support themselves by collecting labourers for emigration abroad can have no hesitation in resorting to all means, legal or otherwise, in order to have the necessary declaration made before the Magistrates. Natives, both men and women, who go abroad in search of work are generally ignorant rustics or well-to-do men who leave their homes in a huff; and it is not very difficult to make both declare before a Magistrate their willingness to emigrate (*lit.* is not very difficult to obtain the consent of both). The question, besides, arises whether, when signing the required contract, an intending emigrant has knowledge of the hardships (which he will have to undergo) and to which a reference has been made by Lala Brindaban. The paper then recapitulates the grievances mentioned in Brindaban's letters and calls upon the Emigration Agent to publish the true facts for the information of the public.

Indians in the Transvaal.

2. Writing under the heading "Indians in the Transvaal" the *Bedari* (Lahore), of the 12th September 1908, says that Indians both in the Transvaal and India have repeatedly complained of the ill-treatment accorded to

their countrymen in South Africa, but that no notice has been taken of their grievances. The Editor would like to know when the troubles and indignities to which Indians are subjected in the *ex*-Boer Republic will come to an end, and remarks that it is a matter for surprise that the British Government, which is held in esteem on account of its equal treatment of all classes of its subjects, should not intervene in the matter and make speedy arrangements for the protection of a weak and peace-loving section of its subjects from the annoyances complained of, so as to convince the public of its impartiality. After giving the substance of Lord Ampthill's letter recently published in the *Times*, the paper remarks that it behoves the Imperial Government either to permanently remedy the evil complained of or act up to the suggestions made by the late Governor of Madras.

European civilisation.

3. The *Arya Gazette* (Lahore), of the 3rd (received on the 25th) September 1908, publishes an article headed "The troubles of the West and their solution by the *Rishis*." In this article the Editor condemns European civilisation and remarks that the more creature-comforts it provides the more unhappiness it causes. Fathers in Europe, it says, do not love their children, nor do the latter love the former. The natural feeling of trust, love and oneness existing in wives and husbands appears to be conspicuous by its absence in the minds of Europeans. A brother thirsts for the blood of a brother and women are bitterly hostile to men. The King does not love his subjects like children, nor do the latter regard the former as a father. Even persons who, on account of their learning and piety, are a source of pride not only to their countrymen, but to the whole world, are being punished with transportation so as to deprive them of an opportunity of serving their country. Such persons are crucified (as it were) so that the world may remain ignorant of their names, works and thoughts. On the other hand, the rulers cannot enjoy a sound and undisturbed sleep and Shakeapeare's saying "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown" is singularly applicable to some of the rulers of the present day. The Czar of Russia does not consider it safe to move about among his subjects because rulers in these days are killed in broad daylight. Secret societies are springing up like mushrooms on all sides. The Nihilists kill even good women and innocent children with as little compunction as they evince in the case of oppressive rulers. As in the days of Aurangzebe so in the present day also one country is anxious to ruin another. The various Governments in Europe are devising plans to ensure peace and yet they are bent upon increasing their armaments. Among ancient Aryans, however, there was no unhappiness because they acted in accordance with the injunctions of the Vedas and loved their religion more than they loved the world and never desired to usurp the rights of others. They loved to protect the weak and help the needy and the poor. They were as unrelenting as death in dealing with sinners, but as soft as wax in showing sympathy towards the pious. The rulers loved their subjects like children and were bent on promoting the welfare of the latter night and day. After remarking that materialism is at present rampant in Europe, the Editor goes on to say that there are two causes which are at the bottom of the unrest prevalent in Europe, *viz.*, (1) the gratification of sensual desires and (2) heedlessness of the well-being of the poor and weak for the sake of selfish enjoyments. The ancient *Rishis*, however, satisfactorily solved these difficulties. The people in these days, perhaps, consider the *varna ashram* as the relic

of an ignorant age, but if careful thought be bestowed on it it will be found that this institution has solved all those difficult problems which are now exercising the minds of the Statesmen of the present day. After describing how the life of an ancient Arya was divided into four periods, how he was allowed to live a worldly life for quarter of a century, and how he devoted the last fourth part of his life in meditation and solitude, the Editor remarks that in these days the (immoral) principle (? of the survival of the fittest—there is a blank in the original here) is greatly rampant in Europe and that it is used to justify the unbearable oppression which is being practised on poor Africans. The greatness of the Aryans in ancient times, however, lay in affording protection to the weak and not in fleecing them. The above principle has found its way into the homes of Europeans themselves. Europeans consider that they have a life connection only with their wives, and the result is that as soon as their sons attain majority and learn to stand on their own feet, they hasten to sever all connection with the latter. Generally speaking, they also maintain no connection with their poor relations, who consequently become dependent on others and are sometimes driven by poverty to commit unspeakable offences (*lit* sins). The ancient Aryans, however, loved their children and helped, as the Hindus still do, their poor relations. Under these circumstances if the present day Aryans desire to save themselves from the unpleasant and bloody struggles of Europe they should follow in the footsteps of their forefathers. They should transfer their worldly affairs to the younger generations and retire to the forest and pass their remaining lives in meditation and retirement.

### (*b*)—*Home.*

**The so-called awakening in India.**

4. The ***Makhzan*** (Delhi), for August 1908, publishes an article under the heading "The common people of India and their indifference" from one Haji Muhammad Musa Khan of Aligarh, who says that in a country like India, containing a population of 30 crore souls, the voice of a few thousand (educated men), who are clamouring for reform, does not count for much. Indeed, so long as signs of awakening do not show themselves in the various communities and peoples residing in this vast country, and so long as all classes of natives do not work in the cause of reform as one man, it is idle to say that a general awakening has taken place in the country. The agricultural community, which forms the bulk of the Indian population, is, so far, quite unaffected by the alleged spirit of reform and progress. Strangely enough, however, the so-called reformers appear to be quite ignorant of the backward condition of the peasantry. The fact, however, remains that a large portion of the population, and by no means an unimportant one, is in a hopeless state of backwardness. The writer is therefore of opinion that the first efforts of reformers should be directed as suggested above, for so long as steps are not taken to bring them on a level with the more enlightened sections of the population, they will assuredly stand in the way of the onward march of the country. Italy, he adds, is among the backward countries of Europe, but even an Italian zamindar is much better off than his Indian brother, in view of the fact that reading rooms and clubs are quite ordinary things for the former, while they are quite unknown to the latter. The writer then refers to the scrupulous observance of caste distinctions which prevents a Brahmin from co-operating with a Sudra, and says that the claim regarding "a general awakening" of Indians is as yet quite premature.

India and self-government.

5. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 25th September 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "A voice from Bengal" in which the writer exhorts the Indians to promote the cause of *Swadeshi* and devote their energies to the development of indigenous industries, and remarks that if they continue to do this with resolution and energy they are bound to succeed because only the fittest can survive in the world. The writer then refers to British rule in India and says that under the present circumstances it is necessary that India should be ruled by foreigners. It is idle at the present moment to surmise as to when the foreign rule will be withdrawn from India because it is a law of nature that all foreign rules must be withdrawn from subject countries in fullness of time. After referring to the withdrawal of Roman legions from England and the conferring of self-government on the Boers in South Africa and also to the separation of Norway from Sweden, the writer says that when Indians are fit for *Swaraj* they will get it surely and certainly, and no power on earth can prevent them from moving on the path of progress and success or keep them in subjection. At the present moment, however, the condition of India is bad in all conscience, and the people are making no serious efforts to complete the edifice of the nationality in India. If they are really earnest to weld themselves into a nation they should in the first place try to develop their character. The system of education at present in vogue in the country is singularly deficient in its power of developing character. Formerly the people used to regard their Gurus with respect, but present day Indian students are notorious for looking down upon their elders and experienced persons. This state of things is extremely injurious to the interest of national progress. English students, on the other hand, are taught obedience and kept under strict discipline, which stands them in good stead in after life, and it behoves Indian students to follow the example of their English *confréres* in this respect.

The Ahmadis and Government.

6. The *Hakam* (Kadian), of the 18th September 1908, publishes a communication headed "The *firman* of the Mehdi's successor (Nur-ud-din, the late Ghulam Ahmad's successor) to all Ahmedis" from Nur-ud-din. In this communication the writer says that loyalty to Government constitutes one of the most important elements in the teaching of the late Messiah of Kadian. There is not a single book written by him in which stress has not been laid on this point. He advised his disciples to remain scrupulously loyal to Government and urged them to be ever ready to serve it. Nor is this all. He has proved that the popular belief respecting *jehad* and the advent of the bloody Mehdi are opposed to the teachings of the Quran. During the last year when some persons in some parts of the country began to spread seditious ideas calculated to cause disturbances he strongly urged his disciples to remain loyal to Government. Moreover, he prohibited them from associating with those persons who were in the habit of inciting their countrymen against Government and advised them to do their best to eradicate the evil of seditious thoughts from the minds of the people. The writer then refers to the notice headed "Necessary advice to the entire (Ahmedi) community" issued by the late Ghulam Ahmad of Kadian, in which the Ahmedis were strictly enjoined to remain loyal to the British Government and in which it was remarked that it would be an act of sheer wickedness on the part of the Ahmedis, who were

progressing under the ægis of British rule, not to feel grateful to the latter. In the face of this notice it is quite unnecessary, says the writer, to refer to the matter again, but certain events which have recently taken place in the country make it incumbent on him to remind his co-religionists again of the injunction of their Prophet in the matter of loyalty of Government. The writer then goes on to say that at the present moment bombs, the advent of which caused such anxiety to the Prophet of Kadian as to prompt him to issue the notice referred to above, have caused a serious outlook in Bengal, where some mischievous persons have begun to create unrest and difficulties for the administration of the country with the help of some impressionable but inexperienced and misguided youths. The writer is confident that the Ahmedis as a body regard with abhorrence these dastardly deeds which led their Prophet to declare that it was extremely wicked to harbour rebellious thoughts against Government. Nevertheless he considers it his duty to urge those whose Imam (spiritual guide) he is, and especially those of them who reside in Bengal, to eschew all association with the abovementioned mischievous and wicked persons and to give up all connection with persons whose thoughts are in any way tainted with sedition. He also exhorts them to help the Government and to bring all (persons holding) seditious thoughts in the country to the notice of the Government. He then advises his followers to abstain from reading or subscribing to those newspapers which are in the habit of spreading seditious and rebellious thoughts in the country and of inciting the people against Government or European officers. He also advises them not to express sympathy with those who are convicted of the crime of sedition, and remarks that those who assert that the spreading of seditious thoughts is not a serious crime are in the wrong because such acts are injurious not only to Government, but to the preservation of the public peace as well, and those who spread seditious thoughts in the country are really the enemies of the country itself. After quoting a verse from the Quran in order to show that the Quran does not favour the establishment of societies referred to above and remarking that the Prophet of Arabia enjoined his followers who went to Abyssinia to remain loyal to the King of that country, who was a Christian, the writer urges his co-religionists to remain loyal to Government.

## V.—Native Societies and Religious matters.

A dispute over the use of *jhatka* meat.

7. The weekly *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 26th September 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "The Kasur school," in which it reports that serious differences arose between the Muhammadan and Sikh inmates of the boarding-house attached to the Kasur school over the use of *jhatka* meat by the latter. The matter went up to the (Sub) Divisional Officer, who passed orders to the effect that the Sikh students should take *jhatka* meat in a shed outside the boarding-house. At first the Sikh students were greatly indignant at the decision, but subsequently they apologised and promised to abide by the Sub-Divisional Officer's finding. The paper concludes by praising the students for the prudence displayed by them in the matter.

A dispute over the use of *jhatka* meat.

8. Writing under the heading "A dispute regarding an unpleasant question," the *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 26th September 1908, remarks that for the last few weeks intense unpleasantness and discord have been prevailing in the boarding-house of the Kasur Government school and that

Mr. Cater, Sub-Divisional Officer, is apparently unable to cope with the evil. After referring to the dispute over the *halal* and *jhatka* meats that recently took place among the Sikh and Muhammadan students of the boarding-house, the Editor observes that it is a matter for regret that some of his respectable contemporaries should have given the question a party colour. After referring to the circumstances which gave rise to the dispute under reference and the orders passed by Mr. Cater in the matter, the Editor remarks that he is at a loss to understand why the question should have arisen now when hitherto no such dispute has ever taken place in the history of the boarding-house. He then exhorts his countrymen to exercise great care in preserving harmony, seeing that political agitation in other provinces is creating distrust between the rulers and the ruled. After remarking that obstinacy on the part of the Sikhs as well as of the Muhammadans is calculated to prejudicially affect the interests of both communities, the Editor says that if the people cannot settle their disputes themselves they should not have the boldness to ask for administrative concessions on a large scale. He then expresses the hope that sensible persons of both the Hindu and Muhammadan communities will take steps to put down the evil. After publishing the substance of the remarks made by the *Tribune* on the subject, the Editor exhorts his countrymen to practise toleration towards one another and place public interests above their own.

## VII.—General Administration.

### (*a*)—*Judicial.*

The sentence on Mr. Tilak.

9. Writing under the heading "The meaning of concession," *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 25th September 1908, says that certain newspapers are jubilant over the commutation of the sentence of six years' rigorous imprisonment passed against Mr, Tilak into one of simple imprisonment and are praising the Madras (Bombay ?) Government for the action taken. The Editor says that strictly speaking the concession granted to Mr. Tilak is a nominal one, seeing that the term of his imprisonment is still to be six years and that he has to undergo the same in Burma and not in India. Again, the imprisonment, whether simple or rigorous, has the same meaning for him in view of the fact that he is unfit to do any work on account of his ill-health. In conclusion, the paper remarks that if the Government of Sir George Clarke is desirous of showing generosity towards Mr. Tilak it should lay him and his countrymen under obligation by taking such generous steps as are calculated to instantly put an end to his misery inasmuch as it is apprehended that there is a possibility of his dying in jail.

### (*b*)—*Police.*

Assault on Mr. Glass.

10. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 25th September 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "Do you not know that when a cat is brought to bay (*lit.* becomes helpless), it plucks out the eyes of a lion." It begins by saying that Indians are naturally mild. Had it not been so foreigners would not have been able to keep them under subjection so easily for centuries. But there is a limit beyond which one cannot put up with repression. Whenever it is found that Indians retaliate after being subjected to hardships, it must

be concluded that that limit has been reached. As an instance in point, the paper refers to the case in which a coolie in Assam is said to have killed a European, Mr. Glass, Manager of a tea factory, with an arrow owing to the severity practised by the latter towards the coolies. It is apparent from this case, says the paper, that the deceased Manager must have transgressed the limit of human endurance in ill-treating the coolies, otherwise it is difficult to understand how a poor Assamese coolie could think of doing to death a European Manager. After remarking that a few years before the Bengalis were driven to desperation by the partition of Bengal no one could have thought that they would ever be ready to kill others or sacrifice their lives, the paper goes on to say that there is a natural power latent in repression. Repression and oppression create a fire in the heart which strengthens the mind and urges it to act in a way beyond all expectations. The paper concludes by ascribing the murder of Mr. Glass to severity practised by him on the coolie.

### (*d*)—*Education.*

National education.

11. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 25th September 1908, publishes a communication from Lala Har Dayal, M. A., headed "National Education," which was written on boardship near Port Said. The writer begins by saying that the national education movement will assuredly advance if the schools established by the nation with its own money are disaffiliated from the University. The entire responsibility, nay, the sin of sending boys to Government schools, he adds, lies on the shoulders of those who help in the establishment of these (Government) schools. At the present moment there are numerous *pathshalas* in the country in which only Sanskrit is taught and which are attended by a large number of scholars. The methods of teaching prescribed in these institutions are undoubtedly well calculated to efficaciously develop the intellectual faculties of the scholars, but in order to make these *pathshalas* really useful to the country it is necessary that the teaching of History and Geography in Hindi or Sanskrit should form an essential part of their curriculum. In order to gain this end it is necessary that those Pandits and wealthy persons who maintain these institutions should be prevailed upon to take steps to introduce the teaching of History and Geography in the *pathshalas* in question. Moreover, good readable books, fit to be used as text-books in schools, should be written in Hindi or Sanskrit and especially in the latter language because it will take some time before Hindi becomes the medium of instruction in these *pathshalas*. After remarking that an improvement can be effected in these *pathshalas* by the introduction of history in place of philosophy, the writer urges the desirability of organising a committee consisting of the proprietors of these *pathshalas*, and remarks that this committee should, in consultation with the Pandits, fix courses of studies and prescribe useful books for teaching the various classes of these institutions. He also makes the following suggestions regarding the courses of studies in the *pathshalas* :—

(1) If it be found difficult to use Hindi books in *pathshalas* the Geography and History of India in Sanskrit alone should be taught.

(2) If the Pandits are unwilling to teach boys other than Brahmans in their *pathshalas* they should not be forced to teach non-Brahman boys

because these *pathshalas* after all constitute only a part of the national education. But steps should be taken to teach Geography and History in these institutions so that they may produce intelligent and patriotic Pandits, clever enough to take an interest in all national affairs and to keep themselves informed of everything going on in all parts of the world.

(3) The scholars in these institutions should not devote their entire lives to the study of Grammar because the study of Grammar is not an end itself, but only a means to an end.

(4) The scholars should read every branch of Sanskrit literature, *viz.*, *Drama*, *Puran*, *Upnishdas*, *Sutras*, history, &c. It is desirable that learned and capable Pandits should write a series of text-books on these subjects for use in *pathshalas*.

(5) Special attention should be paid in these institutions to teach history and politics because these subjects are at present utterly neglected in these schools. In order to effect this a text-book of the History of India should be written in Sanskrit.

(6) The system of periodical examinations should be introduced in these *pathshalas* and arrangements should be made for making periodical inspection of them because inspection by the authorities is essential for the success of all educational institutions.

### *(f) Railways and Communications.*

A railway complaint.

12. Writing under the heading 'Drinking water at Railway Stations," the *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 19th September 1908, publishes a communication from one G. H., a clerk at the Ambala Cantonment, who says that a few days back when he chanced to go to Amritsar and Lahore he saw that watermen were to be found only at a few flag stations. At one of the stations a Muhammadan passenger who was very thirsty called for the waterman, but the latter was nowhere to be found. The Station Master on being enquired from, however, stated that the man had then gone to move the points and that he would serve out water after he had performed that part of his duty. After remarking that he was surprised to learn that it was also the duty of the waterman there to change the points, the writer observes that this extra duty should not be entrusted to watermen, whose legitimate work is to supply drinking water to passengers. The writer then goes on to say that passengers experience considerable trouble in consequence of the absence of water-carriers at Railway stations, and calls upon the Railway authorities to look into the matter.

### *(h) Miscellaneous.*

The murder of Miss Taylor.

13. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 30th September 1908 :—

"The cruel murder of Miss Taylor in a Railway train on her way to Multan has shocked everybody. It is a strange irony of fate that with loving brothers to give her a hearty send off at home, with a devoted 'fiancé' and other friends to accord her an

affectionate welcome in Multan, and with a high European officer and some soldiers in the adjoining compartments ready to help her in case of need, Miss Taylor was cruelly done to death on the night on which she should have been dreaming sweet dreams of love and hope. The tragedy is sad beyond description, and its pathetic interest appeals to the Indian and the European alike. Every one will be delighted if the fiend who took her life is traced and punished. The fact that a reward of Rs. 1,000 has been offered, and that two European officers have been deputed to bring about the arrest of the offender, shows that the authorities are in earnest about this affair. But when we have expressed our sympathy for the deceased and admiration for the promptitude of the authorities, may we not state it plainly that the Railway Administration would scarcely have shown so much concern or readiness to get a clue to the offender if the deceased had been an Indian, man or woman? The whole Railway Administration is at present permeated with discourtesy and disregard towards the 'native,' whether travelling in first or second or third class. The report of the District Judge of Multan about Miss Taylor's death makes it clear beyond doubt that European and the Indian passengers, though they pay the same fares, receive different consideration from the Guard and other Railway officials.

"The following extracts will show our meaning:—

"'She (Miss Taylor) arrived at Lahore on the 9th September by the Bombay Mail, No. 3 Up: there, though she had a second class ticket, she was put into a first class compartment of No. 8 Down Mail. The Guard of this train was Chapman. When he was taking over the train, the acting Train Inspector told him that he was putting a *lady* passenger with a second class ticket into a first class compartment as the second class was full of *native women*. . . . . The train next stopped at Kana Kacha. Here the Guard merely asked the lady what luggage she had in case there was transhipment. Presently, however, the acting Station Master at Kana Kacha informed Miss Taylor that the train would go on and she might settle down . . . . Behind the above-mentioned bogie composite was a four-wheeled composite consisting of one first class and one second class compartment. Guard Chapman says the latter compartment was full of men (natives), one of whom appeared to be a Sikh soldier. . . . At Chhanga Manga Station Guard Chapman noticed a crowd of some thirty or more *natives* opposite Major Sangster's compartment. Apparently most had come to meet four respectable-looking men who had been passengers by this train; as they were talking and making a noise, the Guard asked them to move on and not disturb the European passengers. * * * * . . . Further up the train Guard Chapman met the Travelling Ticket Examiner and informed him that a lady with a second class ticket was travelling first class for want of room and should not be troubled on this account.'

"What a distinction drawn between native 'women' travelling second class and a European 'lady' with a second class ticket accommodated in the first class, and what a concern for the comfort of European passengers! The words *native men and women*, even if used by the Guard, show a lamentable taste on the part of the District Judge to have transcribed them. We have no objection to the Railway authorities being polite to Europeans. What we insist on is that they should be equally polite to the Indian passengers and should show the same concern for their comfort and safety as is shown in respect of Europeans. As a matter of fact, however, while the European passengers command their respectful attention, the Indian as a rule gets but scant comfort and courtesy. And yet it would be sedition if the Indian should complain that he is reminded at every step of belonging to a subject race."

The *Hindustan* newspaper.

14. In a paragraph headed "Glad tidings to the readers of *Hindustan*," *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 25th September 1908 announces that Shrimati Sarala Devi Chaudharani has promised to send articles, for insertion in the *Hindustan*, which will make the paper highly interesting and useful. She will, however, communicate her views to the Editor, who will render the same

in Urdu, as the Chaudharani is ignorant of the Urdu language. After referring to her learning and journalistic ability and remarking that her vigorous writings elicited praise from even veteran journalists, the Editor goes on to say that she will make suggestions in the columns of the paper calculated to make the Indians a strong and powerful nation.

G. A. COCKS,

*Asst. to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police,*
*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

SIMLA :
*The 3rd October* 1908.

Punjab Government Branch Press, Simla—9-10-08—335—97.

[Confidential.]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 41. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

**Received up to 10th October 1908.**

---

## CONTENTS.


I.—Politics.

Page.

(a)—*Foreign*—

1. Indians in the Transvaal (*Inqilab*) ... ... 595

(b)—*Home*—

2. A Message to the King Emperor (*Raghbir Patrika*) ib.
3. Government and the people (*Raghbir Patrika*) ... 596
4. Government and the people (*Raghbir Patrika*) ... 597
5. Government and the people (*Vakil*) ... ... ib.
6. Proclamation of 1858 (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 598
7. Government's repressive policy (*Raghbir Patrika*) ... 599
8. The bomb in India (*Hindustan*) ... ... ib.
9. Anarchism in Bengal (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... 600
10. Anarchism in Bengal (*Civil & Military News*) ... 601
11. How India can rise (*Raghbir Patrika*) ... ... ib.
12. The cry for sacrifice (*Inqilab*) ... ... ib.
13. A recent increase to the cost of the British garrison in India (*Aftab-i-Hind*) ... ... ... 602
14. Recent increase to the cost of the British garrison in India (*Civil & Military Organ*) ... ... 603
15. Recent increase to the cost of the British garrison in India (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... ... 604
16. Mr. Ratcliffe on Indian affairs (*Hindustan*) ... ib.
17. The fate of oppressors (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 606
18. Lala Lajpat Rai (*Hindustan*) ... ... ib.
19. Lala Lajpat Rai (*Akhbar-i-'Am*) ... ... 607

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

20. Tribal raids into British territory (*Jhang Sial*) ... 607
21. England and Afghanistan (*Siraj-ul-Akhbar*) ... ib.

III.—Native States.

*Nil.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

22. An undesirable agitation at Chiniot (*Vakil*) ... 608
23. An undesirable agitation at Chiniot (*Jhang Sial*) ... ib.
24. A dispute at Kasur over *jhatka* meat (*Paisa Akhbar*) ib.
25. A dispute at Kasur over *jhatka* meat (*Parkash*) ... 609

V.—Native Societies and religious matters.

26. A defect in the character of natives (*Arya Gazette*) ... 610

VI.—Legislation.

*Nil.*

VII.—General Administration.

(a)—*Judicial*—

27. The sentence on Mr. Tilak (*Parkash*) ... ... 611
28. Jhang Sial libel cases (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 612

(b)—*Police*—

*Nil.*

(c)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs*—

*Nil.*

(d)—*Education*—

29. National Education (*Hindustan*) ... ... 612

(e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land*—

*Nil.*

(f)—*Railways and Communications*—

*Nil.*

(g)—*Postal matters*—

*Nil.*

(h)—*Miscellaneous*—

30. Lord Minto (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... ... 613
31. The *Inqilab* Newspaper (*Inqilab*) ... ... ib.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 41.]

# SELECTIONS

## FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

**Received up to 10th October 1908.**

---

### I.—POLITICS.

#### (*a*)—*Foreign.*

Indians in the Transvaal.

1. In a paragraph headed "The solution of the difficulty in South Africa," the *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 3rd October 1908, says that Indians in the Transvaal are being subjected to diverse hardships in order to make them leave that part of the Dark Continent. Indians, it adds, are fellow-subjects of the Boers and no one has, therefore, the right to turn them out of the Transvaal. They have every right to reside in the *ex*-Boer republic, for which they laid down their lives by rendering military services (on the occasion of the Boer War). Indian immigrants are perfectly right in saying that they should be shot on the field on which they shed their blood for the English (*lit* you). Indeed, this is the only solution of the difficulty.

#### (*b*)—*Home.*

A Message to the King Emperor.

2. The *Raghbir Patrika* (Jhang), for August and September 1908, publishes some verses headed "A Message to the King Emperor" from the pen of "'Ajiz Multani." The writer begins by telling the King Emperor that the people have been enduring (diverse) hardships for a long time past, but that so far His Majesty has cared nothing for this. How should they, he asks, lay their sufferings before their Sovereign, seeing that the law does not permit them to open their lips? Being, however, human beings after all they cannot help crying out on being subjected to oppression. They do not receive justice under their present Sovereign. Indeed, why should they not be oppressed when His Majesty is indifferent to their fate? After reminding the King Emperor that life is only transient, the writer regrets that His Majesty should look upon his loyal Indian subjects as rebels. The people, he adds, have been hit very hard by famine and plague and have not a penny to save their souls. Again, if they complain of their treatment by the authorities they are forthwith marched to jail by the latter. They are perplexed at their fate and cannot keep a contented heart under the oppression practiced on them. The King Emperor should take pity on them and stop the levying of different taxes and penalties from them. To whom should they lay bare

their hearts but to their King Emperor, who is their sole protector? They are tired of life, have been reduced to mere skeletons and wish only for food morning and evening. His Majesty should issue orders calculated to promote their prosperity: he should also redress their grievances and infuse new life into them.

Government and the people.

3. The *Raghbir Patrika* (Jhang), for August and Septemher 1908, publishes from "Dilshad" a Panjabee poem headed "A reasonable request." The writer appeals to Government to redeem its promises to the people and grant its native subjects their rights. After telling it to bear in mind that power and riches do not last for ever, he continues as follows:—

"Friend, do not add fuel to the fire:
"Do not kill (us) with the sword of oppression:
"My enemies have prejudiced you (against me):
"You do not bethink yourself even a little:
"How can peace and order prevail (in the country)?
"Estranged hearts cannot trust.
"We demanded (our) rights and the decree went forth
"(That) the people of India were disloyal.

* * * * * * *
* * * * * * *

"It can never be
"(That) the tyrant should strike and not allow (his victims) to cry.
"It is you who have thrown the first stone:
"The aggressive was by no means assumed by us (first).
"Why did you divide Bengal into two parts
"If there were no ulterior motive in this?
"If we speak out a little, we are sent to jail,
"(And) no one listens to our cries.
"How can India preserve silence,
"Unless Government gives (her her) rights?
"We only demand (our) rights.
"No one asks for what is not due to us.
"You have Naushirwan's reputation for justice.
"Do not haggle like Luhák (a proverbially tyrannical king).
"Come, have pity on us,
"And also preserve your own honour."

"Chand!" of Ahmadpur, also contributes some verses entitled "The cry from a wounded heart," in which he appeals to Government to treat the people with justice and kindness; to protect them from oppression; to remit the taxes recovered from them and to put an end to their sufferings. He also reminds his countrymen of their glorious past and urges them to shake off their lethargy and to exert themselves to better their lot, placing no reliance on others.

4. The *Raghbir Patrika* (Jhang), for August and September 1908, publishes from the Editor's pen a Panjabee poem headed "I do not know what is loyalty. I have sacrificed my life for you (Government)." The poet says that the people have placed their wealth and honour in the hands of the English and have always wished their present rulers well. They have let the English wrest their wealth from them and have been laying down their lives by fighting with others on behalf of England. Their rulers, however, hold their heads very high and treat them with haughtiness. They take no note of the people's submissiveness, call the latter their enemies and keep them at arm's length. They live in bungalows, but the people pass their days in jungles, while the prayers from the latter are confounded with sedition. The authorities wish that Indians should make no demand on Government and should not mind dying from starvation. The people are slaves to Government, but it pays no heed to their complaints and muzzles them and threatens to smite them on their opening their lips in complaint. It is also so selfish and hypocritical that it characterises as fables representations submitted to it by them. After remarking that they look to it as their lord and obey it in everything, the Editor says that it should not oppress them for no reason. They love it and all their happiness is bound up with it; and it should not, therefore, offend them by regarding them with distrust. In conclusion, the poet urges the authorities to give a wide berth to lying flatterers and back-biters.

Government and the people.

5. The *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 26th September 1908, publishes a communication headed "The public should prove themselves the right hand of Government." The writer, one Wahid-ud-din Shah of Bachhraon, remarks that no one can ever benefit himself by opposing his Government. After observing that such opposition can result only in breaches of the public peace, he regrets that some people in a country (India), where even dacoits and thugs used to consider it an act of arrant cowardice to attack women and the religion of whose inhabitants teaches them that it is a heinous sin to injure even animals, should not hesitate to kill human beings; nay, should glory in the act and wish to be spoken of as national martyrs for taking the lives of their fellow-creatures. They also celebrate the birthday of a rebel like Sivaji and use his pictures for charms, conveying thereby the impression that those who rebel against their Government will be held in the same esteem and remembered for ever. After remarking that Mutiny celebrations are also held in different places, the correspondent says that Government's mildness led some people to believe that it was afraid of them. This prompted them to resort to anarchism, while the newspapers began to publish seditious articles. Although Government has taken effective steps to remedy the evil it is possible that the people referred to may preach sedition in some other way and may establish bomb factories in forests and mountains where their existence would not be suspected. It should, therefore, be the duty of the public o prove themselves the right hand of Government by keeping an eye on the movements of malcontents. Government protects their lives and property, and they ought to render it all possible help in return.

Government and the people.

6. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 3rd October 1908, publishes an article headed "A cursory glance at the Royal Proclamation (of 1858)."

Proclamation of 1858.

The paper says that along with the inheritance from his mother of a splendid empire the King Emperor also received from her a document, in which the promises made to 33 crores of natives in the name of God and Christ it is his duty to fulfil to the letter. There is no necessity for stating in this article how far the late Queen-Empress tried to redeem the pledges; but there can be no denying the fact that her last injunctions show clearly enough that it was her heart's desire on her death-bed that the promises should be fulfilled to the letter. Perhaps God or His only Son impressed upon her in her last moments that "the brightest jewel in the British Crown" could not be retained unless the promises contained in the Proclamation of 1858 were fully redeemed, and that the Jewel was owned by 330 millions of Indians, who had made it over to England not through fear of the (British) sword, but as a trust and for safe custody, till they were able enough to take care of it again. The paper next publishes a metrical Urdu translation of the Proclamation of 1858 and remarks that in spite of the declaration in that document that England did not desire an extension of territory she has been endeavouring to extend her dominions and to seize the wealth of India during the past fifty years. Again, although she has been maintaining peace and order in the country, the results of her rule have proved injurious in the extreme. The average daily income of Indians, which stood at two annas per diem in the days of the East India Company, is now less than 8 pies a day. The result is that natives, who, before the advent of the British were accounted the richest people in the world, have now to starve. The Editor does not wish to discuss the motives of the British Government, but cannot abstain from remarking that no sensible person can admire an administration under which a people are rendered so poor as to be unable to procure food to preserve their life. He adds that, because of British rule, natives have been reduced to such a condition that want of (proper) food has rendered them easy victims to plague and other diseases. Ango-Indians, however, who can fare well and live in clean and airy houses, are immune from the attacks of plague, &c. The paper then goes on to say that the equality (with the English) promised (to Indians) in the Proclamation has also remained an idle dream. Even English children will tell one that Indians are their slaves and a conquered people, while the *Times* has declared that India was won and will be retained by the sword. As to Government's regard for the dignity of native chiefs, a proof of it was afforded at the Coronation Darbar at Delhi when the myth was fully exposed by the King Emperor's representative Lord Curzon. The Editor next urges Government to redeem the pledges contained in the Proclamation of 1858, saying that the non-fulfilment of these has shaken the faith of Indians in the British sense of justice. This, he adds, will help to reassure the people who, in spite of prevailing discontent still regard British rule in the light of a blessing. Their demand for *Swaraj* is practically a request to the authorities to redeem the promises referred to. Besides, when the Proclamation makes no distinction between British and Indians it is difficult to understand why the demand should be condemned and why efforts to obtain *Swaraj* should be confounded with sedition. If Government now considers it impossible to grant *Swaraj* to

the people, its conduct is tantamount to going back on its word. The Editor further remarks that the Proclamation states that Government will be as solicitous for the prosperity of Indians as for that of the English, but, that facts tell quite a different tale. For instance, although the people are starving crores of maunds of grain are exported to Europe without Government doing anything to remedy the evil. Again, the country has been retrograding since the Proclamation was issued, and if the existing state of things continues the time is not far distant when India will be swept off the face of the earth.

Government's repressive policy

7. The *Raghbir Patrika* (Jhang), for August and September 1908, publishes a Panjabee poem written by "Almast" and headed "Repression is undesirable." The writer complains that Government is bent on practising repression and that it has sent a large number of (patriotic) natives to jail. Those, he adds, who used to wield the pen have now to manufacture ropes and work hand-mills. Again, devoted servants of India are being made to work oil-presses, which is the height of oppression and tyranny. The writer adds that many are being imprisoned and that several more are being transported from the country. This does not, however, frighten them in the least and they go to their destinations with a cheerful heart. Indeed, hanging, imprisonment and transportation can have no terrors for those who dedicate their lives to their country's service. No Government has so far succeeded in winning the hearts of its subjects and maintaining peace and order with the aid of oppression and repression. Even Lord Morley admits this, but strangely enough he does not abandon his policy of repression. After expressing his inability to guess what has so prejudiced His Lordship against the people, the writer says that no King has yet gained anything by practising oppression and that repression has ever undermined the foundations of the Government favouring it. Besides, what matter, he asks, if Government is inflicting bodily sufferings (on natives)? Its conduct does not affect the spirit of, while it can acquire no merit by entailing physical pain on, its subjects. If should try to find out whom oppression ruins in the end—the oppressor or the oppressed. Again, "we" have always believed in the transmigration of souls and know that "we" shall never die. Repression has, therefore, no terrors for "us" and it is futile on the part of Government to indulge in it. In conclusion, the writer tries to impress on the authorities that hearts can be won not with repression but with leniency and kindness.

The bomb in India.

8. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 2nd October 1908, publishes a communication headed "The bomb in India" from one Ram Nath Puri. The writer begins by saying that as soon as Lord Curzon left India, the plants of unrest and disorder, which had come into life during his Viceroyalty shot up with vigour and struck very deep roots. There was no dearth of nourishment for them and it is no longer an easy task for Government to uproot them. There can at least be no denying the fact that a marvellous change has come over India. Natives who once loved slavery are loud in demanding *Swaraj* to-day, and those who shunned law courts at one time now take pride

in going to jail. The cowardly Bengalis have girt up their loins to blow up Anglo-Indian Officers with bombs and the people are in a state of consternation. This is an extremely critical time for the leaders of the nation and Government also seems to have become alarmed. People are being imprisoned or otherwise punished, and no distinction is made between the mischief-maker and the innocent and respectable. Some *badmashes* are busy prejudicing Government against the people by manufacturing bombs, and matters have come to a strange pass. The question, however, is whether bombs will make India free and drive the British out of the country. The writer replies to the question with an emphatic negative and says that it is utterly impossible for India to obtain her liberty with the aid of anarchism. He adds that anarchists are labouring under the mistake that natives can secure their independence without reforming their national character. Education and character are essential for achieving that end; but the people are sunk in ignorance, do not know their rights and are torn by mutual quarrels and caste distinctions. Their national character is also weak, so much so that even if the bomb were to frighten the English out of India they would never be able to govern the country themselves. It is, therefore, necessary that the leaders of the people and other patriots should develop character and spread education in the country. They should also systematise the preaching of *Swadeshism* which can achieve what is not even dreamt of by them now. The *Swadeshi* movement is a far more powerful weapon than the gun, the cannon, the sword or the bomb. It will strengthen the character of the people and raise them to the dignity of liberty. They should, therefore, respect it and live peaceful lives, believing that God is with them.

Anarchism in Bengal.

9. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 2nd October 1908, publishes an article headed "An anarchist's confession" in which it condemns anarchism and says that exemplary punishments are always inflicted on anarchists by the courts. Those implicated in the Calcutta bomb conspiracy, adds the paper, have also been enduring hardships in jail for months past, and it is not known what sentences are to be passed on them. Khudi Ram Bose has been hanged and Profulla Chandra committed suicide, while three of the Harrison Road conspirators have been rigorously imprisoned for seven years each. Again, frequent house searches in Bengal leave no room for doubt that the Police are resolved to thoroughly uproot anarchism in that part of the country and there is no likelihood of the movement being revived again. If, therefore, some foolish persons still share the views of anarchists, they should drive such notions out of their heads. It is a mistake on their part to think that the bomb or disturbances can make the English fly to England and hand over the reins of government to them. The paper then publishes an extract from the writings of one Mr. W. C. Hart, an English anarchist, who says that anarchist societies in Europe are under the constant surveillance of the detective police and are being broken up in consequence. He adds that, because of the Police, the days of anarchism in England are numbered. The movement cannot live long in this country either and must become a thing of the past in a short time. It is true that some people have certain complaints against Government, but where is the government in the

world against which its subjects have not some complaints to make? This does not, however, justify a resort to anarchism. No religion permits the taking of life and homicide is the greatest of sins which should be avoided by all.

Anarchism in Bengal.

10. The *Civil and Military News* (Ludhiana), of the 5th October 1908, publishes similar remarks under the heading "The extinction of anarchism".

How India can rise.

11. The *Raghbir Patrika* (Jhang), for August and September 1908, publishes from the Editor's pen a Panjabee poem headed "An address to India." The poet begins by telling India that she herself is to blame for her present wretched condition. She seems loath to rise and must remember that countries like her can never escape extinction. Japan has not risen with the help of others, and Italy also attained her present position through her own exertions. Those countries, however, which give way to despair like India never fare well in this world. Those alone are respected and feared in these days who are strong and courageous. The weak, on the contrary, can find no place to live and are at the mercy of all their fellow creatures. The Red Indians have been swept off the earth's surface and their country is occupied by their destroyers, the White people. Again, so long as China did not assert herself she was fleeced by every one. Now, however, that she has begun to show fight she is being given a wide berth by her erstwhile oppressors. After remarking that it is by beating Russia that Japan has come to be regarded as the crown of the world, the Editor says that those who cannot preserve their own existence or depend on others cannot escape extinction. Indians, he adds, are locked in the arms of sleep and do not move with the times. They depend on others even for trifles and have so far done nothing to prevent their being looted by others. Their submissiveness has been their undoing and has rendered them wholly destitute. They have to thank themselves for their poverty, which they can remove only by wielding the weapons of boycott and *Swadeshi*. Then follow some verses in which the writer exhorts the people to be patriotic and to give up the use of foreign made articles.

The cry for sacrifice.

12. Writing under the heading "The nationalist newspapers of Bengal," the *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 3rd October 1903, publishes a translation of the following article, which appeared in *Bande Matram* (of the 17th ultimo :—

"The cry from all sides is for sacrifice. Sacrifice, no doubt, is the one thing needful to make a nation great; but how to stimulate the spirit of sacrifice in a people is a very important question. Men, as we see them in these days, are so engrossed with their own comforts and conveniences that to ask them to part with these appears to be ridiculous to many. But the fact is nevertheless there that people consent to die and suffer for some noble ends. The point, therefore, is to place before the people a cause worth dying and suffering for. A mother minds no sacrifice for the well-being of her son. And why? Because she loves him. She puts the good of her son before her own good. The instinctive self love is overcome by a consideration of duty to one

to whom she has given birth and who depends on her for very existence. The idea that she cannot live to herself while there are others of her own flesh and blood awaiting her care inspires her sacrifices. She feels for her children, she is pained at their distress and cannot but forget hereself in attending to their needs. The object which can spontaneously draw our sacrifice must in the first place be bound to us by a tie of sentiment. We must feel for a thing before we consent to suffer for it. Intense feeling is the one motive force to lead to self-sacrifice. What we do not love we cannot sacrifice for. It is idle to demand sacrifice for the country till we have taught the people to love it. Duties to the country is a meaningless expression to one to whom the country never appeals with the living force of a reality. That we are born along with others in a certain portion of the globe with environment and traditions distinctly our own; that we must keep flowing on a stream of civilization to whose richness it is for us to contribute; that the streams, meadows, valley, amongst which we live and move are hallowed by associations sacred to our hearts; that the land of our birth bears in its bosom the bones of those from whose loins we have come; that we must live up to the reputation of our ancestors; that our lives and deaths must not in any way compromise the good names of those whom we owe our existence; that we shall be unworthy of them if we do anything dishonourable; that our birth place should pre-eminently be the scene of our own achievements as it was of our forefathers; that the banner which represents our greatness and glory should alone be firmly planted in this land and no other; that we have a past from which we cannot break away, that we must ensure a future for generations yet unborn,—these are the sentiments that must first be cultivated to make patriotism a force in our life. The idea that our nation supplies a factor, and the most important factor, in the civilization of the world must always be with us. Our laws, our institutions, our social customs, our art, our literature, our science have done most for the good of humanity. They must be gradually adapted to new circumstances, their usefulness should gradually be added to, their efficiency should be improved in our hands, they must be made to represent the growing vitality of our nation. Such feelings alone can impart a true meaning to nationalism. Our thoughts, our actions, though emanating from so many individual units, must always have in view the greatness of our nation. We are inseparably linked to it, we are known by the name of the nation to which we belong, we are described as the residents of the country in which we are born, we raise hopes and expectations by antecedents to which we cannot be false, we have a particular character and temperament to preserve, we have a religion and code of morality suited to our environment and caused and necessitated by it. These are the ideas which make patriotism rational and the demand of sacrifice on its behalf intelligible. Unless we are haunted by the sense that we are responsible for the continuous developments of our civilization, unless the partiality for it becomes natural and habitual, unless we have an intense love for it, we cannot be nerved to any sacrifice to keep it from being submerged under a foreign political domination. Thus to make the sacrifice on behalf of the country as natural and spontaneous as the sacrifice of the mother on behalf of her child we must first paint our country as an object of love and reverence. Every blade of grass that grows in it should be invested with a sanctity which will be held by every one of us as inviolable. All things must be made to suggest a memory which we shall be willing to cherish and respect. Self-centred actions will then only be impossible when every one of us will act under the sense that we are not only to nourish our body and minister to our comforts but to enrich a nation's contributions to the civilization of the world. The instinct of self-glorification, the sense of honest pride are such hard taskmasters that if we can once succeed in awakning them they will exact their toll of service with unrelenting severity.

Recent increase to the cost of the British garrison in India.

3. The *Aftab-i-Hind* (Jullundur), of the 1st October 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "A fresh burden on India in connection with the military expenditure." It says that, in accordance with a recommendation by the Committee which was appointed to

consider the question of the cost of recruitment and training of British soldiers for India, the Secretary of State has increased by 45 lakhs the amount which this country had hitherto been paying England for the above purpose. After remarking that this constitutes an illustration of the adage "Might is right," the paper says that although the India office also was represented on the Committee by two members the day has been won by the War Office. India which was already being crushed under the heavy weight of military expenditure has been saddled with another 45 lakhs a year for the future.

Elsewhere the paper says that the entire cost of the British garrison in India is borne by the Indian Exchequer. The burden is so heavy that the country's well-wishers have been crying for a reduction in the strength of the garrison. So far, however, from the desired reduction having been made the cost of the garrison has been added to by 45 lakhs a year.

Recent increase to the cost of the British garrison in India.

14. The *Civil and Military Organ* (Ludhiana), of the 1st October 1908, publishes an article headed "The imposition of additional military expenditure on India." It says that the deliberations of the Committee have resulted in a fresh burden of Rs. 45,00,000 a year having been thrown on the Indian Exchequer. Either, it adds, the representatives of Indian office on the Committee did not strongly oppose the imposition or they were not listened to and the Committee had things its own way. Again, curiously enough, the report submitted by the Committee was not published, nor were the public given an opportunity of considering and criticising the document. To cap all, the Secretary of State has quietly accepted the Committee's recommendation, and if India's share of the military expenditure continues to be fixed in this way she should look for protection to God alone. The paper then goes on to say that it was pointed out by Mr. Fawcett and Sir Charles Dilke that the partnership between rich England and poor India had proved injurious to the latter. The partnership, however, continues still and may be relied upon to lead to India being saddled with fresh expenditure from time to time under the pretext of fair apportionment of charges. It was admitted by the Welby Commission that certain items of the military expenditure were unjustly charged to India. The Commission, therefore, recommended that this country should be relieved of an expenditure amounting to £ 2,50,000. The recent Committee, however, has saddled India with another 45 lakhs of rupees a year. It may be mentioned here that in a debate in the Commons last year it was pointed out by Sir Henry Cotton and Sir Charles Dilke that in order to reduce England's military expenditure Mr. Haldane had again thrown the cost of mountain batteries on the Indian Exchequer. Nothing came of this in Parliament; but one would like to know whether the representatives of the India office brought this iniquitous arrangement to the notice of the Committee, and also with what result. It would seem that, in order to please the British public, Mr. Haldane has hit upon the plan of reducing England's military expenditure by saddling dumb India with the cost of the British Army. It is, however, to be hoped that the Indian public will not keep quiet in the matter, and that all political associations in the country will raise their voice against the arrangement in question.

15. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 3rd October 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "ask for exemption from prayers and you will be saddled with fasts also." One of the grievances of poor India, it says, is that she has to bear the heavy cost of the British garrison. Mr. Gokhale has voiced the grievance in the Viceregal Council more than once, and Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji raised the question even in Parliament. Native newspapers have also been crying that India should be relieved of the cost of the British garrison. The result of all this has, however, been that this expenditure has been added to by 45 lakhs of rupees a year. Will any one say after this, asks the paper, that the British Government is always ready to redress the grievances of Indians? Can any one remain in doubt even now as to the nature of Lord Morley's reform scheme? Again, when it has been proved the Government does not listen to natives in anything where is the use of submitting representations to it and of incurring expenditure in going to England (to lay the popular grievances before the British public)? The people should rely on themselves, abandon their present policy of mendicancy and try to promote the advancement of their country by (all) legitimate means.

Recent increase to the cost of the British garrison in India.

16. Writing under the heading "Indian affairs," *Hindustan* (Lahore, of the 2nd October 1908, says:—

Mr. Ratcliffe on Indian affairs.

Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, formerly Editor of the *Statesman*, Calcutta, writes to the London *Nation*:—

"A recent leading article in the "Nation" on the revolutions in Turkey and Persia contained the following sentence: 'We shall be poor students of history if we fail to forsee, shortsighted statesmen if we neglect to forestall, the influence of these events upon Egypt and India.' It is not possible, I suppose, for any one to dispute that observation; but the number is still small of those who realise that the uprising of the Islamic world portends a crisis which may prove to be the ultimate test of British Imperial rule.

"There is no difference of opinion as to the fact of an awakening in India. Lord Morley has been proclaiming it at intervals for more than two years. Lord Minto is, in this respect, in agreement with the patriots of Bengal and Poona. And on all hands the admission is made that the old methods of administration are obsolete—that reforms, long since overdue, must be granted on a generous scale. Nothing could well be more significant than the absence at this moment, even at Simla or in the House of Lords, of any authoritative voice demanding mere repression, although only the other day we were face to face with a terrorist conspiracy. But, these things being granted, the question remains whether we have not so far misread the signs of the time, mistaken the temper of the Indian peoples, and miscalculated alike the nature and the extent of a movement the existence of which we have at last come to recognise. Have not the Government of India been guilty of a grave mistake in failing to discriminate between the several manifestations of the nationalist spirit, in treating the preachers of the new political faith as the allies of Terrorism? A few days after the discovery of the Bengal bomb conspiracy, the "Pioneer," most respectable of official newspapers, provoked a cry of rage throughout the country by affirming that the gradation between the smooth Indian member of Council and the thrower of bombs was unbroken. I submit that the peril of the present situation is due, in the main, to the practical acceptance by the Government of that outrageous theory.

Let me illustrate. The law is coming down heavily (though with inhuman slowness) upon the unhappy dupes of the Nihilist gospel. It will, of course continue to do so, and the Viceroy is right in saying that in this matter the Government has the support of the whole country. But when the Government asks for a similar support in its campaign against certain forms of speech and writing it finds itself in conflict with almost the entire mass of Indian opinion and sentiment. It is the misfortune of the present Liberal Government that it has become responsible for a more sustained and systematic campaign of repression than any undertaken by its predecessors. After two years of incessant activity in the courts on a minor scale, magistrates and judges are now imposing the severest sentences possible under the Penal Code. I cite a few examples from the newspapers of the past few weeks:—

Bombay.—B. G. Tilak, for two articles in the Marathi paper "Kesari"—six years' transportation and a fine of Rs. 1,000.

Editor of the Marathi weekly "Vihari," for an article embodying a translation of a peom by Mazzini—two years' hard labour and a fine of Rs. 1,000.

Editor of "Hind Swarajya," a Gujerati weekly—three years' hard labour.

S. M. Paranjipe, Editor of "Kal," a Marathi weekly—nineteen months' hard labour.

Tinnevelly.—Chidambaram Pillai and Subramania Siva, for making inflammatory speeches during a labour dispute—the former transportation for life, the latter for ten years.

Aligarh.—Hoti Lal Varma, for sending seditious telegram to a Calcutta newspaper—seven years' transportation.

Fazal Hasan: for an article in an Urdu monthly critising British educational policy in Egypt—two years' hard labour and a fine of Rs. 500.

Would any one in England, I wonder, question the assertion that such sentences are equally barbarous and futile? I know that much nonsense is talked, both in England and in India, about the right of free speech and a free Press, and I am ready to admit that few among us really believe in carrying out the principle of freedom to the end. I do not see how the Government could permit the unfettered publication of certain Vernacular papers which have recently been circulated in Bengal. If good reason were shown for concluding that the writings of Mr. Tilak were malignant in motive and dangerous to the public peace he ought to have had a fair trial and have been shown every favour allowable under the law. The methods lately adopted in the case of Mr. Tilak would have to be altogether barred. The accused should be treated as a political offender, and allowed bail; he should be tried by his peers; every advantage that the law afforded him should be conceded; and, as Lord Morley would say, the Government should not be afraid of an appeal.

Mr. Tilak was certainly not dealt with in this fashion. He was refused bail, though there was no imaginable reason for refusing it. He was tried, not at Poona, but the Bombay High Court, and in consequence deprived at once of a jury composed of his peers and the right of appeal. The men who condemned him were ignorant of the language in which the offending articles were written. The two offences were tried as one, although the first was obviously less serious than the second; but they were punished as two, and of equal turpitude. Finally, the Government law officer who conducted the prosecution was empowered to decide that Mr. Tilak had no ground of appeal to the Privy Council.

Well, is the Government satisfied with the result? After the trial the city of Bombay was for six days in a state of siege, and an unknown number of people, certainly not less than twenty, were shot dead by the police and military. And, from one end of India to the other, the Government has been reprobated for

carrying through an act of injustice. It is not true, as has been frequently asserted, that moderate Indian opinion approves the Tilak prosecution; and no one who knows the Indian Press will be inclined to minimise the fact that no paper has spoken out more strongly than the "Indian Spectator," whose Editor, Mr. B. M. Malabari, has been for thirty years a supporter of the British Government, and the confidant of successive Viceroys.

The facts will not allow us to think that the conviction of Mr. Tilak and many lesser representatives of Indian Nationalism is making our task of governing the people any easier. The public temper is such that the smallest incident—a local labour dispute, a district officer's little blunder, an unpopular judgment in the courts—may be enough to excite a disturbance, and that, to all intents and purposes there is now little to choose between the state of feeling in Bengal, the North-West, or Madras. The Government knows this; but the "Times" and the Anglo-Indian papers continue to repeat that the whole trouble is the work of a handful of unscrupulous agitators with no real backing among the people.

The fate of oppressors.

17. In a paragraph headed "The effect of sighs," the *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 3rd October 1908, says that tyrants do not know what power there is in the cries of their victims. The cries of the oppressed, it adds, are the flames which destroy the oppressor's ease and make him repent of his conduct. It is to be regretted that in his lust of power he should not take warning from the occurrences of the past. History loudly proclaims that deeds of oppression never go unavenged; that the tyrant can know no rest; that he is denied the blessings of God; and that the cries of his victims desturb him even in his sleep.

Lala Lajpat Rai.

18. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 2nd October 1908, publishes an article headed "Lala Lajpat Rai and the public." It says that the Lala has published a letter in a recent issue of the *Panjabee* in which he has tried to defend himself against the charge of having deserted his country at a time when it stood in sore need of him. He and his friends, it adds, have realised that public opinion is against him and the letter referred to is intended to set him right with the public. The paper then quotes an extract from the letter in which Lala Lajpat Rai says that he feels as if he were flying from danger and deserting his friends in their hour of trouble, which, indeed, has been insinuated by the latter. Commenting on these remarks it says that the public have taken exception to the use by him of the word "insinuation." If the Lala can feel as if he were flying from danger why should not his friends also give expression to their honest feelings in the matter and why should such an expression of opinion on their part be characterised as an insinuation? Again, he says that since April last he has been resisting the temptation to leave his fellow countrymen to their fate; and this is undoubtedly creditable to him. When, however, he adds that in the end he succumbed to the temptation he practically admits the truth of the charge preferred against him. He further remarks that since his deportation his countrymen in the Punjab have been demoralised; that life-long friendships have been broken; and that enmities and rivalries of a lifetime have been having full play. This is a very serious charge to be preferred against Lala Hans Raj and other prominent leaders of the Arya Samaj

who are Lala Lajpat Rai's life-long friends, and against the Hon'ble Mr. Harkishan Lal and his party with whom the Lala has been always at enmity. Even if it be taken for granted, however, that all the accusations laid by him at the door of his friends and enemies are well-founded, how can the sins of others absolve him from his own? If the entire population has been demoralised it was the more necessary for him to stand his ground and serve as an example and guide to others. It is not for a steamless and fugitive (!) engine to taunt a train for standing still. Tolstoy says that one should not blame others for one's failure to perform one's own duty. The Editor concludes by promising to revert to the subject in the next issue of *Hindustan*.

Lala Lajpat Rai.

19. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* (Lahore), of the 5th October 1908, publishes from "An Arya" a communication headed "Lala Lajpat Rai in trouble." The writer says that in a letter to the *Panjabee* the Lala asserts that since his return from Burma his friends have turned against him. He for one is not prepared to credit such a sweeping assertion, nor does he believe the Lala's statement about the secret police having hung about him at all times. The correspondent then goes on to say that the Lala's untimely departure for England has enabled his enemies to accuse him of having fled the country through fear. The writer does not share this view, but he has no doubt that Lala Lajpat Rai's present visit to England means a waste of his hard-earned money. It is also to be feared lest he should deliver any lecture in England and give his enemies an opportunity of involving him in trouble on his return to India. After remarking that the silence of Anglo-Indian newspapers about him since his departure to England is a good augury for him, the communication advises Lajpat Rai to conduct himself with extreme caution at the present juncture. He should be courageous and keep up his spirit, for truth must prevail in the end.

## II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

Tribal raids into British territory.

20. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 3rd October 1908, writing about a recent tribal raid into a village near Bannu, complains of the conduct of Government in not inflicting an examplary punishment on the offending frontier tribes. Unarmed British subjects, it adds, are completely at the mercy of the armed frontier brigands and should be allowed to keep arms for the purpose of defending themselves against marauding t ribesmen.

England and Afghanistan.

21. In a paragraph headed "Danger from the unrest in the West" the *Siraj-ul-Akhbar* (Jhelum), of the 15th September (received on the 3rd October) 1908, says that Turkey is on the alert owing to the prevalence of disorder and civil strife in Persia. She is watching the movements of Russia and has been concentrating her forces near Khurdistan and Azar Baijan. Again the Persians (are said to) have invited the Sultan to occupy their country (*Irán men á jáne ki da'vat di hai*), although it cannot be said whether His

Majesty will respond to the invitation. There can, however, be no denying the fact that Turkey is exercised about the present state of affairs in the *Shah's* land. Again, her influence is on the increase in Afghanistan and a number of Turks are holding high offices in that country. The Amir has not, moreover, signed the Anglo-Russian Convention as yet, while he has been adding to the strength of the cantonments in the northern part of his dominions. Overland traffic in arms into his territories has also been very brisk of late. The Editor then goes on to say that the conduct of Afghans in supplying arms to the Mohmands and fighting on the latter's side on the occasion of the recent Mohmand Expedition presages a great danger. It is also reported, he adds, that the Mohmands and Waziris have begun to raid into British territory again, which has greatly perplexed the British Government. After remarking that it will not surprise him if another expedition is despatched against the offending tribes, he advises Government to be on the alert at the present juncture and to carefully watch the happenings in Afghanistan, Persia, Turkey, and Russia. It should see that the anarchy prevalent in Persia does not spread to Afghanistan and lead to the straining of relations between the English and Afghans which would be likely to result in a universal war.

## IV.—KINE-KILLING.

An undesirable agitation at Chiniot.

22. Writing under the heading "Chiniot" the *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 23rd September (received on the 2nd October) 1908, reports that some enthusiastic Hindu young men at Chiniot have set on foot an agitation which is calculated to give offence to their Muhammadan fellow-townsmen. They have submitted a memorial to the Deputy Commissioner, Jhang, praying for permission to open a shop for the sale of *jhatka* meat. The document was circulated among the local Hindu population, but several thoughtful and far-sighted Hindus refused to sign it. The paper adds that on the occasion of his recent visit to Chiniot the Deputy Commissioner appointed a Committee consisting of both Hindus and Muhammadans to consider the question. After remarking that it has not transpired as yet what report has been submitted by the committee, it says that considerable uneasiness prevails among the Moslem population of Chiniot.

An undesirable agitation at Chiniot.

23. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 26th September 1908, says that the opening at Chiniot of a shop for the sale of *jhatka* meat will be likely to strain the relations between the local Hindus and Muhammadans. After remarking that it is averse to the widening of the gulf which separates the followers of Islam and Hinduism, it says that it cannot, nevertheless, abstain from observing that Hindus are a patient people and show fight only under provocation. It would, therefore, advise the Musalmans of Chiniot to leave off abusing their Hindu neighbours and to address themselves to the task of removing the evil which has led to the birth of the agitation in question.

A dispute at Kasur over *jhatka* meat.

24. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 1st October 1908, publishes a communication headed "A dispute between the Hindu and Muhammadan boarders at the Kasur School". The writer begins by saying that Muhamma-

dan students have never been allowed to eat beef in the boarding houses attached to Government Schools. The Sikh students at Kasur, however, had been eating *jhatka* meat secretly, while recently they went the length of bringing into, and cooking that meat in, their kitchen in the boarding house. The matter came to the knowledge of the Muhammadan boarders also, but their remonstrances only served to inflame their Sikh *confrères*, who threatened to use *jhatka* meat in an open manner. The correspondent next refers to the recent imbroglio at the Kasur School over *jhatka* meat and charges the Head Master Lala Khem Chand with having been partial to the Sikh boarders. The Lala is alleged to have scolded and threatened one Imdad Ali Shah, a Musalman inmate of the boarding house and used grossly abusive language to him. Imdad Ali Shah is also said to have been accused of having been at the bottom of the mischief and to have been told that the use of *jhatka* meat by the Sikhs could in no way harm Muhammadans. The boy is reported to have retorted by saying that in that case no harm could be done to the Sikh students also by the Muhammadan boarders bringing and cooking beef in their kitchen. The Head Master, adds the writer, was greatly enraged at this, reprimanded Imdad Ali Shah and threatened to turn the latter out of the boarding house. He told other Muhammadan boarders also not to object to their Sikh *confrères* bringing *jhatka* meat into the boarding house, but none of them had the shamelessness to agree to the proposal. The same day the Sikh students bought new *lathis* and on the Moslem boarders stating to the Head Master next day that they apprehended an assault from the first named, new *lathis* were found in the possession of nine of them. After alleging that this fact was kept from Mr. Cater, the Sub-divisional Officer, the correspondent refers to that officer's orders in the matter. He adds that subsequently the Muhammadan students requested that Head Master to make satisfactory arrangements for the supply of water to them, saying that their religion forbade them to drink the water of a well used by the eaters of *jhatka* meat. Their request has not, however, been complied with as yet, and as the boarders have since been prohibited from going out of the compound of the school except on Sundays, they cannot use even other wells in the neighbourhood of the school and are compelled to wash themselves only once a week even in these days of heat; while they have to get drinking water from wells in the town. In short, they are being seriously inconvenienced. In conclusion, the writer promises to revert to the subject at some future time.

A dispute at Kasur over *jhatka* meat.

25. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 29th September 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "A new difficulty at Kasur" in which it remarks that far-sighted well-wishers of India are not unaware that the estrangement between Hindus and Muhammadans has proved very injurious to the interests of the country. It is, however, to be regretted that Muhammadans of a certain class should widen the gulf instead of trying to bridge over the same. There can be no doubt that for the most part the people themselves are to blame for this state of affairs. It is, however, equally true that in some cases the authorities make crooked moves which cannot but result in creating disunion between Hindus and Muhammadans. Such a thing has happened recently at Kasur and the Sub-divisional Officer there has created an insurmountable difficulty by ordering that *halal* meat may be cooked in the

boarding-house attached to the local Government School, but that *jhatka* meat should not be brought even into the precincts of the house. Apparently Mr. Cater was anxious to respect the religious susceptibilities of Musalmans, but in sympathising with the latter he should not have forgotton that the Sikhs also were subjects of the British Government. Besides, *jhatka*, as well as *halal* meat, is obtained from the same animal, the only difference lies in the employment of different methods of killing the animals. After condemning the killing of an animal in either way, the paper remarks that the Sub-divisional Officer would have been acting wisely if he had stopped the bringing of meat of all descriptions into the boarding house. If, however, he considered this inadvisable what right had he to trample on the privilege of one of the parties (the Sikhs)? As it is, his orders have created a difficulty, which is calculated to have far-reaching consequences. The Editor is, therefore, of opinion that Government should intervene at once and nip the evil in the bud. The best way to do this, he adds, would be to issue strict orders prohibiting the use of meat in boarding-houses. He is, however, afraid that those whose mission in life consists in promoting disunion are not likely to facilitate the solution of the difficulty, which is a new method of setting Hindus and Muhammadans by the ears and can be employed at the right time.

## V.—Native Societies and Religious matters.

A defect in the character of natives.

26. The *Arya Gazette* (Lahore), of the 1st October 1908, publishes an article headed "The secret of the greatness of Europeans" written by Lala Lajpat Rai on board the ship in which he sailed for England. As his ship approached the Suez Canal, says the writer, he saw the peaks of some hills shine in the light of the newly-risen sun, the highest among them seeming to have been dyed a pink colour. He asked himself whether the then aspect of the above Asiatic and African hills was a precursor of the (bright) future in store for Asia in the dark continent. He adds that the Suez Canal may be likened to a hole drilled through the heart of Asia which has thrown down Asiatics at the feet of Europe, where they are begging for mercy. The Canal has not only placed Asia in a helpless condition but has also established European supremacy in Africa. Europeans would be perfectly justified in setting up and worshipping the images of the men who constructed the canal, for the reason that it is one of the chief causes of their present greatness, riches and prosperity. It is quite natural for a thoughtful Indian to think in passing through the Suez Canal how its construction has affected his native land. After remarking that it has proved instrumental in flooding India with foreign manufactures, Lala Lajpat Rai says that another thought which strikes an Indian on touching European soil is to what qualities the people of Europe owe their present high position (*lit.* success). The first of these qualities, he adds, is their spirit of daring and enterprise, the absence of which in Indians is the greatest defect in their character. Natives will not undertake a thing in which there is even the smallest risk of sustaining loss. They shun difficulties and dangers with care: and it is but natural that those who do so in connection even with their personal affairs should never court danger for the sake of their country. This is the reason

why, before attending to social or political matters, every one of them pauses to think whether this will benefit or injure him and his relations. It is this anxiety to avoid running risks which is at the bottom of the moral cowardice of those leaders of the Arya Samaj who lack the courage to act up to their convictions and who, notwithstanding that they lay claims to leadership, always try to follow others, so that all danger may befall those who go ahead. They are always in the front in matters in which no risks are to be run, but in those which presage the least danger they will be found in the rear. Nor is this all, should their safety demand that they should abandon, befool or sacrifice the leader, they will not hesitate to do so in disregard even of their principles, so that he may not expose the truths by ascribing his conduct to their teachings. The Arya Samaj contains several worthies who have all their lives been teaching principles which they have not the courage to carry into practice themselves or make their children or relatives act up to. Such mean conduct on the part of the aforesaid Aryas is attributable to that defective education which has disgraced Indians in the eyes of the whole world. Lessons of daring and courage do not form part of the education of native boys, who are so kept from every danger that they fight shy of dangers and difficulties even on growing to man's estate. They do not act up to the English adage "No risk, no gain," the result is that they live the life of an animal and are contented like kine, oxen and horses, to receive an appointed quantity of food in the evening from their master, howsoever hard they may have to work during the day under the lash of others. They feel for themselves now and then, but shrink from the difficulties and dangers which they will have to face in bettering their lot. The writer then goes on to say that it is owing to the above defect in their character that Indians are lacking in the capacity to lead. They make good followers but can produce no leaders, and should any one of them lay claim to leadership, he is never found to be possessed of all the qualifications of a leader, especially of daring and courage. They have been failing in all their undertakings through the incompetence and cowardice of their leaders. They can achieve anything and make matchless soldiers under able and courageous guides. It is necessary that they should learn to be fearless and to stand firm under difficulties. They should not mind if they have to suffer loss or endure hardships in acquiring the desired habit. It should be impressed on them that even repeated reverses should not drive one from the field and that they should learn to turn defeat into victory through wisdom and courage. Worldly struggles are a game of chess which is won by him who does not leave it after one or two checks. The writer concludes thus: "My countrymen; do not keep your children in the conditions of prisoners and cripples. Do not prevent them from running risks even when they are under necessary supervision. Try to make them develop a habit of struggling to acquire the spirit to come unscathed out of dangers"

## VII.—General Administration.

### (*a*).—*Judicial.*

27. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 29th September 1908, publishes a paragraph headed 'Mr. Tilak and the Bombay Government's generosity." It begins by saying that although the Government named has extended its

The sentence on Mr. Tilak.

generosity even to Mr. Tilak, this can do no good to the Mahratta leader or to the country he loves so dearly. The people should undoubtedly feel thankful to Government for remitting the fine of Rs. 1,000 imposed on Mr. Tilak, but the country needs the man more than the money and is not prepared to sell him for lucre. It would have been far better as also more generous in very truth, if Government had realised the fine and set Mr. Tilak free. Again, there is nothing of generosity in the commutation of the sentence of rigorous imprisonment to one of simple imprisonment. Mr. Tilak's health renders him wholly unfit for labour and it is meaningless on the part of Government to direct that no work shall be exacted from him. There would have been some meaning in his having been released or in a substantial reduction having been made in the sentence passed on him. The country should, however, still feel thankful to Government for the reason that a Government which can make the concessions referred to may also make further concessions. The Editor then goes on to say that if the (Bombay) Government were to follow the example set by Madras in the Iyer case and were to restore Mr. Tilak to liberty the entire population would feel deeply grateful to it and the hatred with which the people have begun to regard Government would be changed into love.

The *Jhang Sial* libel cases.

28. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 3rd October 1908, acknowledges the following subscriptions towards "The Banka Diyal relief fund":—

| | Rs. | A. | P. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Amount already acknowledged ... ... | 17 | 0 | 0 |
| Lala Tola Ram ... ... ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Received through Mehta Durga Das, of Peshawar | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Lala Karam Chand, of Sargodha ... ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Annonymous subscribers ... ... ... | 74 | 0 | 0 |
| Lala Bhagat Ram, of Lahore ... ... | 6 | 14 | 0 |
| Sardar Kartar Singh, of Baganwala ... ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Sardar Budh Singh ... ... ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Munshi Ralia Ram ... ... ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Lala Bag Mal ... ... ... | 0 | 8 | 0 |
| Total ... | 135 | 6 | 0 |

(*d*)—*Education.*

National Education.

29. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 2nd October 1908, publishes a communication headed "National Education" from the pen of "Another Hardyal." The writer says that Lala Hardyal's articles on national education have startled educated Indians generally and those in the Punjab in particular. It is really a queer idea, he adds, that English education, which has brought about an awakening in Japan, China, Persia, Turkey and Egypt, is injurious for Indians and that the institutions at which it is imparted should be given a wide berth. Nevertheless the contention is based on strong arguments derived from official records and reliable historical works, while it acquires additional claim to consideration from Lala Hardyal's words that English education was introduced into India with the object of destroying feelings of nationality in the country. His critics, however, contend that it is this education which is at the bottom of the present struggle by, and the

new aspirations of, the people, and that it has breathed feelings of nationality into them. After expressing his intention to judge between the two conflicting contentions in this article, the writer says that by studying the language of a foreign nation a people do not come under the yoke of that nation and that the study of English by natives also cannot affect them injuriously. He is, however, of opinion that his countrymen have not derived from the study of English the benefits which should accrue from the study of a foreign language. English education has taught them to grumble at their present conditions, which has not welded them into one nation and cannot be dignified by the name of struggle. It has also made them throw their national dress and their national language and literature overboard and give preference to the English language and English ways of living, thereby expanding English trade in India. After remarking that this is sufficient to encompass the ruin of India, the correspondent says that in other countries foreign languages are learnt in order to improve the national language and literature, but that Indians have learnt English only to kill their own language. As long, he adds, as English does not prove instrumental in removing the defects to be found in their national literature and in making them discontinue the use of imported articles it must continue a source of injury to them. He does not, however, agree with Lala Hardyal that they should boycott English: the state of affairs complained of is due not to that language but to natives not having put it to the right use. The suggested boycott is, moreover, likely to deprive the people of their present means of acquiring knowledge. There can, nevertheless, be no doubt that so far a study of English has proved injurious to the country and that if it continues to be acquired with the present objects the result will be an irreparable injury to the people. The writer then suggests that the best English books should be translated into the vernaculars in order to make the latter languages of real use to the coming generations. He also finds fault with the system of education in vogue in the country and remarks that as it has failed to help in the moral, intellectual, spiritual and physical improvement of the people it should be abandoned. So long as public schools remain under the control of Government they cannot fulfil their object and cannot, therefore, be called national institutions.

### (*h*)—*Miscellaneous.*

Lord Minto.

30. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 3rd October 1908, says that it has been rumoured throughout the country for some time past that Lord Minto is about to resign the Viceroyalty of India. The paper regrets that the present policy of the bureaucracy should have stood in the way of His Excellency's realising his wishes. The sentiments about promoting peace and prosperity in the country which he expressed on taking over charge of his office have not been put into practice.

The *Inqilab* newspaper.

31. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 3rd October 1908, writing under the heading "The *Inqilab*," says that the word "*Inqilab*" means "revolution." The question, it adds, that requires consideration is what sort of a revolution "we" want. A perusal of the history of Europe in particular shows that

revolutions in that Continent have generally been attended with the shedding of rivers of blood. There is, however, a great difference between a revolution in the West and one in the East, *viz.*, a Hindu revolution. After remarking that Hindus are the ablest nation in the world and referring to the havoc wrought in India by the different invaders of the country, the paper says that Hindus preserved their existence in spite of the dangers which beset them for lakhs (!) of years. It is, however, worthy of consideration, it adds, whether they still possess that elixir of life which enabled them to preserve their existence in the past. It then goes on to say that wherever the Anglo-Saxons, to which race the present rulers of India belong, have gone, they have invariably swept the aborigines off the earth's surface. This makes "us" wonder whether the day has come when "we" will have to vacate India for them. What suggests the thought to "us" is the fact that since their advent in India famine and pestilence have always been dogging their footsteps. After remarking that the visitations named affect the ruled not the rulers, the *Inqilab* publishes extracts from the late Mr. Digby's "'Prosperous' British India" to show that famines have become much more frequent in India under British rule; that the people have grown very much poorer under the present regime; that famine and poverty have been carrying off immense numbers of natives. It adds that the British Government's present (methods of) administration have been ruining the country in every respect. The paper next states that "*Inqilab*" in "our" case means that "we" do not wish to starve; that "we" are averse to leading the life of animals and wish to be reckoned among civilized nations; that "we" desire to part with "our" irreligious life and enter on a spiritual existence; that "we" wish to bid good-bye to a life of poverty and helplessness and would see the days of prosperity; that "we" desire to purge ourselves of mean passions like selfishness and egotism and to dedicate "our" all to "our" country's service; and that "we" should look upon the world as transient, cultivate the love of God and regard the attainment of salvation as the real mission of "our" lives. All the above changes can be brought about only by the replacement of the foreign Government by a *Swadeshi* one, *viz.*, by the establishment of *Swaraj* in the country. "It shall, therefore, be our mission," continues the Editor, "to point out to our countrymen the path by treading which they may obtain *Swaraj* to a certainty. That path can be traversed with the aid (only) of spiritual, moral and physical advancement. Systematic progress of this kind is called the Indian revolution, in which no bloodshed takes place and the object in view can also be attained. It shall, therefore, be the mission of our life to continually suggest practical means for the betterment of the political, religious and social condition of our countrymen, by adopting which they may earn the honour of calling themselves an independent nation." In conclusion, the paper prays the Almighty God to enable it to fulfil its mission.

G. A. COCKS,

*Asst. to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*
*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

LAHORE,
*The 10th October* 1908.

Punjab Government Press, Lahore—20-10-08—3937—37—H. L. S.

[ Confidential ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 42. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

**Received up to 17th October 1903.**

---

## CONTENTS.


I.—Politics.

Page.

(a)—*Foreign*—

1. Indians in the Transvaal (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 615
2. Indians in the Transvaal (*Tribune*) ... *ib.*

(b)—*Home*—

3. The rulers and the ruled (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 616
4. *Swaraj* (*Inqilab*) ... ... ... ... 617
5. *Swaraj* (*Inqilab*) ... ... ... ... *ib.*
6. The Extremist propaganda in India (*Inqilab*) ... 618
7. The Nationalist movement in India (*Inqilab*) ... 619
8. Kanai Lal Datt (*Inqilab*) ... ... ... *ib.*
9. Lala Lajpat Rai (*Hindustan*) ... ... 620

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

*Nil.*

III.—Native States.

*Nil.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

10. A dispute at Kasur over *Jhatka* meat (*Shir-i-Babar*)... 621

V.—Native Societies and Religious matters.

11. Ill treatment of Hindus in India and abroad (*Inqilab*) 622

VI.—Legislation.

*Nil.*

Page.

VII.—General Administration.

(a)—*Judicial*—

12. Mr. Shah Din's appointment to the Chief Court Bench (*Akhbar-i-'Am*) ... ... ... 622
13. Mr. Shah Din's appointment to the Chief Court Bench (*Parkash*) ... ... ... 623
14. The Delhi Punkha Coolie's Case (*Panjabee*) ... 624

(b)—*Police*—

*Nil.*

(c)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs*—

*Nil.*

(d)—*Education*—

*Nil.*

(e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land*—

15. A grievance of the colonists in the *Bar ilaka* (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... ... 625
16. Destruction of some villages in Chenab Colony in the recent heavy rains (*Jhang Sial*) ... *ib.*
17. A complaint (*Inqilab*) ... ... ... *ib.*

(f)—*Railways and Communications*—

18. Safety of female passengers (*Watan*) ... ... 626
19. Ill-treatment of an Indian lady by a railway guard (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... ... *ib.*

(g)—*Postal matters*—

*Nil.*

(h)—*Miscellaneous*—

20. The *Bedari* Newspaper (*Rajput Gazette*) ... 627
21. The *Inqilab* Newspaper (*Inqilab*) ... ... *ib.*
22. The *Inqilab* Newspaper (*Inqilab*) ... ... 628

[ Confidential ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 42. ]

# SELECTIONS

## FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB

**Received up to 17th October 1908.**

---

## I.—POLITICS.

### (*a*)—*Foreign.*

Indians in the Transvaal.

1. In a paragraph headed "No body listens (to us)," the *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 3rd October 1908, refers to the ill-treatment of Indians in the Transvaal and says that some of the immigrants have requested the Imperial Government to spare them indignity or to have them shot on the fields on which they fought for England during the Boer War. The touching words, it adds, show that Indians repose deep faith in England and that they are ready to lay down even their lives for her. Their sole demand (in return) is that they should be treated as human beings and that England should afford them the protection she gives to her other subjects. Will she, enquires the editor in conclusion, give thought to the words used by the loyal and devoted Indian soldiers referred to ?

Indians in the Transvaal.

2 The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 14th October 1908.

"While the clouds are daily thickening over the fate of our heroic brethren in South Africa and while wholesale arrests and imprisonment of the Indian settlers there, including that of Mr. Gandhi, has added a grim colouring to the tragedy, the gross iniquity and the purblind selfishness of the Africanders attitude will be apparent from the telegram which appeared in the London *Times* from Reuter's Johannesburg correspondent. The telegraph says :—

> 'Mr. Gandhi, when seen by Reuter's representative, said that the Indians were prepared to accept an immigration law which should provide for an education test in a European language, and that they were prepared to leave the severity of the test to the discretion of General Smuts. But when once an Indian had entered the Colony, he must enjoy legal equality. Mr. Gandhi said that the Indians denied that they were raising any fresh point in connection with education.'

" From the above it will be seen that Mr. Gandhi is prepared to accept the most exacting educational test for any Indian emigrant, provided that the latter is allowed legal equality. But Mr. Smuts is amenable to no rhyme nor reason. He would simply have no Indians there, and an Indian, although he may be long resident in the Colony and may have an education, which would give points to many a Boer Councillor, must be relegated as a helot and a felon. The spectacle is one revolting to one's instinct of humanity and it is a disgrace to civilisation, while it makes a ruthless mockery of that high-sounding phrase Imperialism. And the grim sardonic humour of the situation is enhanced by the helplessness of Imperial Government and its apparent inaction at the atrocities that are perpetrated in the name of law in the Transvaal. The hackeneyed plea of the rights of self-governing colony is of no avail and there are many ways in which the Imperial Government could have put pressure on the Transvaal Government. But the Imperial Government is showing a most deplorable weak-kneedness and meanwhile the grim tragedy daily deepens to the dismay and the disappointment of the party of constitutional reform in India. "

(*b*)—*Home*

The rulers and the ruled.

3. Writing under the heading " Who is faithless, you or we ? " the *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 3rd October 1908, says that in these days when news of arrests and prosecutions is coming from all parts of India there can be nothing surprising in a foreigner entertaining the belief that the relations between the rulers and the ruled in this country are the reverse of cordial. This is the reason, it adds, why American and Japanese newspapers have of late been expressing nonsensical opinions about the existing state of affairs in this country. Nevertheless, there can be no smoke without fire, and it cannot be denied that the governors and the governed in India do distrust each other and that, if the evil is not remedied, serious results will be certain to ensue. Both native Politicians and British Statesmen admit the existence of unrest in the country ; but while the former ascribe it to breach of faith on the part of the English the latter attribute it to the disloyalty of Indians. After remarking that in this article it wishes to decide which of the two parties is really to blame, the paper says that it is admitted by all that the English have not redeemed the pledges contained in the Proclamation of 1858 and have thereby committed a moral crime for which they can never escape punishment. Again, in no age has a demand for legitimate rights been confounded with sedition ; but the English regard such demands as seditious. They do not, moreover, allow the people to lay their grievances before His Majesty the King Emperor. As an instance in point, the Editor says that although Khudi Ram Bose had been guilty of bomb-throwing he had undoubtedly the right to take up his case to the King Emperor. It is, however, a matter for regret that the authorities should have refused to forward his petition to the throne. Again, Mr. Tilak wished to file an appeal before the Privy Council, but the Bombay High Court has denied him the necessary permission. In other words, the very judges who convict an accused person have also the power to prevent him from taking his case to the Privy Council. This high-handedness can only mean that the people cannot seek for justice outside India. The authorities may do whatever they please, but the people must not open their lips in complaint and cannot be allowed access to the King Emperor. It is strange that it should rest with the authorities, against whom the people are full of complaints, to grant the latter permission to seek for redress outside the country. Moreover, no notice is taken of the former's conduct in straining

the relations between the rulers and the ruled, on the ground that the administration would be affected injuriously and Government's prestige would suffer in the eyes of the people. The *Jhang Sial* then goes on to say that if natives had been disloyal they would have given up their faith in British justice and kept silent under the impression that they also may one day gain the upper hand of Government. As however, they still seek for justice and wish to lay their case before the King Emperor, they can on no account be called disloyal. Their greatest Guru, Mr. Tilak, who is considered the most disloyal native of the day, is a loyal subject in that he expects to receive justice from the British Government. "You (the English), however, who have denied him the opportunity of obtaining that justice, are guilty of having broken your faith (with Indians). God grant that the English may realise the truth and reflect whether it is they or Indians who are treading the wrong path, so that all distrust and unrest may come to an end and peace and order may be restored in the country."

*Swaraj.*

4. Writing under the heading "What does Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji say in his book?" the *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 3rd October 1908, says that in his *Poverty and un-British rule in India* the aged Parsi leader remarks that if this country continues to decline morally and materially at the present pace it will be certain to suffer a serious calamity, which will involve it in ruin still deeper or will enable it to put an end (to the rule) of the nation which is ruining it. The book, adds the paper, was published in 1880 when, according to Mr. Digby's calculations, the average daily income of an Indian was Rs. 0-1-6. Now, however, this income stands at 6 pies, with the result that nearly two crores of Indians have been carried off by famine during the last decade. Even impartial Englishmen are of opinion that the selfishness and cruelty which characterise British rule in India have been involving the country in deeper poverty from day to day. The only remedy for this poverty lies in *Swaraj*, without which even the most strenuous efforts on the part of the people to improve indigenous arts and industries cannot bear full fruit. After remarking that it was the English who ruined the industries of India and that they can injure Indian trade in a score of ways for the benefit of their own nation, the paper observes that *Swaraj* is the panacea for all the ills from which natives suffer. In conclusion, it calls upon natives to pray to God, before going to sleep every night, to grant them self-government.

*Swaraj.*

5. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 3rd October 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "Parents and children: an important request," in which it says that parents can make of their children what they like. It next urges Indian mothers to teach their children the lesson of *Swaraj* in the latter's very infancy. They should try to impress on the child that natives are a subject race now and that it shall be the mission of its life to struggle hard to obtain *Swaraj*. After stating how Guru Gobind Singh's two sons, who were only 7 and 9 years old respectively, preferred being buried in masonry to embracing the Muhammadan faith, the paper says that if the teachings of religious parents can enable a child to distinguish between his own religion and that of *Mlechhas* it is also possible for him to know the difference between *Swaraj* and foreign rule. Nay, if it does not drink in the lesson of *Swaraj* with its

mother's milk the reading of the lives of all the patriots of the world will not instil the lesson into him. Only those children grow to be religious and patriotic who are taught the lessons of religion and patriotism by their parents.

The Extremist propaganda in India.

6. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 3rd October 1908, publishes an article headed "Three kinds of people and their feelings." The first kind of men in India), it says, consists of those persons who render no service to the country through fear of displeasing Government. They are extremely stupid, selfish and sensual, and it is a gross mistake to expect any good from them. They are generally rich and their greatest pleasure lies in wasting their time in burning incense at the altar of the local officers. If the head of their district goes (to their native places) they follow him everywhere on horseback. They do so only from selfish motives and have no special love or sympathy for that officer. Their sole object is to secure some title or at least to obtain a post of Honorary Magistrate, which latter enables them to lord it over their fellow-countrymen and to taste of the sweets of power. After remarking that their morals are so low that if they are appointed Magistrates they can only suck the life blood of the people, the editor requests Government not to appoint these men, whose private life is one black spot, to public posts. He adds that they are the worst enemies of Government inasmuch as their methods of administering justice consist in creating feelings of aversion in the people's minds towards Government and in bringing the greatest discredit on British justice. He then goes on to say that the second class of people consist of persons who hold the opinion that the country can be better served with the help of the authorities. No one can question the honesty of these people, and although they may be in the wrong there can be no denying the fact that if a reform is taken in hand by Government it can be introduced in one short year, whereas the people cannot bring it about single-handed even in a score of years. This class of people are called the Moderates; but as Government has not paid much attention to their prayers during the past 30 years there has now arisen another party in the country. They are called Extremists, who consider Government's help unnecessary in promoting the welfare of the country. Their chief objects (*lit.* principles) are to obtain *Swaraj* and to boycott foreign-made goods in order to further the cause of *Swadeshism*. *Swaraj* means that the reins of the Government of the country should be in the hands of the people themselves. It will protect natives against famines and foreign oppression and put an end to the present drain of crores of rupees from the country. It will also make the people prosperous and ensure their being treated in the Transvaal and in America like human beings. After remarking that their political slavery is the sole cause of their being treated with disgrace and hardship, the paper announces that it will set apart one page for the discussion of the questions relating to *Swaraj*, boycott and national education, which form three planks in the Extremist platform and are undoubtedly essential for the salvation of the country. It adds that the object of national education is to save native youths from the injurious effects of the prevailing system of education and to remove them from the dangerous spell of Western civilisation, which has been causing the people to fall away from the high standard (of conduct) observed by their ancestors and has sounded the deathknell of their national existence. *Swadeshi* education

will force young Indians to serve their country and nation, to try to remove the poverty of the people, to regard their ancestors as gods and not as savages, to give Western civilisation a wide berth, to control their passions and eschew the delicious foods of voluptuaries, not to wear fine clothes like women, to make of themselves men worthy the name, to avoid false notions of beauty and ugliness, not to waste their time in adorning their person, to eschew the use of impure words and to become true *brahmacharis* and householders.

The Nationalist's movement in India.

7. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 3rd October 1908, publishes the following under the heading "*Swaraj*, boycott and national education: our present condition" (which is a translation of an article headed "The situation" which appeared in *Bande Mataram* of the 17th September last):—

"What is our present situation? Is it gloomy or hopeful? The happenings at Midnapore or Calcutta, Dacca or Mymensing, so far as they relate to the physical suffering and mental anxiety of our people, may appear to be discouraging for the time being. Whatever our professions and protestations the flesh no doubt shrinks at the tales of misery and persecution which reach us from various quarters. The attitude of the Bureaucracy also is likely to ruffle the minds of those whose love for the country or desire for its greatness is not yet intense enough to render all sufferings tolerable for its sake. The tendency of the bureaucracy to overlook both the form and the spirit of the law in view of the present critical position, may upset those who still believe that anything worth having can be obtained without the necessary sacrifice. But those who know anything of the world, who know how nations have risen and thriven, who have watched the ways of Providence and seen how He compasses His ends, who have used their minds even on their own career in life, cannot take a very disappointing view of the situation. Are we so foolish as to think, are we so impractical as to believe that we shall all remain unscathed and the nation will automatically recover its lost ground? We have now to practise the truths that we have preached. We have now to show whether our sentiments have their root deep down in our nature and our convictions, or they are mere foreign refinements meant for show and effect. This is the time to show whether we are divinely inspired or guided by our shallow knowledge and unaided intellect. This is the time to show whether we are instruments of God or the mere playthings of vanity. If the movement is broad-based on love and faith, they will become stronger and stronger through the trials which are now upon us and ensure its ultimate success. If, on the contrary, it has not struck its root deep into our heart and soul, it cannot outlive the blasts and blights which are God's tests for proving the genuineness of a thing. Nations must have their salvation through moral energy which can be called forth only by trials and difficulties.

"The discipline of persecution is essential for the proper schooling of a nation. Let us profit by that discipline, let us use it to prepare our mind and soul, let us turn it to the best account, let us welcome it for our self-culture. The land must be furrowed by the plough, it must be broken and torn asunder before it can yield any crop. The rude strokes, the cutting and pruning we cannot do without. And the consolation is that people everywhere are proving equal to the trial which is befalling them. Have a few minutes' talk with those who had any opportunity to watch the conduct of our persecuted countrymen and your hope and faith will be considerably reinforced to bear you manfully through the struggle which is growing keener and keener every day."

Kanai Lal Datt.

8. The *Inqilab* (Lahore,) of the 3rd October 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "The difference between Kanai Lal Datt and other murderers," in which it says that the reason why some pleaders at Calcutta have taken up the defence of the accused in the bomb cases is that although the latters' acts were unddoubtedly reprehensible their motive was not open to objection.

So far, it adds, as can be judged their motive was to obtain *Swaraj*, the desire to secure which is not, according to the Calcutta High Court, opposed to law, provided lawful means are adopted to gain the end. As Kanai Lal Datt and his companions have had recourse to unlawful means to obtain *Swaraj* they have been treated as criminals. There was, however, nothing objectionable about his motives : he merely adopted the wrong way to realise his wishes.

Lala Lajpat Rai.

9. Writing under the heading "Lala Lajpat Rai and the public," *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 9th October 1908, in continuation of its previous remarks (*vide* paragraph 18 of *Seclections* No. 41), says that the Lala has not only tried to condone his flight (to England) by finding fault with others, but has also honoured the public with a sermon towards the close of his letter (to the *Panjabee*). In the course of the sermon he says: "The extraordinary circumstances which contributed to the last year's excitement apart, I do not know of any reason why the people and Government should go out of their way to create scenes undesirable." These words are intended to serve a two-fold propose, *viz.*, to emphasise his share during the past year in infusing political life into the Punjab and to apologise for his abstention from participating (in politics) since his return from Burma. Again, he complains, "I know there are some good people in Lahore who think that there can be no political life without excitement of some kind or the other." Extracts from his political speeches in the past will, however, show that he also held the same opinion at one time. Besides, the "good people" referred to by him are very few in number and consist of Lala Hardyal, Sufi Amba Pershad, and two other persons whose names would readily suggest themselves to the reader. He is, however, wrong in saying that they are "ignorant of the history of the rise and fall of nations" and "have had no opportunities of reading social science, of which politics is only a part." The public have disapproved of his conduct in bringing the charge against those who have broken their silence and have been struggling in the field of politics in the Punjab at a time when he himself was passing his days in silence and inactivity. The paper then goes on to say that by joining the National Congress Lala Lajpat Rai has undoubtedly widened the sphere of his public life and made himself more popular than he would have been able to do in the Arya Samaj. This has, however, conferred no material benefit on the country, as is evident from the following words used by himself in his letter to the *Panjabee*: "It was often in the last two or three months that I felt sorry to have drawn myself off the congenial work I was doing in the more modest sphere of the Arya Samaj." Indeed, there was wide enough field in the Samaj for a patriot, pure and simple, to do as much practical good to the country and the nation as he could wish. The National Congress has been demanding rights, but the Arya Samaj has been teaching the lesson of duty. The former has taught the people what their (political) desires and aspirations should be, but the latter has fitted them for the task of obtaining their rights. The Congress found fault with Government, but the Samaj has induced the people to find out their own shortcomings. The Congress made the well-being of the country depend wholly on the generosity and kindness of Government, but the Samaj tried to perfect people's character, *i.e.*, to implant resolution, perseverance and morality

in them. The Congress was for bringing about a change in the treatment of the ruled by the rulers, but the Samaj was for fostering the natural process of the advancement of a people. Finally, the Congress gave it out that its object was to secure *Swaraj* or self-government for the country, whereas the Samaj was born " with a permanent *Swaraj* or self-government which had already attained perfection and was prevalent throughout the country" (*sic*!). Thus by stepping out of the circle of the Arya Samaj Lala Lajpat Rai did not extend the field of his activities, but, on the contrary, pushed the Samaj into the arena of politics, which has not only created misunderstandings about it and incurred for it the displeasure of Government, but has also nipped in the bud its capacity for usefulness and plunged it into the waves of ruin and destruction. After remarking that the ruin of the Arya Samaj served him as a stepping-stone to eminence, *Hindustan* finds fault with him for having started a famine relief fund in his own name and not under the auspices of the Samaj. It adds that he has not only played the Arya Samaj false, but that he has been found wanting in courage in the field of politics also. At the Surat Congress he ought to have proved faithful to the bride wedded by him in his political youth, as also to the general, Mr. Tilak, under whom he took part in political warfare for the first time. If he had done so his example would have served as a practical and impressive lesson to native youths to be loyal followers before aspiring to be leaders. As it is, however, both as a politician and as a worker in the Arya Samaj he does not appear to be free from selfishness and immorality. He has twice kicked down the ladder by which he ascended to eminence,—the first time the Arya Samaj, and on the second occasion the Extremist party. Even as a Moderate, however, he has taken no part in political agitation since his return from Burma. After condemning his conduct in attacking all his countrymen, the paper promises to revert to the subject in its next issue.

## IV.—KINE-KILLING.

A dispute at Kasur over *Jhatka* meat.

10. In an article headed " *Halal* and *Jhatka* (meats) at Kasur," the *Sher-i-Babar* (Lahore), of the 4th October 1908, refers to the recent imbroglio at the Kasur Government School over the use of *Jhatka* meat and says that the Sub-divisional Officer has been unduly partial to the "favourite wife." His orders in the matter savour so strongly of bigotry that the paper feels constrained to characterise them as unjust. It is at a loss to guess Mr. Cater's reasons for giving *Halal* preference over *Jhatka* meat, seeing that both are obtained from the same animal and the only difference lies in the employment of different methods of killing the animal. Besides, he should not have forgotten that if Islam forbids its followers to eat *Jhatka* meat the Sikhs also are prohibited by their religion from taking *Halal* meat. It is to be regretted that he should have considered the religious susceptibilities only of Musalmans and should have paid no regard to the feelings of the Gurus' followers, whose rights have been ruthlessly trampled on by him. After calling his order oppressive and high-handed, the paper calls upon the Sikhs not to keep silent in the matter. They should remember that Mr. Cater's *ex-parte* orders are calculated to strike at the very root of their religion and that if the same are not reversed they will be applied to every school

in the course of time. They should take up the matter to Government forthwith, and should remember that the Chief Court has held in several cases after thorough enquiries that it is one of the tenets of the Sikh religion to eat *Jhatka* meat as against *Halal* meat. Besides, all sections of the population enjoy equal rights under the British Government and no officer has the power to deprive a community of its rights. The Sikhs should be on the alert: "the favourite wife" is so pert and astute that if they delay in bestirring themselves, "she" will assuredly land them in great difficulties, for which "she" is making all possible efforts everywhere. If they do not safeguard their rights with care and wisdom they will prove instrumental in putting an end to their own existence. The paper then goes on to say that one Mir Hidayatulla, an Assistant Surgeon, asserts in the columns of the *Observer* that 90 per cent. of the Sikhs have no objection to eating *Halal* meat, but that Muhammadans are prohibited even from using the water of wells used by the eaters of *Jhatka* meat. There is no truth in the latter statement, seeing that Sikhs and Musalmans in every town and village use the same wells. The former assertion is also a downright lie: the use of *Halal* meat being against the Sikh faith. Every follower of the Guru is strictly forbidden at his baptism to eat the same. The paper adds that it is a matter for shame that in their pride of being "the favourite wife" Muhammadans should support unjustifiable orders by the authorities. They should remember that if Mr. Cater has tried to please them by unduly favouring them another officer may injure their feelings by prohibiting the entry of *Halal* meat into, and allowing the use only of *Jhatka* meat in, boarding houses attached to Government Schools.

## V.—Native Societies and Religious Matters.

Ill-treatment of Hindus in India and a broad.

11. In a paragraph headed 'Maltreatment of poor Hindus,' the *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 3rd October 1908, says that it is worthy of consideration why Hindus are treated with contempt everywhere. The sort of treatment, it adds, which is accorded to them by Government in their own country is known to all. Public appointments are conferred on Europeans and Eurasians by preference, while in filling even those which are reserved for Natives an invidious distinction is made between Hindus and Muhammadans. The paper adds that the Chambers of Commerce in America have now decided that Hindus being "undesirables" should not be allowed to enter the United States. The reason for all this bigotry and cruelty, it says, lies in the ill-treatment of Hindus in South Africa, where they ought to have all the rights of British subjects. Their troubles are due to the King Emperor not being kindly disposed towards them or the impression that being slaves their subjection to all sorts of oppression is perfectly justifiable.

## VII.—General Administration.

### (a)—*Judicial.*

Mr. Shah Din's appointment to the Chief Court Bench.

12. In a paragraph headed "The Judgeship of the Chief Court," the *Akhbar-i-'Am* (Lahore), of the 8th October 1908, says that the *Tribune* has

taken strong exception to the appointment of Mr. Shah Din to the Bench of the Punjab Chief Court. That paper's remarks would show that it wishes that the honour had been conferred on Lala Lal Chand. There can, however, be no doubt that Government has good grounds for having preferred Mr. Shah Din to the Lala. After deploring the existence of disunion among Hindus and remarking that th ey have been greatly injured politically owing to the dissensions between the Aryas and Sanat anists, the editor expresses surprise that the former who ridicule the latter's beliefs at other times should pose as representatives of Hindus when it suits their purpose. He adds that if Hindus and Musalmans really wish each other well it is a pity that one community should resent and oppose the advancement of the other. It should be matter for joy and not sorrow that Government has after all appointed a Panjabi to the Bench of the Chief Court. It does not matter if he is a Muhammadan, and the Punjabis should prefer him to a Bengali, Madrasi, Mahratta or Assamese. The editor is fully convinced that in administrative matters Government thinks neither of Hindus nor of Muhammadans, and does only what it deems proper. It listens to objections, but is quick to detect selfish advice, while it is wrong to say that it creates disunion between Hindus and Muhammadans. It is their own weaknesses which lead the people astray.

Mr. Shah Din's appointment to the Chief Court Bench.

13. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 6th October 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "Mr. Shah Din, Judge, Chief Court," in which it says that ever since it became known that Mr. P. C. Chatterji was to retire on pension (in October of the current year) Muhammadans had been trying to secure his place for a co-r eligionist of theirs. The Muslim League at Aligarh under the presidency of Mr. Shah Din requested His Excellency the Viceroy to select a Muha mmadan to succeed Mr. Chatterji. A Muhammadan deputation also went to Simla (to wait on Sir Louis Da ne) and it is difficult to say what took place at the private interview granted to it. Government was placed in a fix. If it did not appoint Lala Lal Chand to the Chief Court it would have been guilty of over-looking ability and seniority; while in the event of its giving Mr. Shah Din the cold shoulder it would have displeased its loyal Muhammadan subjects, who would have discontinued organising loyal demonstrations and sending deputations to wait on the authorities. It being, however, advisable to humour Muhammadans at a time when all Hindus are considered disloyal the difficulty has been solved by appointing Mr. Shah Din to a temporary Judgeship and ignoring Lala Lal Chand's claims altogether. Such, adds the paper, is the spirit which animates Governme nt in these days. Is not Government, it asks, by showing Muhammadans such undeserved favours, proving instrumental in sowing bad blood between Hindus and the followers of Islam? Again, is it ignorant of the natural consequences of its conduct and is it not committing the very two offences (?sedition and creating ill-will between classes) for which it has been punishing Natives of late? Must not, moreover, Mr. Shah Din's elevation to the Chief Court Bench have created in the minds of Hindus the impression that Government no longer acts on the golden rule laid down by the late Queen Empress that in filling public appointment regard should be had to merit and not to creed and colour? If Government honestly believes that Mr. Shah Din is an abler man than Lala Lal Chand, the paper can have no objection to the appointment in question. This is, however, an impossibility,

for the reason that if Government had really been of that opinion it would not have preferred the Lala to its present nominee when two additional Judgeships were created for the Chief Court? The spirit which animates Government at present presages danger: the appointments of incompetent persons to public posts will be certain to lead to disastrous consequences. In addition to lowering the efficiency of the various departments of the public service it will foment quarrels between Hindus and Muhammadans and entail on Government the trouble of putting down the same. The editor then goes on to say that although he disapproves of the policy of Government he is glad that Lala Lal Chand has not been appointed to the Chief Court Bench, for the reason that Natives in Government service are lost to their country. It is, therefore, good for the people that the Lala has not been appointed a Judge of the Chief Court, and has been left in a position to benefit his countrymen in some way or other. The incident should also serve as a lesson to those Hindu young men who would abandon independent profession in favour of Government service.

The Delhi Punkha Coolie's case.

14. The *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 15th October 1908, publishes the following:—

"IN concluding his lengthy judgment in the Delhi Punkha Coolie Case Mr. Justice Rattigan expresses regret that in cases of this class 'racial feelings are sometimes aroused.' The fact, however, is that racial feelings are aroused not by these cases, but by the manner in which they are generally dealt with by our Courts. Mr. Justice Rattigan's own judgment is an example. Not that we mean that the learned Judge has wilfully done injustice, but the reader cannot rise from a perusal of his judgment without forming an impression that he has been at too much pains to extenuate the offence of the accused, seeing that the application before him was for enhancement and not for reduction of sentence. In doing so, Mr. Justice Rattigan shows that he does not see the gravity of this class of offences which led the Punjab Government to go out of its way in making the application. It is wholly out of place to institute comparison between European and Indian offenders in such cases, or to lay down the unexceptionable maxim that both should be treated equally in the eye of law. For it is a fact that Indians are seldom hauled up for cases of death due to ruptured spleen or collapse of lungs in the victim, and all the known cases go to show that there is a class of Europeans who when assaulting natives are reckless of consequences. Granting the ruptured spleen or diseased lungs or heart to be the immediate cause of death, the fact cannot be gainsaid that the blows of this class of Europeans have a fatal felicity in bringing about the rupture or the collapse. It cannot be held that Indians do not fight amongst themselves or give each other blows or pushes, but how many cases come up before the courts because of their fatal results? Still, however, the feeling arises in such cases not because the offenders are generally Europeans, but because as a rule they are so easily let off. Indians have never made the stupid contention that a European, to quote Mr. Justice Rattigan's words, 'is, for that reason only, to be punished more severely than an Indian who stood in his shoes." What they contend is that death is such an awful result, that, by whatsoever means caused, it ought not to be treated lightly; and when an Indian causes it he knows well enough what sort of music he will have to face. Mr. Justice Rattigan's remarks quoted above show that he takes the European offender as often the injured person in such cases, and is therefore anxious, unconsciously perhaps, to give him all the protection he can. But perhaps the learned Judge may have heard of Lord Lytton's Fuller Minute, and he must be personally cognisant of the attitude taken by Lord Curzon in this class of cases, which brought upon him so much odium from his countrymen, but which Indians look upon as the one great redeeming feature of his rule. These two incidents go to show that cases of this nature are not to be disposed of by the expression of the benevolent dictum that Indian and European lives should be held equal before the law. If this healthy rule had been honoured by British Courts and the Anglo-Indian community, Lords

Lytton and Curzon, the two most Imperialistic Viceroys, would not have thought of going out of their way, incurring the displeasure of their own countrymen. We are not sorry that Mr. Justice Rattigan has not enhanced the punishment of Davies, apart from the fact that applications for enhancement are not desirable as a rule. But it is a pity that he does not take the serious view of the case which the frequency of this class of offences and their deplorable results demand, and has rather shown an anxiety to treat it lightly. The practical drift of the concluding part of his judgment is that Europeans are often aggrieved parties in such cases."

### (e) *Agriculture and question affecting the land.*

15. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 3rd October 1908, publishes an article under the heading, "Government's high-handedness," on which it says that zaildars in the Bar *ilaka* have orders to prepare a register of bullocks in each village fit to be utilised for transport purposes in times of war. The animals are inspected twice a year by Transport Officers, and on these occasions their owners are put to considerable inconvenience for several days and have to perform long journeys (to conduct them to the appointed places). Nor is that all. Although zaildars are compensated for the time and money spent by them in connection with the inspections, no such compensation is paid to the zaildars owning the above bullocks, while the work of the men suffers in their absence from it. To crown all, in the case of Government standing in need of the animals the owners are obliged to part with them at a price, generally far below the market value, fixed by the Registration officers. The result of all this is that the zamindars concerned purposely do not keep good oxen and the breed of such animals in the *ilaka* is daily on the decline. What is, however, worse still is that feeling of discontent are spreading among the peasantry. The paper, therefore, advises the Government to remove the hardships referred to or to grant one square of land for the maintenance of a fixed number of bullocks for transport purposes. After remarking that the existing arrangements can work only so long as Government is strong, it urges upon the authorities the desirability of preventing the feeling of discontent spreading among the zamindars in the Bar *ilaka*, who give one man out of every ten for the army.

A grievance of the Colonists in the Bar *ilaka*.

16. In a paragraph headed, "another complaint from the Bar" the *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 3rd October 1908, takes exception to the raising of public subscriptions for the relief of the villages near Toba Tek Singh which were destroyed in the recent heavy rains. It is of opinion that part of the illegal fines which were inflicted on (Chenab) colonists during the past few years and amount to no less than Rs. 12,00,000 should be utilised for the purpose. After remarking that more money is likely to be collected than is actually required to relieve the sufferings of the distressed villagers, the paper enquires whether the surplus will be refunded to the subscribers.

Destruction of some villages in Chenab Colony in the recent heavy rains.

17. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 3rd October 1908, publishes a translation of letter No. 27, dated the 2nd June last, from the Senior Secretary to the Financial Commissioner, Punjab, to the Chief Secretary, Punjab Government, emphasising the inadvisability of allowing land revenue and other demands to be remitted by means of currency notes sent through the post

A complaint.

office. It also publishes a translation of the circular letter from the Senior Secretary to the Financial Commissioner, Punjab, intimating to all Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners that the making of such remittances has been permanently prohibited. After remarking that copies of the above letters have been sent to it by Sardar Ajit Singh, the paper says that one of the reasons for the prohibition is that the remittance of land revenue and other demands in the above manner would place upon the *tahsil* establishment a responsibility which ought not in fairness to be imposed upon it. The chief duty of that establishment, however, consists in collecting land revenue and ensuring the safe custody of the collections. And if the remittance of the demand by means of currency notes sent through the post office is calculated to add to the heavy work of the *tahsil* officials, the remedy lies in employing assistant treasurers on Rs. 10 or Rs. 15 a month and not in taking away from the people's convenience in order to lighten the responsibility of treasurers. The paper does not admit the validity either of the other reasons advanced by the Senior Secretary to the Financial Commissioner, Punjab, and says that the prohibition constitutes a great hardship for the people concerned. The last named, it adds, may not lay their objections before the Lieutenant-Governor, but they cannot help feeling the grievance. It concludes by humbly requesting His Honour to prefer the convenience of the public to that of Government servants.

### (*f*)—*Railways and Communications.*

Safety of female passengers.

18. In a paragraph headed "The question of the safety of female railway passengers" the *Watan* (Lahore), of the 9th October 1908, refers to Miss Taylor's murder and says that Indian women travelling by rail have also been frequently robbed, killed and even outraged. For the present, it adds, the railway authorities have allowed European ladies travelling alone at night in first or second class compartments to each take a servant with them on a third class ticket. This does not, however, touch the general question of the safety of female passengers. After remarking that all native women, who, by the way, love ornaments, cannot afford to travel first or second class, the editor suggests that compartments for Europeon and Indian female passengers should be close to each other, with an extra brake van in the middle for the use of the guard and the police constable (told off to ensure the safety of these passengers). The former official need not be a European or a Eurasian, and a Native Sub-Inspector on a small pay could also be deputed for the work. (Indeed), in the event of the railway (administrations) being unable to bear the additional expenditure Government should throw the work on the railway police. At all events, something must be done to remedy the evil.

Ill-treatment of an Indian lady by a railway guard.

19. In a paragraph headed "Unbecoming treatment of an Indian lady by a European soldier guard," the *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 8th October 1908, reproduces from the *Panjabee* the story in which a railway guard is said to have molested an Indian Engineer's wife travelling second class. The incident, adds the paper, constitutes a specimen of the ill-treatment, insult and outrage to which Indian ladies are subjected when travelling by rail. Not

long ago a Native was sentenced to 20 years's rigorous imprisonment for attempting to outrage an English lady, and it remains to be seen what punishment will be inflicted on the above soldier guard for his reprehensible conduct.

### (*h*)—*Miscellaneous.*

The *Bedari* newspaper.

20. Writing under the heading "Some dangerous newspapers of Lahore" the *Rajput Gazette* (Lahore), of the 3rd October 1908, remarks that some mischievous vagabonds belonging to the Extremist party at Lahore have, after keeping silent for some time, decided to convey their dangerous ideas to the public through newspapers instead of by speeches. Acccordingly a few of them have started a newspaper called the *Bedari*, which is published and edited respectively by one Ishri Parshad, a book-seller at Lahore and "Saghar" of Akbarabad. These two men have several other dangerous characters with them, and another journal of the type of the *Bedari* has also been launched into existence (in all probability the reference is to the *Inqilab*). At first the *Bedari* used to be printed at the *Hindustan* Press, but later its conductors desired to have it printed at the *Rajput Gazette* Press and gave assurances that it would never contain any seditious matter. The dangerous writings published by it, however, compelled the press the very next week to refuse to print the paper. The *Rajput Gazette* adds that it does not like to see journals like the *Bedari* printed at its press or dangerous persons like "Saghar" and Ishri Parshad frequenting its office. It has no doubt that such mischievous persons will be prosecuted by Government sooner or later, and advises the public to beware of them.

The *Inqilab* newspaper.

21. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 3rd October 1908, publishes an article headed "Public taste and Journalism," in which the writer says that recently he was told by Sardar Ajit Singh that a nationalist newspaper was badly wanted (in the Punjab) and that if one were started it would assuredly prove a success, for the reason that the demise of the *Aftab* and the daily increasing deterioration of *Hindustan* had left not a single journal (in the Province) which discussed public questions in an outspoken and fearless manner. The editor replied that carelessness and short-sightedness are the greatest qualifications required in a journalist in these days, because if an editor is not careless and imprudent enough to abuse Government in season and out of season and try to inflame the people against the authorities his paper will not be read at all. Again, some time back the editor had a conversation with Srimati Sarla Devi Chaudhrani in which he told that lady that the reason why *Hindustan* had been falling in the popular estimation was that its writings were not strong enough to satisfy the public taste. He added that the public had come to believe that *Hindustan* had degenerated into a cowardly newspaper and that it did not write in an independent tone through fear of Government. There was, therefore, little hope of the paper regaining its popularity unless it were edited by a person whose writing could cure the people of their vitiated taste. It was also a mistake on the part of the proprietor of *Hindustan* to take on its editorial staff a person (most probably the reference is to Sufi Amba Pershad), who vitiated the

public taste by indulging in strong and inflammatory writings, but who could not be re-employed for fear of involving the paper in a seditious prosecution. The editor has referred to all this to show how greatly the public taste in regard to newspapers has come to be vitiated. He adds that some of his friends tried to dissuade him from starting this paper, saying that if he was not prepared to pander to the public taste he would have to suffer pecuniary loss and stop the publication of the *Inqilab* in the end; but that in the event of his following the opposite course he could rely on finding himself in Jail. His reply was that he would never murder his conscience in order to pander to the vitiated taste of the public or to win notoriety for himself. He has not written these words through fear of Government or to avoid being sent to Jail. There are very few persons in the world who could suffer less in Jail than he. He has not married of set purpose; while his parents, brothers and sisters do not stand in need of help from him. Again, as pleasures of the flesh do not afford him much gratification, physical sufferings also cannot greatly put him out. After remarking that people resort to different methods in order to serve their selfish ends, he says that Munshi Abdul Aziz, Manager of the *Paisa Akbbar*, told him on one occasion that Lala Dina Nath used to say "I among Hindus and Munshi Inshaulla among the Muhammadans are in the habit of befooling the people and profiting by their stupidity: this alone is the secret of our success." This means that a class of journalists inflame the followers of one religion against those of another and win success by securing the sympathy of one of the parties. Another way of making a newspaper a success is to constitute it an organ of a Samaj or Anjuman or of a leader of the public. This success is also achieved by writing down to the public taste and shirking the duty of improving the taste of newspaper readers. After remarking that newspapers stand to the people in the relation of parents and Gurus and should abstain from inclining the latter to undesirable ways, the editor says he that will never resort to objectionable methods to make the *Inqilab* popular. He will never write against Government for no reason, although it shall be one of his duties to publish honest crit icism of official measures. It shall also be his constant endeavour to acquaint Government with the wants of people and to request it to treat its loyal Native subjects as becomes a civilised Government. Further, he will make it a point of publishing articles calculated to improve the spiritual, moral, physical, religious, social and political condition of the people and to impress on his readers the desirability of learning to stand on their own legs, eschewing Government service and taking to trade and industries more kindly. He will also take care to abstain from setting one community against another.

The *Inqilab* newspaper.

22. The *Inqilab* (Lah ore), of the 3rd October 1908, publishes a communication under the heading "Liberty, equality and justice: we and our policy." After remarking that Native editors follow no fixed policy and are so many weather-cocks, the correspondent says that all men are born free and have equal rights, and that this liberty and equality can be maintained only with the aid of justice. Liberty, equality and justice, he adds, are, therefore, the birth-right and natural religion of every human being. "We" also follow the same *dharma*, and no earthly power can work a change in it for the reason that faith has to do with the soul. Let "us" spread this

*dharma* among mankind irrespective of caste, creed and colour. Commenting on the above, the paper says that its policy can be summed up in one word *dharma*, which includes every virtue. *Dharma*, it adds, can have no meaning unless it is associated with liberty, equality and justice. It dies out in a country where truth cannot be told in a fearless manner, where the Government decides the dispute of Whites and Black men according to two different laws, *i.e.*, cruelly murders equality and justice. In conclusion, the paper says that its policy shall consist in *dharma*,—not the human *dharma* which is changing continually, but the one which is a gift from heaven and by following which the believers in every creed can obtain salvation.

G. A. COCKS,

*Asst. to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*
*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

LAHORE :
*The 17th October* 1908.

Punjab Government Press, Lahore—29-10-08—1022—97—H. L. S.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 43. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 24th October 1908.**

## CONTENTS.


I.—Politics.

Page.

*(a)—Foreign—*

1. Ill-treatment of Indians abroad (*Tribune*) ... 631
2. Ill-treatment of Indians abroad (*Bedari*) ... *ib.*
3. Ill-treatment of Indians abroad (*Jhang Sial*) ... 632

*(b)—Home—*

4. Government's policy of repression (*Inqilab*) ... 633
5. Recent increase to the cost of the British garrison in India (*Bedari*) ... *ib.*
6. Recent increase to the cost of the British garrison in India (*Jhang Sial*) ... 634
7. *Swaraj* (*Inqilab*) ... *ib.*
8. *Swaraj* (*Inqilab*) ... 636
9. India for Indians (*Jhang Sial*) ... 637
10. Unpatriotic natives (*Jhang Sial*) ... *ib.*
11. Pseudo-Nationalists in the Punjab (*Inqilab*) ... 638
12. Lala Lajpat Rai (*Hindustan*) ... 639
13. Lala Lajpat Rai (*Bedari*) ... *ib.*
14. Lala Lajpat Rai (*Bedari*) ... 640
15. What do educated natives want? (*Khalsa Advocate*) *ib.*

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

*Nil.*

III.—Native States.

*Nil.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

*Nil.*

V.—Native Societies and Religious Matters.

16. A complaint (*Army News*) ... 641

VI.—Legislation.

Page.

17. The Newspapers Act (*Bedari*) ... 642

VII.—General Administration.

*(a)—Judicial—*

18. Mr. Shah Din's appointment to the Chief Court Bench (*Hindustan*) ... 642
19. Mr. Shah Din's appointment to the Chief Court Bench (*Jhang Sial*) ... *ib.*
20. Corporal Cullen's case (*Akhbar-i-Am*) ... 643
21. Corporal Cullen's case (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... *ib.*
22. The Delhi Punkha coolie's case (*Jhang Sial*) ... *ib.*
23. The Tilak case (*Bedari*) ... 644
24. The *Jhang Sial* libel cases (*Jhang Sial*) ... 645

*(b)—Police—*

*Nil.*

*(c)—Municipal and Cantonment affairs—*

*Nil.*

*(d)—Education—*

25. National Education (*Hindustan*) ... 645
26. Primary Education (*Bedari*) ... 646

*(e)—Agriculture and questions affecting the land—*

27. A complaint (*Zamindar*) ... 646
28. Export of animal bones from India (*Jhang Sial*) ... *ib.*

*(f)—Railways and Communications—*

29. Safety of native female passengers (*Civil & Military News*) ... 647

*(g)—Postal matters—*

*Nil.*

*(h)—Miscellaneous—*

30. Colonel Parsons, Deputy Commissioner, Lahore (*Hindustan*) ... 648

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 43. ]

# SELECTIONS

## FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

**Received up to 24th October 1908.**

---

## I.—POLITICS.

### (*a*)—*Foreign.*

1. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 23rd October 1908:—

**Ill-treatment of Indians abroad.**

"The brutal atrocities being committed and the barbarous enormities being perpetrated in the Transvaal in the name of a humane Government are from day to day stirring the country to its profoundest depths of sorrow and indignation at the fate of our suffering brethren in that Colony, whose tale of wrongs is one long-drawn agony to the Indian people all over the world. Mr. Gandhi, the leader of the united Indian community, is condemned to hard labour and is using the pick-axe on the Transvaal roads, his only fault being that he cannot surrender his countrymen bound hand and foot to the clutches of the Transvaal Colonists, and is not prepared to part with the rights of the Indian community for the smiles of the alien Government of that Colony. Far away from home, parted from it by seas and oceans, the leaders and patriots of the country are being treated like the worst criminals and are hunted and hounded like felons and knaves, and this because they pin their faith in the rights of British citizenship, believing in the sanctity of the pledges made by our late gracious sovereign and ratified and confirmed by statutes of Parliament. And the wonder is that the Liberal Cabinet at home stands apparently faltering and unmoved mutely witnessing this ghastly spectacle of wronged and outraged humanity. The wrongs, real or imaginary, of Armenia or Crete may galvanise England into action, the alleged oppression in the Congo might move the Imperial statesmen to intercede, the seizure of the Rumelian Railway by Bulgaria may cause the Powers of Europe to sit in solemn conclave, but one and all of these pale into insignificance compared to the indignities and humiliations to which British subjects are being wantonly subjected in a Colony under the British flag, and the solitary voice of Lord Ampthill is a cry in the wilderness as if the hearts of men had turned into stone. Mass meetings have been held all over India, resolutions have been telegraphed to the Government, cables have flashed across the seas to Lord Morley and the Premier, and have so far failed to produce any tangible result. Meanwhile the deepening gloom and the increasing feeling in the country have moved the premier Association in the country, the Bombay Presidency Association, to give another and this time a louder knock to rouse the conscience and humanity of England, and to make its mighty great heart of old to beat in unison with the dictates of righteousness and justice."

2. In a paragraph headed "Oh, we have nowwhere to go to," the *Bedari* (Lahore), of the 1st (received on the 21st October 1908, remarks that the undeserved hardships to which poor Indians are being subjected in

**Ill-treatment of Indians abroad.**

some British possessions and other foreign countries should be put an end to at once, for the reason that the present state of affairs is deeply wounding the feelings of the entire population of India. After referring to the recent decision of the United States of America to prohibit the entry of Indians into that Republic, the paper says that the question of the explusion of Indians from America, South Africa, Canada, &c., is assuming a more inhumane aspect from day to day. The reason for this, it adds, lies in the indifference of the Imperial Government to the grievances of Indian immigrants and in the people having no hand in the administration of their own country, which prevents them from making reprisals for the ill-treatment of Indians abroad. In conclusion, the *Bedari* says that if the Imperial Government does not take prompt steps to end the existing state of things it will drive all fair-minded persons to the conclusion that England does not look upon Indians as her subjects and that she cares nothing for their rights, honour and comfort.

In another paragraph headed "Impure and uncivilised thoughts," the *Bedari* says that the ill-treatment of Indians in the Transvaal has become unbearable and that the Transvaal Government has been conducting itself as if India formed no important part of the British Empire and as if natives were not among His Majesty's subjects. He next publishes a summary of the Asiatic Registration Act.

Ill-treatment of Indians abroad,

3. In a paragraph headed "Another door closed" the *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 10th October 1908, says that wherever Indians go they are subjected to disgrace and hardships. No educated native, it adds, is ignorant of how his fellow-countrymen fare in the Transvaal, Natal and Canada. After remarking that they are being driven out of those colonies, it says that the Government of the United States has also prohibited their entry into that Republic. Is this, it asks, due to their being Asiatics, and is it considered an offence in a foreign country to be of Asiatic extraction? This is by no means the case, seeing that Americans would worship the very ground trodden by the Japanese, who also are Asiatics. The reason why the Mikado's subjects are not ill-treated in America is that they are a living people and have proved their strength to the Americans. On the other hand, Indians, who do not enjoy liberty of speech in their own country and who are the victims of kicks and blows (from Europeans) in their native land, have no means of proving their strength to foreigners and of teaching the last-named a lesson for the insults heaped on them as a nation. It is a matter for regret that the Government of India should keep silent in the matter and should not regard the subjection of Indians to disgrace as a source of disgrace to itself. After enquiring whether the British Government is not to blame for the oppression practised on Indians abroad, the paper says that in view of the fact that they cannot eat their fill in India the prohibition to them to earn their bread in foreign countries means their extinction by means of starvation. Is the British Government, it asks, which boasts of being a just, liberal and civilised Government, prepared to put up with that stigma? Again, can it not induce foreign governments to have some regard for the honour, life and property of its Indian subjects? It can achieve this object without having to wage a war.

(*b*).—*Home.*

Government's policy of repression.

4. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 17th October 1908, publishes a communication from one Munshi Ram Sewak headed "Will repression extinguish unrest." After referring to the prosecution and punishment of native Editors in different parts of the country, the writer says that it would seem that whoever acquaints Government with the dangerous consequences of its repressive policy or advises the authorities to tread the right path is hauled up for sedition and thrown into jail. Apparently Government holds the opinion that the punishment of such persons will enable it to banish from the country the views favoured by them. The writer for one, however, believes that it is not only difficult but impossible to eradicate these views from the minds of the people. That this is so is evident from the fact that whenever an Editor is sent to jail another native steps into his shoes with alacrity. When, therefore, every native is ready to sacrifice his all for the country and would lay down even his life in its service, it is simply impossible to put down the (political) ideas (distasteful to Government). In these circumstances Government should adopt a policy which would not injure the country and would also do away with the prevailing unrest. In other words, the authorities should follow the example of the ancient Indian rulers and sacrifice their ease and pleasure to ministering to the comfort of the people. As it is, far from ascertaining and redressing the popular grievances, Government does not listen to the people even when the latter raise an outcry; nay, those who voice the above grievances are denounced as rebels and are sent to jail. Again, instead of appointing men to ascertain the grievances of the people the authorities employ natives who do not hesitate to cut the throats of their own countrymen for the sake of lucre. The correspondent next advises Government to find out the truth about the people, to allow them to freely voice their grievances and to redress the same in consultation with the indigenous press, which faithfully mirrors the feelings of His Majesty's native subjects. He adds that the people's demand for *swaraj* is perfectly legitimate, for the reason that they are now wholly fit to manage their own affairs. Besides, as all men are born equal, it is perfectly in accordance with the laws of nature to long for liberty. Government should, therefore, gladly accede to the demand of natives for *swaraj*. It should also abandon its present policy in favour of one of love and leniency. In case it persists in treating Editors and other patriots with rigour the prevailing unrest will increase rather than die out, while both it and the country will be landed in troubles the removal of which will prove not only difficult but impossible.

Recent increase to the cost of the British garrison in India.

5. Writing under the heading "Another strange occurrence" the *Bedari* (Lahore) of the 1st (received on the 21st) October 1908, says that the Romer Committee has increased the cost of the British garrison in India by 45 lakhs a year. The decision, it adds, has been given a retrospective effect, while, to cap all, the report submitted by the committee has neither been published nor presented in the House of Commons. The well-wishers of the country had long been crying for a decrease in the British garrison and in the military expenditure, suggesting that the savings should be utilised for im-

proving the financial condition of India and enabling starving natives to earn their bread. It is, however, a matter for regret that their opinion should have been treated with contempt and their cries should have gone up in vain. In conclusion the Editor urges his countrymen to enter a strong protest against the increase referred to and to agitate for a reversal of the new arrangements.

Recent increase to the cost of the British garrison in India.

6. In a paragraph headed "The blessing of liberty", the *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 10th October 1908, observes that there is no blessing like liberty, and that a person can hold nothing dearer or more valuable than *swaraj*. Self-governing countries, it adds, are always moving onwards and achieving greater progress from day to day. It is only recently that the Ottoman Empire obtained a constitution, but it has already begun to struggle for a place among civilised countries, and contemplates sending 1,000 youths abroad to study different branches of knowledge. On the contrary, the political leaders in India, which does not enjoy self-government and is under foreign rule, have been continually requesting Government to relieve poor Indians of the unbearable cost of the British garrison in order to utilise the savings for the purpose of sending Indian youths for education abroad. The authorities have, however, complied with the request by recently increasing the above cost by 45 lakhs of rupees a year. In conclusion, the paper says that it is such incidents which have led to the people demanding *swaraj*.

*Swaraj*.

7. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 17th October 1908, publishes an article headed "Are Indians unfit for *swaraj*?" Anglo-Indian newspapers, it says, are in the habit of asserting that natives lack the capacity to govern themselves on Western lines, and that if they were granted *swaraj* they would hasten to cut one another's throats. These journals are of opinion that the people of this country must improve their material, educational and social condition before demanding self-government. It is, however, by obtaining *swaraj* that Indians can effect the improvement referred to. The Editor then goes on to say that under the Muhammadan régime the material condition of Hindus was as satisfactory as that of their Muslim masters. The reason for this was that the money realised from them legally or otherwise by their Muhammadan rulers was not drained away to Arabia or Persia. The result was that the earnings of the people were utilised by themselves, and poverty and famine were consequently unknown in the country. Now, however, India's wealth is drained away to England, and it is the English who reap the fruit of the labour of Indians. Again, so much grain is exported to foreign countries that the people are constantly in the grip of famine. A few lines further the paper says that Indian famines are money and not grain famines, and that the excessively heavy taxes realised by Government have involved the country in abject poverty. The people, it adds, labour night and day, but Government does not leave them enough of their earnings to support themselves with throughout the year. From this standpoint the Muhammadan rule in India was not a foreign institution; if the Moslem rulers of the country used to roll in wealth it was also from Hindu merchants and shopkeepers that they bought the things required by them. The country's wealth was not therefore drained away abroad. The Editor then goes on to say that of the different sources of the country's income tea, coffee, jute and indigo plantations are in the hands of foreigners, and do not put even one pice into the pockets of the

children of the soil. Indeed, all the culturable lands in the country are practically mortgaged to England for a little over £63,000,000,* and she treats Indians just as a creditor treats a debtor. Land revenue must be collected even if the ryots are left nothing to eat. As regards cattle, they also have ceased to be a source of income to the people since the establishment of foreign rule in the country. The reason for this is that whereas cattle can be reared only in forests, under the present forest laws no person can take even a twig from a forest without obtaining a license. Cattle have, therefore, become a burden to the people, who find it difficult to preserve even their own existence, and are handed over to the butchers. As to the forests, they too constitute Government property, and the people find it extremely difficult to procure fuel. The Editor has seen poor people collecting straw in the streets to serve them as fuel, while the dung of horses and asses is also put to the same use. He then endeavours to show that mines, jute, woollen mills, joint stock concerns, railways, irrigation works and shipping are also almost entirely in the hands of foreigners, the fishing industry and cotton mills alone being left to natives. He accuses Government of having killed indigenous industries as also the country's carrying trade by sea, which was once monopolised wholly by natives. After remarking that the lion's share of Government service also goes to Europeans he says that it should be clear from his foregoing remarks that almost all sources of the country's income are in the hands of an alien Government and (other) foreigners. How can Indians, he asks, improve their material condition? Foreign rule and prosperity do not go together, and Indians are prohibited from treading the road to affluence. Those, therefore, who advise the people to improve their material condition before thinking of obtaining *Swaraj* are the latter's cunning enemies or foolish friends, whether they be foreigners or their fellow-countrymen. Natives should make up their minds to obtain *swaraj* first of all; other things will come to them of themselves.

The second advice of his Anglo-Indian press to the people is that the entire population must be educated before they can be fit for *Swaraj*. It is, however, worthy of consideration how far they can act up to this advice and to what extent their foreign Government will let them do so. British Statesmen are unanimous in holding that the present unrest in India is due solely to University education, which means that it is in contemplation to put down education in the country. Lord Curzon passed the Universities Act and rendered higher education so expensive as to place it beyond the reach even of the middle classes, let alone the poor. The Editor then goes into figures to show that Government has done very little to spread education in the country and takes it to task for not having made education compulsory. How, he asks, can the present alien Government do this when it holds the opinion that education turns natives into rebels and encourages anarchism? He advises his countrymen not to abandon their struggle for *Swaraj* from the mistaken consideration that education is not universal in the country. The establishment of *Swaraj* alone will lead to that result.

The Anglo-Indian press also tells natives to better their social condition before aspiring to *Swaraj*. It is, however, with the help of their rulers that a people can introduce social or religious reforms. Government, on the contrary,

* Probably the figure represents the amount of the land revenue of the whole country.

has, from the very beginning, been following the mistaken policy of not interfering in the social and religious affairs of the people. If it were justified in suppressing infanticide and the practice of *sati* there appears no reason why it should not purge native society of other reprehensible customs also. After remarking that it should do so at least through *panchayats*, the Editor complains that the British rule has caused a deterioration in the social condition of the people and that drinking and other evils, which always follow in its wake, will form permanent memorials of it in India. He adds that the gist of his remarks is that natives cannot improve their material, educational or social condition under foreign rule; that in these circumstances Anglo-Indian newspapers are wrong in insisting on the people effecting this improvement before trying to obtain *Swaraj*. It sends a shiver through the heart of every good man, he adds, to contemplate the material, social and intellectual ruin brought on India by the British Government. After quoting two extracts from the writings of Mr. Hyndeman and the late Mr. Digby condemning British rule in India, he concludes as follows :—

"Beloved countrymen, see that you do not allow yourselves to be deceived. It is only by obtaining *Swaraj* that you can advance materially, morally and educationally . . . . . Repose implicit faith in God. Awaken sleeping India by sacrificing your bodies, minds and wealth (in the attempt). Put forth whole-hearted efforts to obtain *Swaraj*. You will assuredly get it, provided you rely on God and preach the Gospel of *Swaraj* to the people."

Swaraj.

8. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 17th October 1908, publishes an article headed "*Swaraj*, boycott and national education: sacrifice by the lovers of *swaraj*." The paper divides society into three groups,—(1) students, and (2) young and (3) old householders,—and says that all the affections of householders being confined to their homes these members of society are unfitted to be lovers of *swaraj*, for the reason that they are incapable of making sacrifices, which love invariably demands. "Our" hopes are, therefore, centred in "our students" *i.e.*, youth, and the paper beseeches the latter if they love *swaraj* not to hesitate to make the necessary sacrifices. In other words, it adds, on completing their education they should take the vow of celibacy or at least vow to remain single for 10 or 15 years, which period they should spend in serving their nation, preaching the gospel of *swaraj* and *Swadeshism*, and introducing national education into the country. They should also teach native children themselves *gratis* or give their entire earnings for 10 or 15 years for the latter's education. They should remember that the sacrifice only of 10 or 15 persons cannot uplift 30 crores of human beings: 10 or 15 lakhs will have to be sacrificed for the purpose. They should do their duty and leave the rest to be accomplished by God. If one generation of youths were to sacrifice themselves at the altar of their country, their example would be certain to infect the succeeding generation, who would, besides, assuredly display greater diligence in completing the work begun by their predecessors. Blessed, adds the paper, are those who spend their lives in the service of God and their fellow-men. Again, those who sacrifice themselves for their religion and nation will live for ever. It is to be hoped that "our" youth will understand the real object of life and will throw aside that type of existence which is not dis-

tinguishable from the life of animals. They should cease to be selfish and thereby benefit not only their country but also themselves. The reason why their community has survived the attacks of lakhs of invaders (of India) is to be found in the fact that great men (among it) have sacrificed themselves (for it) from time to time. If such sacrifices are discontinued, which God forbid, Hindus will cease to exist of a certainly. They should, therefore, follow in the footsteps of their forefathers, bearing in mind that sacrifices are necessary for the preservation of a nation's life.

India for Indians.

9. In a paragraph headed "India is ours," the *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 10th October 1908, asks whether this country belongs to natives. In face of their present helpless condition, replies the paper, it would seem that India belongs not to them, but to the English under whose rule the country is. A perusal, however, of its past history, which abounds in brave deeds wrought by their forefathers, will show that the country is theirs. But the oppressive authorities would prevent them from uttering the words, as also from loving their beloved country. The former are undoubtedly the rulers of India, and most of them have also taken up their residence here; but can they place their hands over their hearts and say that they look upon it as their native land. No, they belong to England and will continue to do so. On the other hand, India and natives belong to each other and no one can prevent the latter from loving the former. They will love and revere their motherland, set up and worship her images in temples, and sing in a loud tone of voice "We belong to India and she belongs to us."

Unpatriotic natives.

10. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 10th October 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "A mark of disgrace" in which it says that treason to their country has been a characteristic of not a few Indians for a very long time past After referring to some events in the history of India in support of its assertion, the paper says that it is through treason that this country has been undone. The traitors, it adds, consists of highly respectable people, who betray their country and murder their conscience for the sake of a little gain or to please highly-placed officers. In these days when the political horizon of India is overcast and arrests are being effected in all parts of the country, the flight of (some) great leaders to England has created diverse thoughts in the minds of the people. Some are of opinion that these leaders have fled from the country owing to the repression practised by Government, while others believe that they have gone to ventilate their grievances in foreign countries. Lala Lajpat Rai's letter to the *Punjabee*, however, has put an end to all speculation on the part of the public. He says that it is back-biting by the Moderates which has obliged him to leave his country and seek refuge in England. Can there be anything more shameful for Indians, asks the paper, than the fact that the Lala should have been driven to go to England because of the doings of his countrymen, for whom he is ready to lay down even his life. It adds that his deportation was also due to back-biting on the part of some of the

worthies in question and that traitors to the country are an obstacle in the way of the advancement of their mother-land. Will the time ever come, it asks, when there will be no traitors to the country in the land?

Pseudo-Nationalists in the Punjab.

11. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 17th October 1908, publishes an article headed "Srijut Lala Lajpat Rai's advice." The Editor begins by saying that two hours before leaving Lahore for England Lala Lajpat Rai advised him to shun those who led a double life. There have arisen men in this country, he adds, who pass themselves off for gentlemen and patriots, their sole object in doing so being to serve their selfish ends. They assume the above character in order to deceive the unsuspecting public and to fleece their fellow-countrymen to their heart's content. Their morals are so low that there is not a single vice which is not to be found in them. They are given to drinking, flesh-eating, debauchery and sodomy, but all this does not prevent them from posing as immaculate patriots (*Muhibban-i-watan*, the use of which particular expression would show that the attack is directed against Ajit Singh and his companions). The paper then goes on to say that it is quite possible for a person whose private life cannot bear the light of day to be a patriot, provided he loyally safeguards the rights of his countrymen or his public life is above all blame. If, however, he sacrifices public interests for the sake of personal gain he is an enemy of his country and nation, for the reason that he soon disgusts the public not only with himself, but also with the good cause with which he may be connected. The chief reason why the agitation carried on in the Punjab last year has ceased to exist consists in the fact that those who had worked it up were not, with a few exceptions, men of character and principle. Nor did they follow any fixed programme with the result that their propaganda proved a bubble which could not withstand the strong wind of repression. The Editor honours those persons who possess many vices along with a few virtues inasmuch as sometimes even vices prove of help in uplifting a nation. The Punjab, he adds, is in a state of transition now, and if its youth elect to live the detestable life led by some Punjabi Nationalists their condition will be rendered extremely pitiable. A Punjabi Nationalist means a person who abuses Government, writes or translates some book and sells his literary productions at exorbitant prices. The Editor next advises natives to combine the study of politics and religion, remarking that a study only of political literature is calculated to injure and not to benefit them. For the benefit of those who wish to study wholesome political literature he will make arrangements for distributing *gratis* the works of noted Indian writers. After remarking that the Lahore public, especially college students, should not miss this opportunity of benefitting themselves, he says that he has published the article with feelings of deep regret for the reason that it is an attack against some of his friends. He adds that once when he requested Lala Ishar Das, lately Manager of the *Hindustan* Press, not to speak ill of the worthies in question the Lala made the following reply :—

"I speak to you (on the subject) repeatedly in order to make you disgusted with them. I warn people every where not to allow themselves to be caught in the nets spread by these men. It is the truth that they are really what I represent them to be."

Lala Lajpat Rai.

12. Writing under the heading "Lala Lajpat Rai and the public" *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 16th October 1908, in continuation of its previous remarks (*vide* para. 9 of Selections No. 42), says that in his letter to the *Panjabee* the Lala observes that this province is the most backward part of India in the matter of the solidarity of national life. The paper admits the truth of the charge, but it wishes to determine how far the Lala himself is to blame for the evil of which he has complained. Although, it adds, the Panjabis have been a warlike race from ancient times and have defended themselves against many a foreign invasion, they came forward to suppress the Sepoy Mutiny and helped in putting down the rising national consciousness in 1857. And at present, in spite of the existence of congresses, conferences, Lajpat Rais and Ajit Singhs in their midst, they lag behind all other sections of the population in the solidarity of national life. The Editor next observes that only a person born with a sword in his hand and not with a silver spoon in his mouth, can unite the warlike Punjabis and create a spirit of nationality among them. It was for this reason, he adds, that Jat Ajit Singh had greater opportunities than Lala Lajpat Rai of welding the Punjabis into a nation. Again, his success in his opposition to the Colonisation Act established his superiority to the Lala, while he possesses all the qualifications required in a leader of men. The paper then goes on to say that Lala Lajpat Rai had a vast field for work among educated classes in the Punjab and that if they are still most backward in the solidarity of national life the reason for this should be sought in his own shortcomings as a leader. A chain is no stronger than the weakest link in it, and national life in this province cannot possess more solidarity than the Lala's weaknesses can lend it The fact that he is to be found wanting after being weighed in the balance of national ideals constitutes the greatest obstacle in the way of the growth of national life in the Land of the Five Rivers. The Punjab public hailed his entry into the arena of the National Congress, but it must be recorded with regret that he has failed to perform his duty to the nation. He has continued to take as narrow a view of things as he used to do in the limited sphere of the Arya Samaj. He continues a partisan up to the present, and has not been able to shake himself free of selfishness. *Hindustan* adds that every member of most of the nationalist societies in Bengal is required to look upon the country's enemies and friends as his own, although they may, respectively, be his dearest relations and mortal enemies. Lala Lajpat Rai and his followers, however, have not been able to rise to that height, and the latter have been making incessant efforts to lower Ajit Singh in the estimation of the public. Again, the *Swaraj* which they desire for this province means Lala Lajpat Rai's *raj* to the exclusion of all others. The Lala's nationalism is only lip-deep, and is far removed from genuine nationalism which resembles practical *Vedant*, and makes its followers regard the misery and happiness of others as their own. If he had been a true nationalist he would have blamed himself and not the Panjabis for the want of solidarity in their national life. Besides, the existence of the evil should have led to his putting forth greater efforts to raise them to a higher level, and not to his taking advantage of it to leave them to their fate.

Lala Lajpat Rai.

13. Writing under the heading "Did Lala Lajpat Rai fly (from India) through fear?" the *Bedari* (Lahore), of the 1st (received on the 21st) October 1908, takes *Hindustan* to task for charging the Lala with deserting his coun-

try and countrymen through fear (*vide* paragraph 18 of selection No. 41). That paper, it adds, is jealous of the Lala, and has falsely accused him for the sake of a certain person (the reference is to Pandit Rambbaj Dat), whom it wishes to see the hero of the entire country. After finding fault with *Hindustan* for having used unbecoming language towards Lala Lajpat Rai, it says that the Lala is a stranger to fear, as is evident from the manner in which he received the news of his deportation. It concludes by remarking that *Hindustan* no longer reflects public opinion, and is only a puppet in the hands of a few persons.

Lala Lajpat Rai.

14. The *Bedari* (Lahore), of the 24th September (received on 21st October) 1908, publishes an article headed "A feeling patriot," in which it says that at a time when selfishness is rampant throughout the country there exists an Indian (the reference is to Lala Lajpat Rai) who is a sincere well-wisher of his montherland, has taken a vow to ensure its advancement even at the risk of his life, courts danger and hardships for the sake of his countrymen, is steadfast of purpose and guileless of heart, has been waking natives from their sleep, extends his love and sympathy to all of them irrespective of caste and creed, and has been sent by God to promote their welfare. Although, adds the paper, he is far away from his country now he has sent a life-giving message, every word of which they should take to heart and act up to. The *Bedari* then quotes extracts from his letter to the *Panjabee* in which he gives his reasons for his second visit to England.

What do educated natives want?

15. The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of the 17th October 1908:—

"One great grievance of the educated classes all over the country is that in the matter of the appointments in the public service they are not treated fairly and with justice. They desire that the pledges given them in this respect in the proclamation of 1858 should be carried out faithfully. They maintain that during the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon honest attempts were made to fulfil the promises made by the Sovereign. They also feel that during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon not only no attempts were made to carry out pledges given, but on the contrary everything that was possible was done to minimise the importance of the proclamation and to ignore its significance. Department after department of the public service was so reorganised as to exclude the natives of the country from all posts of any consequence. The basal idea of Lord Curzon's administration was that India should be governed as largely as possible by Englishmen. He gave effect to it by laying it down that all posts of any importance should be held by men of English birth and nationality and that only subordinate posts, which Englishmen will not care to have, should be conferred on natives of the country. Nothing contributed more largely to unrest and discontent in India than this arrangement. The educated classes had hoped that with the advancement of education the sphere of their employment in all branches of the public service would be considerably widened. But they were greatly disappointed to see it narrowed and circumscribed. We may state at once that educated Indians are not at all unreasonable in their demands. They want fair play and no favour. They have never asked for any special favours. What they want is that lay down the stiffest possible tests, physical as well as intellectual, for admission into the public service and let them compete in these on equal terms with Englishmen. They are no doubt aware that a competition test in England is in itself sufficient to handicap them in the race, because it excludes from the competition all who cannot afford to go to England for the necessary training. But they are prepared to abide by the

test handicapped, as they are. They only want a fair competition. They do not deny that British educational institutions, general as well as professional, are superior to those in India and that an Indian is all the better equipped for the efficient discharge of his duties on account of his residence and training in Europe.

"The Indian deeply resents any arrangement which excludes him from competition for posts in any branch of the public service. From the higher branches of the educational service he has been practically debarred. There is no competitive test for the Indian Educational Service. The selection is made by the Secretary of State for India. And only men of British birth are selected. This is very unfair to the children of the soil. Many of them have been to England and distinguished themselves in Universities. But the doors of the Indian Educational Service are closed against even these men. Again we all know that a competitive examination is held every year in London to select officers for the Indian Police Service. But no native of India is allowed to appear in this examination. This is quite unfair. The only competitive examinations for service in India open to the natives of this country are those relating to the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Medical Service. Almost every year natives of India compete with success in their examinations. Sometimes they take good places on the pass lists. Several years ago when the Engineering College at Cooper's Hill was in existence natives of India used to appear in its examinations and obtain posts both as Engineers and Telegraph Superintendents. Since the abolition of the College these services also have become the close preserves of men of British birth and nationality. Only a few days ago we had occasion to state that out of 20 young gentlemen who were successful in the Indian Medical Service competitive test five were Indians. And we now see from lists published in an English newspaper that out of 40 gentlemen selected for employment as Assistant Engineers in India there is not a single native of India, and that out of the 20 gentlemen similarly selected for the Indian Forest Service not one is an Indian. The selections in both these cases were made by Sub-Committee of officers of the India Office. If competitive tests were held to recruit for both these services and Indians were allowed to compete, some Indians would surely have got through. Again since last year over 25 appointments have been made to the superior grades of the Indian Agricultural Service, but not one Indian has been selected. All this is very unfair. It is arrangements such as these that cause unrest and discontent, and if Lord Morley wishes to allay both he cannot do better than annul these unjust and unfair arrangements. It is somewhat ridiculous that whilst the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Medical Service should be open to our countrymen, they should be debarred from admission into the higher grades of the Police, the Telegraph, Forest and the Public Works Departments. The arrangement in question does not admit of any defence. It is wholly opposed both to the letter and the spirit of the Proclamation of 1858. It is a fruitful cause of discontent and heartburning. It gives people ground for a loss of faith in the justice, uprightness and the righteousness of the British Government. Lord Morley by cancelling these arrangements will be taking an effective step towards conciliating the educated classes. The latter are anxious that Lords Minto and Morley should lose no time in undoing the harm done by Lord Curzon to the best interests of the educated classes in various ways during the seven years of his strenous and eventful administration.

"The educated classes have many grievances with regard to their employment in services for which recruitment is made locally and they have much to say regarding the treatment dealt out to them by European officers. But as we have already exceeded the usual limits of an article we shall postpone their consideration to a future article."

## V.—Native Societies and Religious Matters.

A complaint.

16. The *Army News* (Ludhiana), of the 10th October 1908, says that Sardars Puran Singh and Sajjan Singh, write to say that on the occasion of the recent Dassehra celebrations at Mauza Mansuran, Ludhiana district, the Sikh

mode of worship was ridiculed, (some) sacred *Shabads* in the *Granth* were parodied, and some of the clothes worn by the mummers resembled the dress of the Akali Sikhs, and were burnt in the evening. All this, adds the correspondents, had the effect of wounding the religious susceptibilities of the Sikhs, and the authorities should take notice of the conduct of the offending party.

The Newspapers Act.

17. In a paragraph headed "The difficulties of newspapers" the *Bedari* (Lahore) of the 1st (received on the 21st) October 1908, complains that the new press law has entailed some very great hardships upon native newspapers in particular. After remarking that under certain circumstances the printing press concerned can be confiscated simultaneously with the institution of legal proceedings against a newspaper, the Editor says that, naturally enough, the provision has led to the owners of printing presses refusing to print some journals on the flimiest of grounds. Difficulty has been experienced in connection with the printing of the *Bedari* also, which has been started to serve the country, and the Editor of which has resigned a good appointment to work on its staff.

## VII—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

### (*a*)—*Judicial.*

Mr. Shah Din's appointment to the Chief Court Bench.

18. Writing under the heading "Congratulations to the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Shah Din," *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 16th October 1908, congratulates the gentleman named on his appointment to the bench of the Punjab Chief Court. It, however, wishes to consider whether Government has acted justly in conferring the honour on Mr. Shah Din in preference to Lala Lal Chaad. The Lala, it adds, was not only senior to the former, but is also admittedly superior to him in point of ability. Indeed, on one occasion when some respectable Muhammadans requested the late Sir Denzil Ibbetson to appoint Mr. Shah Din to a Judgeship of the Chief Court that officer told them in reply that he would have gladly complied with their request, but that the question was one of merit and ability, and that Lala Lal Chand was incontestably an abler man than their nominee. After enquiring whether the present appointment is not based on political considerations, the paper says that the majority of Muhammadans also desired the appointment of some other Musalman to the Chief Court Bench, and that by conferring the honour on Mr. Shah Din Sir Louis Dane has proved himself to be a weak ruler, and has greatly surprised and disappointed the public, who were in hopes that in making his choice His Honour would act up to the sound principle regarding the appointment of Judges to the highest courts laid down by Sir George Clarke in his reply to the address recently presented to His Excellency by a Muhammadan deputation.

Mr. Shah Din's appointment to the Chief Court Bench.

19. In a paragraph headed "Judgeship of the Punjab Chief Court," the *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 10th October 1908, says that as soon as it became known that Mr. Chatterjee was to retire on pension (in the current year) Muhammadans began to exert themselves to secure his place for a co-religionist of theirs. They held loyal demonstrations and sent deputations (to wait on the authorities). In a word, they resorted to different methods to please the authorities and suggested Mr. Shah Din's name for the Judgeship. The Editor had held the opinion that Government

would think only of merit and ability in filling the vacancy, but the manner in which the appointment has been made by the Punjab Government has convinced him that in these days merit has to give way to flattery and professions of loyalty. He is at a loss to discover why Mr. Shah Din has been preferred to Lala Lal Chand, who had already worked as Additional Judge for a period of two years. After remarking that this sort of favouritism is calculated to bring discredit on Government he expresses satisfaction at the Lala being left in a position to lead an independent life and to do considerable good to the public, who have great hopes from him. If he had been raised to the Bench of the Chief Court the people would have been deprived of the services of a statesman of great intellectual calibre. It is to be hoped that the Lala also will realise this, and will evince keen interest in questions affecting the public, remembering that true honour is that which one receives at the hands of one's country men.

Corporal Cullen's case.

20. Writing under the heading "Driver Lachhman Das's case," the *Akhbar i'Am* (Lahore), of the 21st October 1908, says that the acquittal of Corporal Cullen by the Chief Court may be legally right, but there also exists such a thing as public opinion. According to this opinion, it adds, such findings create the undesirable impression that it is not easy for an Indian to obtain justice against a European. If the murderer had been a native and the murdered person a European, would the plea, asks the paper, of sudden and temporary insanity have been entertained even for a minute? After remarking that decisions like the above cannot satisfy the general public, it enquires who is to be held responsible for the murder of Lachhman Das, and what satisfaction has been afforded to the widow and children of the murdered driver. It further remarks that Government is in a position to judge how such decisions affect the public mind, and that human life being very valuable steps should always be taken to prevent its destruction. After remarking that juries should not frustrate the ends of justice by showing partiality for accused persons of their own nationality, the paper observes that if Cullen had been tried by a court martial, the result would not, according to the native public have been so childish and unsatisfactory (*lit.* improper).

Corporal Cullen's case.

21. In a paragraph headed "A mule driver's murder at Jutogh" the *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 21st October 1908, says that one cannot understand how the accused, who was on duty, went mad suddenly just before committing the murder. Again, it is highly improper, unjust and impolitic to palliate the offence owing simply to the murdered man having been a native.

The Delhi *punkha* coolie's case.

22. In a paragraph headed "Government appeal rejected" the *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 17th October 1908, says that the appeal which Government had filed in the Delhi *punkha* coolie's case in order only to silence the public has been rejected by the Chief Court. The paper regrets that Indians should enlarge their spleens, die from a rupture of the same and put whites to the trouble of attending the courts. Since, it adds, they will not have themselves treated, Government should have their spleens restored to the normal condition. The

enlargement of the spleen seems to have become a common ailment in the country, seeing that every Indian dying (at the hands of Europeans) turns out to have been afflicted with the disease.

The Tilak case.

23. The *Bedari* (Lahore), of the 1st (received on the 21st October 1908), publishes an article headed "Ah (he) is far away." It was but natural, says the paper, that the separation from them of a pure soul, an incarnation of goodness and a devoted servant of the country (Mr. Tilak) should have embittered the life of the people and have turned their homes into places of mourning. The sole object of that patriot's life, it adds, was to secure honour, prosperity and comfort for his ccuntrymen, even at the risk of his life. They have been deprived of a true friend, while the latter has been parted from the work which was the solace of his life and which he preferred to all the good things of this world. He has been taken to a new country (*lit* world) and confined in a strong and grim fortress. His countrymen should bear in mind that it is his efforts to promote their welfare which have landed him in his present troubles. He was meant by God to suffer hardships in order to serve as an example to them and to be able to tell them things calculated to better their lot. It is for trying to fulfil this sacred mission that he has been set down as a rebel and seditionist by the authorities. This is no new thing. Those in power have always treated patriots in the same way. For some reasons the authorities have not interpreted Mr. Tilak's writings correctly. As a matter of fact he was neither a rebel nor did he disseminate sedition or preach murder. Again, he did not favour violence or approve of the savage methods of bomb-throwers. He merely advised Government to discover the true causes of the lecent deplorable occurrences in the country. After remarking that he is not likely to come out of jail alive, the paper says that Government's repressive policy is widening the gulf between the rulers and the ruled. It concludes by remarking that Mr. Tilak's life teaches the following lessons:—

(1) That great sacrifices are necessary for bringing about a political awakening in the country.

(2) That one should have the courage to devote one's all to the service of one's country.

(3) That the life of natives should be one continuous struggle to obtain rights and political freedom.

(4) That natives should serve their cou ntry with ever-increasing vigour.

(5) That failures pave the way to progress.

(6) That one should never be afraid to speak the truth.

Elsewhere the paper says that it is the duty of all Indians to go to the rescue of Mr. Tilak and his family. After remarking that his appeal to the Privy Council will cost thousands of rupees, it announces that a Tilak Fund has been started by the Editor of the *Mahratta*. Those, it adds, who wish to make some return for Mr. Tilak's disinterested services to the country should subscribe liberally towards the fund. The readers of the *Bedari* also should contribute their mite and inform the paper of the amounts

of their subscriptions which will be acknowledged in it. In conclusion it announces that its Proprietor, Editor and his assistants have contributed a sum of Rs. 8.

The *Jhang Sial* libel cases.

24. The Jhang Sial (Jhang), of the 10th and 17th October 1908, acknowledges the following subscriptions towards "The Fund in aid of Banka Dyal":—

| | Rs. | A. | P. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Amount already acknowledged ... ... | 135 | 6 | 0 |
| Dr. Dina Nath, L. M. S. ... ... | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Lala Gian Chand, of Sialkot ... ... | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Lala Tirath Ram, of Jhang ... ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Lala Nathu Ram, of Jhang ... ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Lala Guraditta Mal ... ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Sardar Lal Singh ... ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Lala Hardwari Lal, Contractor ... ... | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| Lala Lakhmi Das, shopkeeper, Lahore ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Chaudhari Ram Chand ... ... | 2 | 8 | 0 |
| Lala Devi Ditta Mal ... ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Pandit Thakar Dat Sharma ... ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Anonymous subscribers ... ... | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Ditto ditto at Khushab ... ... | 10 | 10 | 0 |
| Ditto ditto at Peshawar ... ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Ditto ditto at Karachi ... ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Ditto ditto at Lala Musa... ... | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| Bawa Budh Nath of Lahore ... ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Lala Mela Ram ditto ... ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Sardar Sundar Singh of Amritsar ... ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Sodhi Lachhman Singh of Mallah ... ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Total ... | 237 | 8 | 0 |

### (*d*).—*Education.*

National Education.

25. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 16th October 1908, publishes a communication on National Education from Lala Hardyal, who, in continuation of his previous remarks (*vide* paragraph 11 of Selection No. 40), suggests the resuscitation of the old *pathsalas* and the making of arrangements for imparting higher education at them. The institutions, he adds, should teach the following subjects:—

(1) The history of India, a correct study of which is extremely necessary for quickening "our" national life. In the lower classes it should be taught through the medium of pictures and songs, a beginning being made with the Ramayana which will indelibly impress on the minds of the students the stories of the lives of the *rishis*, heroes and (other) great men of yore. The object of teaching this history being to promote union and morality in the country, the following facts should be kept in view in compiling it:—

(*a*) It should clearly bring out the unity of the Hindu nation and depict the national customs, usages and characteristics of, and the conquests made by, Hindus. It should teach that

Hindus constitute one nation; that all of them come from the same stock, profess the same religion and have the same history; that they are superior to other nations in numbers and that their history is a message of hope throughout.

(*b*) It should avoid religious controversies with care.

(*c*) It should trace the causes and effects of the various occurrences, stating why "we" sustained a defeat on a particular occasion, how a certain change was brought about, what mistakes are at the bottom of "our" fall, and the like. In short, it should teach practical wisdom and preach "the philosophy of experience."

(*d*) It should relate in detail the story of the lives of great men, so as to induce Hindu children to emulate their example.

After remarking that the history of India written on the above lines will be certain to prove beneficial to the cause of nationalism in the country, the writer announces that several patrotic natives have taken upon themselves the task of compiling the required book. Until the book is published teachers should content themselves with teaching from memory and should have nothing to do with the history written by Lethbridge.

Primary education.

26. In a paragraph headed "The question of primary education" the *Bedari* (Lahore), of the 1st (received on the 21st) October 1908, suggests that in the interests of the class of natives who cannot afford to spend anything on education Government should make primary education free in India. The concession will prove very beneficial to the country, and Government should grant the people's prayer in this matter at least.

### (*e*)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land.*

A complaint.

27. In a paragraph headed "Impressed labour for Government work," the *Zamindar* (Karmabad), of the 1st September (received on the 20th October) 1908, says that the *begar* resolution issued by Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick has long been a dead letter. After remarking that the exaction of *begar* work from agriculturists by different departments of the public service, especially the Canal department, is worthy of special attention from His Honour Sir Louis Dane, the paper reports that it understands that breaches on the Rakh Branch of the Chenab Canal are very frequent, and that the zamindars impressed to repair the same are paid at the rate of one pice a day. The Editor has no doubt that the rate charged to Government cannot be less than four or five annas per diem, and that in all probability the balance goes into the pockets of mates and other officials. In conclusion, he requests His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to look into the matter.

Export of animal bones from India.

28. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 10th October 1908, publishes an article headed "Take care of a blessing: it is departing." God alone knows, says the paper, how wretched the present condition of Indians is. They are kicked to death by Englishmen with impunity, while in comparison

with the latter they fare far worse than dogs. It will, however, take very long to remedy these evils, which cannot be removed unless Indians learn to stand on their own legs and to pay back Englishmen in the latter's own coin. This they can do only when they can claim equality with their present rulers in matters of ability, trade, industries, power and moral courage. The present is the age of competition, and there is nothing unnatural in the English showing Indians no respect and in leaving no stone unturned to rob the latter of their wealth. Indeed, it has always been usual for strong peoples to do their utmost to plunder, crush and oppress weak nations. Might has ever been right, while no one dare call the strong tyrannical even if they practice oppression. Similarly, however loudly the Indians may complain against the English, the latter will never, because of their being powerful, be called oppressive even by civilised and justice-loving peoples. It can, therefore, serve no useful purpose to discuss whether or not the present rulers of India are tyrannical and unjust. After remarking that he will confine himself to discussing to what the present wretched condition of Indians is due, the editor ascribes the evil to their inability to procure food for themselves. He adds that they ask not for the sceptre and power, but for bread, which, however, cannot be had under British rule. How can a person, he asks, support himself and his family when *ata* sells at seven seers the rupee? He next takes God to witness that he has never eaten his fill, and goes on to say that every Indian produce has lost its excellence, and that the popular belief ascribes the phenomenon to the English being actuated by dishonest motives. The Editor does not subscribe to this belief, and remarks that the evil is due to the export of immense quantities of bones to England. Bones, he adds, forms the best manure, and the people should stop their export from the country, for otherwise every indigenous product will lose its excellence, and they will have to suffer the pangs of hunger.

### (*f*)—*Railways and Communications.*

29. The *Civil and Military News* (Ludhiana), of the 19th October 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "Misbehaviour of Railway servants should be most severely punished." The complaint, it says, has become general that Eurasian ticket-collectors, station masters and the like greatly molest and even attempt to outrage native women travelling alone by rail. The miscreants are punished no doubt, but the punishments inflicted on them are usually very light, this being the unanimous opinion of the Railway Conference which recently met at Simla. After stating that a Eurasian Assistant Station Master at Rawalpindi (Moore) was let off in spite of his having been proved guilty of the offence of raping (a native women), the paper reproduces the story in which a Muhammadan lady travelling 2nd class on the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway is said to have jumped out of the train in order to escape outrage at the hands of a travelling ticket-collector named John Ferry (?). It then urges the magistracy to inflict exemplary punishments on offenders of the above description, so as to prevent others from outraging female passengers. In conclusion, it expresses the hope that Government will issue imperative orders to all Magistrates on the subject.

Safety of Native female passengers.

(*h*)—*Miscellaneous.*

Colonel Parsons, Deputy Commissioner, Lahore.

30. In a paragraph headed "Moral rule and its strength" *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 16th October 1908, says that it is anything but wise to use force when leniency would serve the purpose equally well. It adds that while Colonel Parsons was Deputy Commissioner of Delhi his foresight is said to have averted the deportation of a certain person (the paper has confounded Mr. Humphreys with Colonel Parsons). Similarly the peace which now prevails at Lahore and in its suburbs is due to no coercive measures, but to the Colonel's amiable manners. Mrs. Parsons also does not hesitate to mix with her Indian sisters and has been instrumental in the establishment of a *Pardah* Library and the holding of several Zenana parties also. The paper then goes on to say that politeness and kindness constitute chains which natives are ever willing to wear. It concludes by remarking that the treatment of the people by Colonel Parsons and Sir George Clarke should serve as an example to other officers of Government.

G. A. COCKS,

*Asst. to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*
*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

LAHORE:
*The 24th October* 1908.

Punjab Government Press, Lahore—4-11-08—4053—97—C. D.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 44. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

Received up to 31st October 1908.

---

## CONTENTS.


I.—Politics.

Page.

(a)—*Foreign*—

1. "The wave of liberty" (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 649
2. The awakening of Turkey (*Inqilab*) ... ... *ib.*
3. Ill-treatment of Indians abroad (*Jhang Sial*) ... *ib.*
4. Ill-treatment of Indians abroad (*Tribune*) ... 650
5. Indians in Mauritius (*Arya Gazette*) ... ... *ib.*

(b)—*Home*—

6. India's prosperity before the British rule (*Panjabee*)... 651
7. The rulers and the ruled (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 652
8. The struggle for *Swaraj* (*Inqilab*) ... ... 653
9. The causes of unrest in India (*Indar*) ... ... 654
10. The present crisis (*Inqilab*) ... ... ... *ib.*
11. The revolution in Bengal (*Inqilab*) ... ... 655
12. The deputations to Government and loyal meetings (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... ... 656
13. The increase of the military burden of India (*Hindustan*) ... ... ... ... 657
14. The *Swadeshi* movement (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... *ib.*
15. The *Swadeshi* movement (*Inqilab*) ... ... 658

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

16. Tribal raids into British Territory (*Akhbar-i-'Am*) ... 658

III.—Native States.

*Nil.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

*Nil.*

Page.

V.—Native Societies and Religious matters.

*Nil.*

VI.—Legislation.

*Nil.*

VII.—General Administration.

(a)—*Judicial*—

17. Partiality shown to European Criminals in Indian Courts (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... ... 659
18. The appointment of Mr. Shah Din to the Bench of Chief Court, Punjab (*Sada-i-Hind*) ... ... *ib.*
19. Anglo-Indian juries (*Panjabee*) ... ... *ib.*

(b)—*Police*—

20. A complaint against the Secret Police (*Jhang Sial*)... 660

(c)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs*—

*Nil.*

(d)—*Education*—

21. Education in India (*Indar*) ... ... ... 660

(e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land*—

*Nil.*

(f)—*Railways and Communications*—

*Nil.*

(g)—*Postal matters*—

*Nil.*

(h)—*Miscellaneous*—

22. A book entitled Qaumi Islah (*Inqilab*) ... ... 664
23. Banke Dayal and the *Jhang Sial* (*Jhang Sial*) ... 665
24. Pecuniary aid to Banke Dayal (*Jhang Sial*) ... *ib.*

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 44. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

**Received up to 31st October 1908.**

---

### I.—POLITICS.

#### (*a*)—*Foreign.*

"The wave of liberty."

1. In a paragraph headed "The wave of liberty" the *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 24th October 1908, says that slavery has been banished from the world and that the cry for liberty is to be heard in all quarters of the globe. Every nation, nay every individual, is struggling to obtain liberty, and rightly so, because freedom is the birthright of every living creature. A man leading the life of a slave does not deserve to be called a human being. Turkey has obtained a constitution (*lit.* its independence) and rejoicings are being held in all parts of that country in consequence. A desire for liberty has led to Bulgaria also proclaiming her independence, which she has every right to do. In short the time has come when liberty should reign supreme in the world. Rulers and the ruled should nowhere oppose the wave of liberty which is passing over the world just now. If they stand in its way there is a fear of its sweeping them away.

The awakening of Turkey.

2. In a paragraph headed "Do not hate misfortunes" the *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 10th (received on the 28th) October 1908, after remarking that good cometh out of evil, says that the Sultan was called by the whole of Europe "the sick man" and that all the European Powers had been dreaming of dividing the Turkish Empire among themselves. As a result of this policy there has come into existence in Turkey a party which, with a view to thwarting the designs of the European powers, has prevailed upon the authorities to grant a constitution. Any one who thinks that the Sultan has granted the constitution of his own accord is mistaken, it being impossible for an autocratic ruler, especially a Muhammadan, to perform such an act of generosity. The Editor concludes by remarking that the awakening of the Turks is due to the machinations of Europe, to which they ought to be thankful.

Ill-treatment of Indians abroad.

3. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 24th October 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "Indians in the Transvaal," in which it complains that the Indians, who rendered yeoman service to the British Government

during the Transvaal War, are being ill-treated by the Boers, who are inimically disposed towards them owing to their having stood by the English on the occasion of that war. They have sent several telegrams to Lord Morley, but the invariable reply returned to them is that the Imperial Government has no doubt that the Transvaal authorities are trying to put an end to the troubles of Indian immigrants. These endeavours, the paper ironically remarks, consist in inflicting sentences of fine and imprisonment on Indians, who are, however, facing their troubles with a cheerful heart.

4. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 29th October 1908 :—

Ill-treatment of Indians abroad.

"We learn from our Calcutta telegram that the following special cablegram dated Johannesburg, October 26th, has been received at Calcutta :—

"Mr. Gandhi was yesterday brought to Johannesburg and marched publicly in daylight in convict dress. Great indignation is excited in the Indian community.' The Transvaal Colonists are betraying the most barefaced impudence and palpable disregard of the ordinary principles of humanity and manliness enough to earn them a lasting niche in the gallery of infamy and dishonour. In publicly heaping insult and humiliation on our national leaders and patriots they are dead alike to the dictates of justice and better nature, but what is worse in their hour of momentary triumph are behaving like mad men intoxicated with the lust of power and blind to all considerations of England's honour and fame. The deliberate insult to Mr. Gandhi in marching him through the streets dressed in a convict's garb is an insult to the whole Indian nation, and nothing could be more deliberately calculated to exasperate public feeling in this country. Will England sit still with folded hands, hesitating to lift the finger, while Transvaal is pouring salt in the gaping wounds of the Indian community. In its newly-acquired power of self-government, pampered by the disinclination of the Liberal Government to interfere, the Transvaal led by its selfish interest and blinded by its lust after material gain may go on adding insult to injury on the persecuted Indians. It may not care for the effect on imperial interests and concerns, but can England do so? We have repeatedly expressed our conviction that, however substantial any concessions England may make to India, they will hardly kindle any enthusiasm if the state of affairs in Transvaal continues to be what it is—a dark blot on England's escutcheon. Things must have come to a sad pass indeed if England, the liberator of the West Indian Negro slaves, can watch silently and without an effective protest the attaching of that very stigma of slavery to men of the same Aryan stock who have been proud to claim the rights and status of British citizens granted by a gracious soyereign, and who have so far vainly knocked at the gate of England's conscience and sense of righteousness. Whether the countrymen of Wilberforce, Howard, Burke and Gladstone have retained their traditions and instincts to respond to the call of humanity from members of the British Empire itself, or have entirely forgotten the glorious traits of the race will appear from the way in which they emerge out of the ordeal which faces them in the Transvaal, and by that test will humanity, and the historian of the future, judge them."

5. The *Arya Gazette* (Lahore), of the 15th October 1908, publishes a communication headed "The Mauritius Island," in which the writer says that the Emigration Agent at Calcutta is wholly wrong in stating in his recent letter to the paper that no one is shipped to the above island without his consent (*vide* paragraph 1 of Selections No. 40). The correspondent adds that only recently he chanced to meet a certain gentleman who has been a Magistrate and used to register the names of emigrants to Mauritius. He was informed by the said officer that recruiting agents were in the habit of inducing intending emigrants to register themselves by holding out to them

Indians in Mauritius.

false hopes; that emigrants were frequently deceived and registered under false names; and that the recruiting agents employed by the emigration agency (at Calcutta) had been punished more than once. After remarking that, if necessary, he can refer to official records in support of his statements, the writer expresses a hope that the *Arya Gazette* will leave no stone unturned to secure justice (for Indian emigrants in Mauritius) by laying bare the matter before the public.

### (*b*).—*Home.*

India's prosperity before the British rule.

6. The following is from the *Punjabee* (Lahore), of the 27th October 1908:—

"British egotism cannot brook the idea of a preposterous possibility like the one suggested by the heading of this article. Yet it is a fact that India before the British conquest was the richest country in the world, and that to-day she is the poorest! The official Englishman will not admit it, nor are we particularly anxious that he should do so, for the simple reason that he won't. Our only object in referring to India's prosperity before the British is to give our own countrymen an ide a of the height from which they have fallen—a height which fifty million "Prosperity Budgets" placed one upon another cannot equal! British egotism tells us that our national prosperity began from the Battle of Plassey. We wish to show that exactly the reverse is the case; that even on the eve of the Battle of Plassey we were the richest people upon earth, due to our prosperous agriculture and manufactures: and that there is no earthly reason why we should not regain the height we had once attained by our own exertions and industry. A writer in the *Modern Review* has facilitated our work by collecting a mass of evidence bearing on the subject from British authorities themselves. Only a few quotations from among these will be enough to show what we have been and what we are.

"Milton did not draw from imagination when he spoke of the "gorgeous East" showering on her Kings with 'richest' hand 'barbaric pearl and gold.' He was apparently thinking of India under the Muhammadans. Indeed, from time immemorial down to early British rule, that is, before the attention of Lancashire was drawn to the fact, India was rich in her possessions of gold and silver which flowed into her coffers from all parts of the world in exchange for her rich natural and artificial products. 'In all ages,' according to the historian, Dr. Robertson, 'the trade with India has been the same; gold and silver have uniformly been carried thither in order to purchase the same commodities with which it now supplies all nations; and from the age of Pliny to the present times it has been always considered and execrated as a gulf which swallows up the wealth of every other country, that flows incessantly towards it, and from which it never returns." Yes, it is of India the historian is speaking! Khojah Abdul Karim, a distinguished Kashmiri, in his 'Memoirs' quoted by Dr. Robertson, wonders how Hindustan, though frequenly plundered by foreign invaders and possessing no mines of gold and silver, still 'abounds in money and every other kind of wealth.' He attributes the phenomenon to the "large importation of gold and silver in the ships of Europe and other nations, many of whom bring ready money in exchange for the manufactures and natural productions of the country. If this is not the cause of the prosperous state of Hindustan, it must be owing to the peculiar blessing of God.' Thus we see that, in spite of frequent plunders by foreign invaders and the paucity of gold and silver mines, India 'abounded in money and every other kind of wealth.' The country, considered to-day as the most accursed under the sun, was looked upon in those days as enjoying the 'peculiar blessing of God.' To-day she is unable to withstand a single failure of the crops!

"The contrast between her past and present conditions as shown by the following extract from the *Asiatic Annual Register* (1801, pp. 13-16) is strikingly and painfully complete:—'The money which flowed so plentifully into the country was never remitted from it, either for commercial or other purposes, and as the trade carried on by

the Portuguse had infected the people of Europe with an epidemical rage for Indian productions, at the same time that the precious metals brought from America so much increased the facility of obtaining them, the Empire of Hindustan naturally became, in the course of the reign of Akbar, the general reservoir of all the specie of the world. The great expert trade of Hindustan invariably consisted in an interchange of merchandise and specie, and was never carried on by her own inhabitants, but immemorially by other nations : and her internal trade, nourished and invigorated by that specie, rendered her *the most opulent country in the world.*' Thus we see that our country, before the British, attracted the gold and silver of the world, which were never again remitted from it ; that the excellence of its manufactures and productions had created an 'epidemical rage' for them in Europe, so much so that the Indians did not care to be the carriers of their own commodities, other nations acting as agents for them and bringing the gold and silver of the world for their pleasure. For 'in no other part of the world,' says Dr. Robertson, 'did the nation depend so little upon foreign countries either for the necessaries or luxuries of life. The blessings of a favourable climate and fertile soil, augmented by their own ingenuity, afforded them whatever they desired.' Caravans of merchandise for foreign countries were attended, according to Travernier, by so great a cavalcade that a traveller, when he met them, was 'obliged to halt upon the road, and wait patienly until they passed, which frequently took up one or two days.'

"Such was India even on the eve of Plassey. After Plassey, to quote Brooks Adam's *Laws of Civilisation and Decay*, 'the Bengal plunder began to arrive in London, and the effect appears to have been instantaneous ; for all the authorities agree that the industrial revolution, the event which has divided the nineteenth century from all antecedent time, began with the year 1760. *Possibly since the world began no investment has ever yielded the profit reaped from the Indian plunder*, because for nearly fifty years Britain stood without a competitor." The italics are ours. Lancashire had already stepped into the field with loud lamentations against 'foreign cloths' and persistent demands for 'severe restrictions' on their importations, and on the 11th of April 1700 Parliament, with the Royal assent, proclaimed boycott of 'Indian wrought silks,' prohibiting their use in England after the 27th September 1731, and laying heavy dues on their importation. Other legislative enactments followed as a matter of course, notably those of 1720 and 1813, with regard to other manufactures; and their baneful effects on India, let us hope and pray, have now run their full course."

7. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 17th October 1908, publishes an article having the following Persian couplet for its heading :—

The rulers and the ruled.

"Fear the sighs of the oppressed, for when they pray

"Acceptance comes for the reception (of their prayer) from the throne (*lit.* door) of God."

Tell the ruler, says the paper, who does not fear and is puffed up with pride, that his days are numbered. After remarking that the history of the world loudly proclaims that pride goeth before a fall, it refers to the sad end of the tryannical Nimrod, Pharyah and Ravana. Hundreds of instances, it adds, are on record in which kings who oppressed their subjects and tried to crush the weak and helpless died miserable deaths. The sighs of the oppressed move the wrath of God and make him hurl into perdition the wretches who look down upon and grossly oppress their fellow-beings. The end of Hiranakas, Mahmud, Nadir, Timur, Changhiz and all other tyrannical rulers was pitiable in the extreme. The English will resent their being classed with Nimrod and Shaddad, but the Editor cannot help making the comparison. There have of late arisen some wretches among the English who have, by their detestable conduct, proved to the Indian public that a native cannot obtain justice against an Englishman and that his life of absolutely no value

in the eyes of his present rulers. Hundreds of natives have been kicked to death (by Englishman), but so far not one of the offenders has received exemplary punishment. Is such oppression, asks the paper, less severe than that practised by Nimrod and Shaddad. The character of this oppression, it adds, can be realised only by the wife or the mother whose husband or son dies from a ruptured spleen through being kicked by a *Sahib*. After remarking that the sighs of such unfortunate creatures have never proved barren of result, it asks the English to bear in mind that no nation can remain in the same condition for ever. Their doings will assuredly bear fruit and that of a kind which will surprise the whole world. They undoubtedly possess an immense army and innumerable guns and cannon, but it is wholly beyond their power to prevent Indians from crying (up to heaven), which cries have upset many a throne before this and will be certain to overthrow that of the English also. If God is merciful He is also wrathful, and when His wrath is moved the white complexion and smart clothes of the English will avail them nothing and they will be overtaken by ruin in even less than a minute. They should not feel proud of their white skin and oppress the poor Indians as they have been doing in the past. If they practise oppression on the latter on the score of their being a conquered people their conduct deserves to be condemned as mean. The conquerors who oppress their conquered subjects are rebels against God, and if the British can punish those whom they regard as rebels, does not God possess the power to punish those who rebel against Him? The hand of God cannot be seen, but the punishment which it inflicts is always very sure. The English may resent plain-speaking by the Editor, but he cannot help remarking that some short-tempered Englishman have extinguished the feeling of respect with which natives used to regard their present rulers. He adds that on all sides one hears the cry: "The English are tyrannical. May God destroy (*lit.* take) them." Indians are still willing to honour the English, provided the latter treat them with justice and look upon them as human beings. As long, however, as they oppress Indians and treat them worse than dogs, they should not expect the people to speak well of them. After condemning the conduct of some native young men in resorting to anarchism, the paper advises the English to reassure the people.

The struggle for *Swaraj*.

8. In a paragraph headed "Policy of leniency—a reply" the *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 10th (received on the 28th) October 1908, says that the world is like the garden of Eden, which contains various fruits and flowers most delicious and fragrant. The sight of these attracts every human being who in spite of being prohibited from plucking them does gather them and consequently falls victim to the curse of God, just like Adam who was turned out of Paradise and afterwards repented of his folly. Although their heart tells them that the country is in the worst of conditions and that there is need for sacrifice, foolish Indians do not act up to their convictions. Again, their conscience tells them not to pass their days in sensual enjoyment when thousands of their brethren are suffering from famine, and takes them to task for trying to strengthen the hands of a government of foreigners, whose methods of administration have resulted in the death (from starvation) of two crores of Indians during the last decade. Their conscience also asks why they do not sacrifice their body, mind and wealth to obtain *Swaraj* and establish a National College in which free education may be imparted to their poorer brethern so that

the latter may shake off their lethargy and make a struggle for *Swaraj*. The editor then exhorts his countrymen to become ascetics, so to speak, and not to be led astray by wordly enjoyments. In other words, they should consider their wives, children, wealth and honour as being of no more consequence than stones and remain steadfast in fulfilling their mission.

In another paragraph headed "Policy of repression—a reply" the paper says that as the sea tides produce no effect on a rock the person standing on it can remain free from all dangers of the sea. Foreign Government, adds the Editor, is a kind of sea for a seeker of *Swaraj*, who should sit on the top of a rock in order to protect himself from the violent tides of that Government and that rock is "trust in God"—a rock beyond the reach of oppression and high-handedness. If a tyrant makes a ny attempt to attack such a person he himself is ruined just as Aurangzeb was ruined in his attempt to worry the Sikh *Sadhus* who eventually triumphed over him. In conclusion, the Editor calls upon his countrymen to follow the right path and make a struggle for *Swaraj* in a proper manner, trusting in God who will crown their efforts with success.

9. The *Indar* (Lahore) for October 1908 publishes an article headed "The causes of unrest in India," in which it remarks that Lord Curzon was wrong in declaring in the House of Lords that the education imparted by Government to natives is one of the causes referred to. His Lordship was equally wrong in stating that the unrest is partly due to the successes obtained by Japan over Russia. After remarking that the hollowness of this contention has been exposed by the native as well as the Japanese Press, the Editor says that Anglo-Indian newspapers have of late been making the unfounded assertion that India is on the brink of a rebellion. As a matter of fact, however, no Indians, with the exception of a few addled-heads, desire a rebellion and all are heartily willing to co-operate with the British Government in maintaining its supremacy in the country. They also wish to remove the causes which are staining British justice and the fair fame of the British nation. In short, careful consideration will show that the prevailing unrest is nothing short of a desire to preserve the greatness of British rule in India. It is, however, a matter of surprise that Anglo-Indians should confound this with sedition, the result of which has been that the best part of the country's intellect has been sent to Jail to rot there, and the cause of reform has been greatly retarded. Again, the alarm raised by the Anglo-Indian press has led foreign capitalists to decline to invest their capital in India. The journal then goes on to say that the unrest in the country is due to Anglo-Indian Officers holding themselves aloof from the people and to their not seizing the opportunity of learning the latter's genuine grievances. So long, it adds, as Anglo-Indian newspapers continue to publish false and inflammatory news about India, and so long as members of the Houses of Parliament try to conceal from the British public the truth about this country, there can be no improvement in the relations between the rulers and the ruled.

The causes of unrest in India.

10. In a paragraph headed "the present time" the *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 10th (received on the 28th October) 1908 says that this country is just now passing through a crisis and if the people come out of it unscathed they are certain to achieve victory in their struggle against slavery and will obtain

The present crisis.

*Swaraj*. In England, adds the Editor, the majority of the people are opposed to *Swaraj* on the ground that the Indians are unfit for the boon. They are devising means to defeat the aims of the Indians for the simple reason that in the event of self-government being granted to the latter the English would be deprived of the advantages which are at present enjoyed by them. They will, therefore, devise hundreds of plans to divert the attention of the Indians from *Swaraj*. The Editor then goes on to say that a friend of his once told him that Government was inclined to grant a State scholarship to Lala Har Dyal again to enable him to prepare for the Civil Service Examination and that their object in doing so was to dissuade him from serving the interests of his countrymen. After remarking that people who are busy serving their country are muzzled in several ways by the grant of titles, offices of Honorary Magistrates, etc., the Editor says that when the people try to obtain *Swaraj* they should not be called seditionists inasmuch as the object they have in view is a legitimate one. The Editor then goes on to say that when Lalas Amolak Ram, Hans Raj, the late Gurdas Ram and Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh were arrested the whole country was panic-stricken and no one had the courage to express sympathy with them. Those Pleaders who pose as patriots were so shameless that they did not try to prove the innocence of their *confrères*. After remarking that all this is due to the repressive policy of Government the Editor observes that the Punjabis being cowards shut themselves in their houses like women. As regards Bengal the Editor says that the Gurkha troops oppressed the Bengalis last year in diverse ways, that the Police searched the houses of several gentlemen, that certain Bengali students were sentenced to be whipped and that men like Bepin Chandar Pal and Arabindo were sent to jail, but the Bengalis behaved in a praiseworthy manner and met their fate in a courageous spirit. They kept steadfast in their efiorts in the cause of *Swadeshism* and boycott and got Sir B. Fuller punished for his oppressive practices. They manfully opposed the Police, but kept themselves within the bounds of the law all the while and thereby proved that they were not against law and order, but that they only hated oppression and high-handedness. As a result of the bold front presented by them Government was convinced of their strength and union and repression was abandoned. In conclusion, the Editor remarks that if the Punjabis likewise pass successfully through the trial they are certain to obtain happiness.

The revolution in Bengal.

11. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 10th (received on the 28th) October 1908, publishes an article headed "Revolution in Bengal." Only ten years back, says the paper, it was the universal opinion in India that the Bengalis were the most degraded section of the population and that they were likely to bring ruin on the entire country. This was due to their being irreligious and ashamed of belonging to the Hindu community. They were also madly in love with Western civilisation and had nothing but contempt for everything manufactured in their own country. As regards their bodily condition their physical weakness had passed into a proverb and they were considered arrant cowards by both their countrymen and foreigners. When the English conquered Bengal white soldiers used to molest hundreds of Bengalis and looted the latter and insulted them in diverse ways. During the last decade, however, a great change has come over Bengal in the matter of religion. Durga, who is worshipped during the Dasehra, is no longer a stone image, but

a living representation of Mother Bharat, before whom the entire Bengali nation bow their heads, and in her service all of them—children, old men, youths and women—are willing to endure the severest hardships and troubles. Every one of them stands before her with folded hands every year and promises to sacrifice his all to relieve her sufferings; to rescue her from the clutches of a foreign Government; to try to secure *swadeshi* rule for her; to remove unclean foreign-made clothes from her body and to dress her in pure *swadeshi* clothes; to make her service the mission of his life; to sacrifice his wealth, time and everything else to make her children prosperous; to establish *swadeshi* factories to promote their happiness; and to bring back the goddesses of learning and riches, who have been driven out of the country by foreign invaders. Nor is this all. He tries throughout the year to redeem his promise. Again, the social condition of the Bengalis is on the mend daily. They have thrown off the spell of Western civilisation, do not imitate foreigners any longer and dress themselves after native fashion. They cannot moreover bear to see one another in trouble, and there have arisen among them young men who have made it the mission of their lives to serve their religion and nation. The rich and educated members of the community, too, have turned their attention to the development of indigenous industries and are sending hundreds of youths to foreign countries to receive technical education. The result is that foreign trade is losing its ground among them and the demand for country made articles is ever on the increase. A marked change has also taken place in their physical condition. There now no longer exist those Bengalis in whose hearts a mere frown from foreigners used to strike terror. The Bengalis now claim to be human beings and will not he treated as slaves. They have produced fearless men, who do not hesitate to pay back Englishmen in their own coin. *Akharas* for physical exercises have been established in different places and are patronised by a very large number of people. The courage displayed by Khudi Ram Bose, Kanai Lal Dutt and other anarchists in court enables one to guess correctly of what stuff the future generations of the Bengalis will be made. After praising the efforts of the National Volunteers to prevent Muhammadan roughs from insulting Hindu women, the paper says that the best thing for the country done by the Bengalis is the inauguration of the *swaraj* movement, the strongest props of which consist in boycott and national education. National educational institutions are being established everywhere in Bengal, while the desire for *swaraj* stirs the heart even of children. Such, says the Editor in conclusion, is the revolution which has occurred in Bengal, and Panjabi young men should learn a lesson from the event.

The deputations to Government and loyal meetings.

12. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 24th October 1908, publishes an article headed "Justice," in which it says that he who takes pity on an offender is as great a criminal as he who oppresses an innocent person. Mercy, it adds, has no place in the kingdom and justice, and those so called statesmen and leaders who daily wait in deputations on the Governors of provinces or other highly placed officers in order to beg for mercy (? favours) are not only criminals, but deserving of being hanged. Is Government oppressive, asks the paper, that the worthies named should petition it for mercy? Their conduct is calculated not only to bring discredit on Government, but also to injure themselves. The Editor further remarks that now, when Government is scenting sedition in political agitation, both Hindus and Muham-

madans are busy sending deputations to assure the authorities of their loyalty. This has greatly surprised the well-wishers of the country, although Government knows that the members of the deputations referred to are liars and deceivers; that their consciences are not clear; that if this were not so they would have kept quiet; and that it is fear which makes them run to it with professions of loyalty. After remarking that loyal meetings also are organised by men of the same stamp, the paper says that it is undoubtedly the duty of the people to co-operate with Government in preserving peace, but that the conduct of the worthies in question, who only hanker after titles, is of absolutely no help to Government. It then goes on to say that the people ask only for justice and that if the authorities were to deal justly with them they would not only earn a good name for themselves, but would also put an end to all unrest in the country. They should remember that oppression has always bred unrest and disturbances and will continue to do so till the end of time. Those haughty (Anglo-Indian) officers who practise oppression on the people and love to hear the latter flatter them and cry to them for mercy are engaged in murdering justice. They must bear in mind that those who beg for mercy and concessions from them are liars and hypocrites. They should look upon flatterers as their worst enemies. Their real friends are those who do not hesitate to speak the bitter truth to them and to ask them to eschew injustice and inequity.

The increase of the military burden of India.

13. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 23rd October 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "India's burden and Lord Morley," in which it remarks that India had already been full of complaints owing to her having been hard hit by poverty, pestilence, famine and other misfortunes. It was hoped that Lord Morley would afford practical proof of his true liberal spirit and of his sympathy with India. On the contrary, however, he has added still further to the burden. The complaint already existed that the cost of the British garrison in India was charged to the country, for no valid reasons, but His Lordship has increased the cost by another 45 lakhs a year, which has caused deep indignation among all classes of the people.

The *Swadeshi* movement.

14. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 24th October 1908, publishes an article headed "The Swadeshi movement in England," in which it says that a nation which is indifferent to swadeshism does not deserve to live. A people who prefer foreigners to their own kith and kin and do not favour the sacred *Swadeshi* movement cannot escape ruin. When a nation is about to see good days it feels drawn to the divine propaganda referred to. After remarking that the English owe their present position to their love of swadeshism, the Editor refers to their resolution, taken years back, to discard the use of foreign-made cloth, and says that the day on which they resolved to have nothing to do with imported articles was their first step in the direction of progress. Their love for swadeshism, he adds, is daily on the increase, and thousands of instances can be cited to show that Englishmen in India order from "Home" all the articles required by them. They are among England's worthy sons, and why should they not conduct themselves in the manner in which they have been doing. It is their duty to love English-made articles and to try to put the money into the pockets of English artizans.

Indeed, every patriot owes the same duty to his country and fellow-countrymen, and those who neglect this duty are the enemies of their nation. England is the home of patriots and it is for this reason that in spite of its being a small island, it is the master of one-third of the globe.

The *Swadeshi* movement.

15. In a paragraph headed "A lesson" the *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 10th (received on the 28th) October 1908, says that lakhs of people remain always unemployed in India during the prevalence of famine, but not a single person is ever seen to have disgraced even a petty official or plundered the Government Treasury or raided any city or town. The Indians are a meek people; they would rather starve to death in silence in their homes or live on grass or leaves of trees than think of resorting to violence. Their miseries are known to God alone, and this perhaps is the reason that their grievances are not redressed. If England is visited by famine the people make the life of a King a burden to him; several crores of maunds of grains are imported from India without a single word of protest from the Indians. After remarking that the municipal corporation of even a single city of England pays £50,000 to help the poor and that Government also relieves them in every way, the Editor observes that if the Government of India were to show half of this kindness towards Indians the country would assuredly flourish and enjoy immunity from famine. In another paragraph the paper says that those who rejoice over the miseries of others are not human beings, but monsters. There can be no denying the fact that the people of this country are desirous of seeing it in the most free and flourishing condition, yet they are not pleased with the sight of misery of the people of Glasgow, Manchester and Leeds, one of the causes of which is the development of the *Swadeshi* movement in India. After remarking that on the success of the movement depends the prosperity of India, the Editor calls upon his countrymen to abstain from the use of foreign goods

## II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

Tribal raids into the British territory.

16. In a paragraph headed "A fresh raid" the *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 24th October 1908, reports that, according to the *Tribune*, several Hindu residents of mauza Khatri, a village near Bannu, were looted by a gang of trans-frontier dacoits on the evening of the 18th idem. After stating that the brigands carried away two Hindu boys also, the paper remarks that the news is calculated to send a shiver through one's heart. Is it not a matter for deep regret, it adds, that Government should take no steps to prevent its Hindu subjects from being looted by trans-frontier dacoits? If it does not hold itself responsible for the safety of the people committed to its charge, where is the use of its ruling over them? Again, is all its prestige reserved for (frightening) its subjects, and are not the doings of those dacoits calculated to injure that prestige? After remarking that the looting of Hindus by the said dacoits has become painfully frequent, the Editor enquires whether Government can afford no protection to its subjects on the frontier. What may not, he asks, a man say when he is reduced to a state of helplessness? The Editor next implores Government to afford uncontrovertible proof of its solicitude for the welfare of the people. In conclusion, he says that Lord Kitchener is to visit Peshawar shortly and that if His Excellency also fails to restore place on the frontier, Hindus should look for protection to God alone.

## III.—General Administration.

### (a)—*Judicial.*

Partiality shown to European criminals in Indian courts.

17. In a paragraph headed "Cheapness of life," the *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 27th October 1908, says that throughout his stay in India Lord Curzon held fast to the opinion that in the eyes of law all men were equal. He also used to insist on Magistrates and Judges treating crime on this basis and on making no invidious distinctions betweed Europeans and the children of the soil. If is a matter for regret that since His Lordship's departure from the country things have gone back to their old deplorable pass. A European guilty even of kicking an Indian to death is now charged only with causing "simple hurt," as is evident from the Delhi punkha coolie's case, while a small fine or few week's imprisonment is considered sufficient punishment for the offence. Again, Corporal Cullen, who shot dead a mule-driver at Jutogh for no reason has been acquitted by the Chief Court on the ground that he had committed the offence in a fit of madness. Are mad men also, asks the paper, told off for duty and can they perform the work of watch and ward? Where can one find a more glaring example of the cheapness of human life?

The appointment of Mr. Shah Din to the Bench of the Chief Court, Punjab.

18. Writing under the heading "A Muhammadan Judge of the Punjab Chief Court" the *Sada-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 19th October 1908, says that one Shaikh Muhammad Fazal Ilahi, a *rais* and Municipal Commissioner at Rawalpindi, writes to protest against its opposition to the appointment of Mr. Shah Din to the Bench of the Chief Court. After remarking that the Shaikh is wrong in ascribing its remarks to motives of jealousy, the paper quotes extracts from a speech by Mr. Shah Din to show that that gentleman is not an orthodox Muhammadan. The Shaikh and those who think with him, it adds, should reflect whether an honour intended for the Prophet's followers should be conferred on a person holding views antagonistic to the recognised tents of Islam. It is of opinion that in elevating Mr. Shah Din to the Bench of the Chief Court Government has been guided not by considerations of a merit, but by the religion of its nominee. Mr. Shah Din's claims and ability can bear no comparison to those of Rai Bahadur Lala Lal Chand.

Anglo-Indian Juries.

19. The following is from the *Punjabee* (Lahore) of the 29th October 1908:—

"One Private Brennan of Ghora Galli was charged before the Sessions Judge of Rawalpindi with causing 'grievous hurt' to a Muhammadan hillman by striking him with a heavy bayonet so forcibly that the weapon, after passing through the complainant's arm, entered his body to a considerable extent. The Jury consisted of 4 Europeans and one Indian. In summing up the Judge said to the Jury that *it was not certain that the accused intended to cause grievous hurt*, which intention was necessary before the offence under the charge could be brought home to him. The Jury, as was to be expected, found the accused 'not guilty' in the proportion of 4 to 1; the one dissentient member being, of course, the Indian gentleman, who, availing himself of the hint contained in the Judge's charge, found the accused guilty of the minor offence under section 324, Indian Penal Code. The Judge, it must be said to his

credit, differed from the majority of the Jury, and instead of referring the case to the Chief Court 'in the interests of justice' held that the accused had committed an offence under section 324 and allowed it to be compounded: the accused paying Rs. 50 to the complainant. It must also be mentioned to the credit of the Judge that he was very anxious to have an equal number of Indians and Europeans on the Jury, but this could not be done as the names of Indians on the list were few and far between. The case is another instance how it is hard to get European Juries to convict one of their own countrymen even when the issues before them are plain. On the very next day the same Judge disposed of another 'grevious hurt' case which came up before him on appeal from Attock, the accused (appellant) being an Indian. The charge was that accused had chased a would-be thief and wounded him with a spear in the leg. The counsel for the appellant reminded the Judge of his own opinion as to *intention* of causing grievous hurt expressed in his charge to the Jury on the previous day. If there had been such intention, counsel said, accused would have struck at some more vital part of the body than the leg. But the Judge did not agree and held the offence to be one of 'intentionally causing grievous hurt.'

### (*b*)—*Police.*

A complaint against the Secret Police.

20. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 24th October 1908, publishes a communication from Banka Dayal headed "For the consideration of Police Officers." The writer enquires whether it is an offence to be the Editor of a newspaper or to have incurred the displeasure of a Deputy Commissioner. He adds that, thanks to Mr. Harcourt, since his prosecution by Mr. Wakefield his movements have been watched by the Secret Police at all times. He is neither a rebel nor does he possess the power to subvert British rule in India. It is therefore inexplicable to him why he should be subjected to constant police surveillance. If his present treatment is due to his having incurred the displeasure of Mr. Harcourt, there is then assuredly some meaning in it, for to fall under that officer's wrath is tantamount to provoking the wrath of God himself. The writer then goes on to say that he went to Multan twice recently and that on both these occasions his movements (in that city) were watched by the Secret Police. It was reported to the Superintendent of Police there that he was at Multan and that subscriptions in his aid were being collected at the house of a certain person. After asserting that he did not so much as see the person named in the report, he requests the Superintendent of Police, Jhang, to recall the members of the Secret Police told off to watch him. He is no *badmash* and has openly professed his loyalty to Government more than once. His subjection to police surveillance is therefore a blot on the police administration of Jhang. In conclusion, he says that it is not good to annoy an innocent person for no reason.

### (*d*)—*Education.*

Education in India.

21. The *Indar* (Lahore), for October 1908, publishes an article headed "The tree of knowledge in India." "God Macaulay," it says, "blessed the Indians" and said unto them, "Be fruitful and multiply." And he founded a school and a college eastward in Bengal in conformity with a scheme of education; and, in addition to the trees of oriental learning, he planted therein the tree of the science of politics also. And God Macaulay commanded (the Indians) saying, "Of every tree you may freely eat, but of the tree of the

science of politics you shall not eat of it; for in the day that you eat thereof you shall surely die." Now the Bengali was more subtle than other Indians. And he said unto them, "Yea, hath God Macaulay said, you shall not eat of the tree of the science of politcs?" And they said unto him: "We may eat of the fruit of the trees of all (other) sciences, but of the fruit of the tree of the science of politics, God Macaulay hath said, "You shall not eat of it; for in the day that you eat thereof you shall surely die." And then the Bengali said unto the Indians, "You shall not surely die, nay, your eyes shall be opened and you shall be as God Macaulay in the knowledge of politics." And when the Indians saw that the tree was good for food and that it was pleasant to the eyes, they took of the fruit thereof, and made their companions also partake of it. And their eyes were opened forthwith, and they knew that they had been reduced to a state of utter nakedness by God Macaulay; and they sewed the leaves of *Swadeshi* and boycott together and made themselves *dhotis* to cover their nakedness. And they heard the voice of God walking in the mills at Manchester in the morning: and they hid themselves from His presence amongst the trees of swadeshism and boycott. And the Lord Manchester called, "O Indian, where art thou?" And the Indian said, "I heard thy voice in India, and I knew that I was utterly naked: wherefore I hid myself amongst the trees of swadeshism and boycott." And the Lord Manchester said, "Who told thee that thou wast naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shoudst not eat?" The Indian said, "I did eat of it." And the Lord Manchester said unto him, "Why didst thou do so?" And the Indian said, "The Bengali beguiled me, and I did eat." And the Lord said unto the Bengali, "Because thou atest of the fruit of the tree of politics and also madest the Indians eat it, the soil of India is cursed because of thee I shall pass a Press Act for thee. I shall (also) frame an Explosives Act and seal thy lips, so that thou mayest convene no public meeting. And, O Indian, because thou atest of the fruit of the tree of politics, I shall involve thee in tribulation. I shall deport and transport thee and shall fill jails with thee." And the Lord God Morley made clothes of reforms unto the Indians and said, "Behold the Indian is become as one of us in the knowledge of politics: and now, lest he put forth his hand and take also of the tree of self government, and eat and become free for ever," the Lord God Morley commanded saying, "Drive him out of the garden of India." So he drove the man out to Aden or the Andamans or Burma; and he placed at the east (of the garden) the military with flaming swords which turned every way, to keep the way of (the tree of) self-government, lest the Indian put forth his hand for it.

The above, says the journal, reads like an unseemly parody of the Bible's account of the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden. On a consideration, however, of the unrest prevalent in the country and of the means which Government intends adopting to quell this tempest in a tea-cup, it will appear to be pregnant with deep meaning. The cry which has been raised in Parliament against the Indian system of education cannot but drive one to the conclusion that Government ascribes the prevailing unrest chiefly to the education which has opened the eyes of Indians. A careful consideration, adds the Editor, will show that it was by no means the object of Lord Macaulay in the present system of education to fit the people of this country for self-government. His chief object seems to have been to spread

Western ideas in order to establish "the Kingdom of God" in the country and to take the people to the Christian fold by a circuitous route, or, in other words, to denationalise them. It is a fact that his system of education had the effect of inclining Indians to "irreligion or Christianity" and that a large part of the educated Hindus in Bengal hastened to embrace the faith of Christ. Again, the education now imparted to natives has led them to be indifferent to their vernaculars and, as was remarked by Sir Louis Dane to a Muhammadan deputation on the 9th August last, English bids fair to become the *lingua franca* of the entire country. The late Sir J. R. Seeley has said in his "Expansion of England" that in order to become a nation a people must profess the same religion and speak the same language. By adding Christianity and English, however, to the already innumerable religions and languages of India, Macaulay's sy stem of education has still further complicated the question of the unification of the country. After remarking that natives became a subject people owing simply to the existence of disunion in their ranks, the *Indar* observes that, in view of the foregoing remarks, it is very difficult to say that Lord Macaulay's educational policy was adopted solely for the benefit of Indians and that its adoption was free from all selfish considerations on the part of the English. That this is so is evident from the fact that not only a large number of educated natives are regarded with suspicion by the authorities and are leading a life of disgrace and rotting in jails, but that Government also is repenting of its mistake in having approved of the Educational scheme in question. Nevertheless, the results achieved have proved beneficial for both the rulers and the ruled to a certain extent. They have opened the eyes of Indians, made them realise their political degradation and prompted them to try to remedy the evil; while the English people have been given an apportunity of proving themselves to be better rulers. The Editor then endeavours to prove that the incidence of land revenue and other taxes is heavier in India than it is in America, Germany, England and France, and that the average daily income of Indians has been steadily on the decrease under British rule. This, he add, has had the effect of making famines more frequent in the cou ntry, so much so that during the past 25 years as many millions of natives have been carried off by famine. All this, and the education imparted to them, has made natives see things in their true light and realise England's want of faith towards them. Political agitation has followed and England and India now stands facing each other, the former threatening the latter with a bludgeon. There will be, however, nothing surprising in their acknowledging their past mistakes and shortcomings and embracing each other like friends, especially when Lord Morley intends holding out the olive branch in the shape of some reforms. His Lordship will have performed a memorable deed no doubt if he succeeds in converting England and India, who now stand glowering at one another, into sincere friends. He needs moral courage to accomplish the task and should see that his reforms are really worthy the name. The people are afraid lest the tree of knowledge planted by the British Government in the country should be uprooted under the impression that it has turned them into rebels. That their fear is not unfounded is fully borne out by some speeches recently made in the Houses of Parliament on the subject. Not long ago Lord Curzon made a speech in the Upper Chamber in which he dilated on the necessity for keeping the pe o-ple in chains and remarked that the chief cause of the prevailing unrest was the

education which Government had been imparting in the country. Lord Morley agreed in this and observed that any Viceroy desirous of uprooting unrest in India should devote all his energies to a revision of the country's system of education. His Lordship, however, lost sight of the fact that the Viceroy, who appointed a Universities Commission to fell the tree of education in India, was powerless to restore peace in the country, and that, in spite of the door of liberal education having been shut in the face of the people, unrest had been increasing in the land by leaps and bounds. It is inexplicable why John Bull has taken it into his head to do his utmost to upset the system of education at present obtaining in the country. The journal further remarks that it is not the House of Lords alone which is making vigorous preparations for waging a *jehad* against education in India, but that the House of Commons also seems determined not to lag behind in the matter. After remarking that on the occasion of the last Indian budget debate Mr. Rees advocated the introduction of a drastic change into the Indian system of education, it says that if, as has been given out by some English newspapers, education in India is to be licensed, the change will assuredly deepen and not decrease unrest in the country. It will sound the death-knell of all national educational institutions which will be allowed to exist only if they conform to the conditions, however degrading these may be imposed by Government. It is inexplicable why education, which is regarded as the Crown of the civilised should be sought to be put down in this conutry. The idea that it constitutes the chief cause of the prevailing unrest is too silly to need much thought to refute it. On the other hand, the unrest is due mainly to the authorities holding themselves aloof from the people and to their making no efforts to ascertain the truth about the latter. As Sir Henry Cotton put it on the occasion of the debate referred to, the prevailing unrest and discontent are ascribable to the spirit and policy of the British administration in India, *i.e*, to the people being governed in a manner clashing with their wishes and feelings. After publishing a translation of Sir Henry's speech, the *Indar* reproduces Mr. Keir Hardie's remarks on the same occasion in which the Labour leader stated what he believed to be the causes of the unrest and suggested remedies for doing away with the evil. It is foolish, in the extreme, it adds, to shut the door of higher education in the face of Indians on the ground that they are unfit for self-government, or for the reason that education has enabled them to detect defects in Government's administrative machinery. They have been enabled by education to realise their extremely wretched political condition, feel desirous of bettering their lot and have been asking the authorities to help in placing them on their own legs. It, however, ill-becomes the latter to put them off with the reply that as education has placed them in a position to realise their poverty and has led to their begging (for different things) from Government, higher education should be denied to them. The matter is no longer a tempest in a tea-cup, but the axe is already being sharpened to hew down the tree of higher education in India. For instance, in his review of the report on the working of charitable dispensaries in the Punjab during 1907, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor suggests that in future a large part of the provincial revenues should be spent on these dispensaries, even if this may necessitate a reduction in the expenditure on higher education. The grants made by Government for the education of the people's children are already so insignificant that one feels ashamed to mention the amount. It is, however, in contemplation

to curtail this expenditure, which means that while the rulers of Mysore and Baroda are making education free in their dominions, Government seems disinclined to impart higher education even on payment of tuition fee. If Government is really resolved to do so on the pretext that education breeds sedition it is quite welcome to close all its schools and colleges and to proclaim that it is not prepared to continue to bear the burden of educating the country : the people have shaken off their sleep and would willingly take the responsibility of their education on themselves. It should, however, abstain from listening to disloyal, short-sighted and selfish persons and from placing in the way of the education of native youth obstacles like the licensing system of education, in the name of civilisation and under the pretext of maintaining peace.

(*h*)—*Miscellaneous.*

A book entitled *Qaumi Islah.*

22. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 10th (received on the 28th) October 1908, publishes an article headed "Why and when *Qaumi Islah* (or national reform—a book written by the Editor) was written." In this articles the Editor says that in April 1906 he went on a pilgrimage, and after spending about six months in travelling he returned to the Punjab, where he found that his country was convulsed in an agrarian agitation in connection with the imposition of water-rates, and that the entire agitation was due to the works of heroes like Ajit Singh and others. The Editor had full sympathy with the agitation, which he regarded as having a beneficial object in view. He had, however, his own views regarding it and he embodied the same in two books entitled *'Qaumi Islah*, Parts I and II. After remarking that the first part of the book has been published and that the second part will be completed in a few days, the Editor publishes an extract from the book an abstract of which is given below :—

" Nations can rise," says the book, " only by following Divine law and by obeying God's Commandments. If Indians sincerely wish that God should grant them *swaraj*, they cannot obtain it by disgracing English ladies, throwing mud on them and doing other devilish deeds. Agitation does not consist in abusing the authorities, but in sacrificing life and soul (for the country). All their wealth, enjoyment and pomp are absolutely useless so long as Indians do not obtain *swaraj*." The author then reminds them of their great ancestors, and observes that they are devoid of all sense of shame, seeing that they are treated like dogs now-a-days. He then exhorts them, if they are the true descendants of the noble Aryas, to act heroically in the same way as their ancestors did. He also appeals to young men as follows :—" I place reliance in you and you alone. I believe that you possess all the powers of doing work. I know that selfishness of the world has not yet cooled (the ardour of) your blood. I know that your hearts yearn to see your national greatness at the zenith." The writer then goes on to say that scholars and those who are ever thinking how to ameliorate the condition of their countrymen and others like them help in the awakening of their nation, or those who with a handful of followers oppose the greatest ruler of India, and notwithstanding the opposition of friends, brothers and nation, work to liberate their brethren from the bonds of slavery and desire to deliver

the nation from the chains of the tyrant, who through foolishness is inimical towards them. Such lion-hearted persons may die of starvation, their wives may die of thirst, but they ever fix their gaze on the goddess of freedom.

*Banke Dayal* and the *Jhang Sial*.

23. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 17th October 1908, publishes a communication headed "A message" over the signature of Banke Dayal. The writer says that his enemies have forced him to sever his connection with the paper for some time, and that he deeply feels this separation from his readers. After remarking that the latter have more than sufficiently rewarded him for his insignificant services and that the loving encouragement which they have always extended to him has prompted him to resolve to serve them to the end of his days, he observes that the troubles in which he is involved at present are certain to prove short-lived, because truth must prevail in the end. He next announces that his younger brother, Lala Bhagwan Das, edits the *Jhang Sial* in these days, and requests the readers of the paper to encourage the new Editor in his work in every way, assuring them that the Lala is actuated by the same spirit which moves himself. In conclusion, he promises to resume editorial charge of the journal as soon as his present troubles come to end.

Pecuniary aid to Banke Dayal.

24. Writing under the heading "The fund in aid of Banke Dayal," the *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 24th October 1908, says that its readers should consider it a duty to render pecuniary help to Banke Dayal in connection with the libel cases pending against him. The public of Jhang-*cum*-Maghiana, it adds, for whom he has involved himself in trouble, have so far failed to do their duty in the matter, although contributions are being received from distant places like Mandalay. It then acknowledges the following subscriptions towards the fund :—

| | Rs. | A. | P. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Amount already acknowledged ... ... | 237 | 8 | 0 |
| Received through Sardar Harsa Singh, of Khanewal. | 21 | 0 | 0 |
| Received through Mr. Bhai Khan, of Mandalay ... | 16 | 0 | 0 |
| Anonymous subscribers ... ... ... | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Lala Ganda Ram, of Bhatinda ... ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Lalas Parkash Chand, Abnash Chand, sons of Lala Devi Ditta Mal, Ahuja, of Jhang. | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| Sardar Wadhawa Singh, of Jalowal ... ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Pandit Nand Lal, of Waziabad ... ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Sardar Mihan Singh, F. T. S. ... ... | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Anonymous subscribers at Pasrur ... ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Total ... ... | 320 | 8 | 0 |

G. A. COCKS,

*Asst. to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*
*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

LAHORE :
*The 31st October* 1908.

Punjab Government Press, Lahore—6 11-08—5062—97—C. D.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 45. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

Received up to 7th November 1908.

## CONTENTS.


I.—Politics. Page.

*(a)—Foreign—*

1. Turkish affairs (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... 667
2. The Suffragist Propaganda in England (*Panjabee*) ... *ib.*

*(b)—Home—*

3. The King Emperor's Message (*Observer*) ... 668
4. The King Emperor's Message (*Tribune*) ... *ib.*
5. The King Emperor Message (*Tribune*) ... 669
6. The King Emperor's Message (*Panjabee*) ... 670
7. The King Emperor's Message (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... 671
8. The Royal Proclamation of 1858 (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... *ib.*
9. The Royal Proclamation of 1858 (*Jhang Sial*) ... 672
10. Lord Morley's Reform Scheme (*Tribune*) ... 673
11. Rulers and the ruled (*Inqilab*) ... *ib.*
12. Government and the People (*Hindustan*) ... 674
13. British rule in India (*Indar*) ... 675
14. Western civilisation in India (*Inqilab*) ... 676
15. Western civilisation in India (*Inqilab*) ... *ib.*
16. Unrest in India (*Civil & Military News*) ... 678
17. *Swaraj* (*Inqilab*) ... *ib*
18. *Swaraj* (*Inqilab*) ... 679
19. *Swaraj* (*Inqilab*) ... 680
20. Self-sacrifices and *Swaraj* (*Inqilab*) ... 681
21. How natives can raise themselves (*Jhang Sial*) ... *ib.*
22. Capabilities of Indians (*Inqilab*) ... 682
23. "The Hindustan Rebublic" (*Hindustan*) ... *ib.*
24. Patriotism and communal love (*Inqilab*) ... 683
25. Ajit Singh (*Inqilab*) ... *ib.*

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

26. Tribal raids into British territory (*Inqilab*) ... 683

III.—Native States.

27. Faridkot Council of Regency (*Civil & Military News*) 684
28. Faridkot Council of Regency (*Vakil*) ... *ib.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

29. *Jhatka* question and Kasur (*Inqilab*) ... 684

V.—Native Societies and religious matters.

Page.

30. Hindus and Muhammadans (*Sadik-ul-Akhbar*) ... 684
31. An advice to the Panjabees (*Hindustan*) ... 685
32. Imported Sugar (*Inqilab*) ... *ib.*

VI.—Legislation.

*Nil.*

VII.—General Administration.

*(a)—Judicial—*

33. Corporal Cullen's case (*Rajput Gazette*) ... 686
34. Corporal Cullen's case (*Hindustan*) ... *ib.*
35. Mr. Shah Din's appointment to the Bench of the Chief Court (*Inqilab*) ... *ib.*
36. Barristers-at-Law (*Hindustan*) ... 687
37. The *Jhang Sial* libel case (*Jhang Sial*) ... *ib.*

*(b)—Police—*

*Nil.*

*(c)—Municipal and Cantonment affairs—*

*Nil.*

*(d)—Education—*

*Nil.*

*(e)—Agriculture and questions affecting the land—*

*Nil.*

*(f)—Railways and Communications—*

38. Safety of Railway passengers (*Hindustan*) ... 688
39. Safety of Railway passengers (*Jhang Sial*) ... *ib.*
40. Supply of drinking water to passengers (*Jhang Sial*) ... *ibi*

*(g)—Postal matters—*

*Nil.*

*(h)—Miscellaneous—*

41. Destruction of rats (*Akhbar i-Am*) ... 688
42. Jhang district affairs (*Jhang Sial*) ... 689
43. Devi Singh, the last proprietor of the defunct *Aftab* (*Inqilab*) ... *ib.*
44. Devi Singh, the last proprietor of the defunct *Aftab* (*Inqilab*) ... 690
45. Lala Har Dial's offer of help to Indians going to England (*Hindustan*) ... 690

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 45. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

**Received up to 7th November 1908.**

---

### I.—POLITICS.

#### (*a*)—*Foreign.*

Turkish affairs.

1. Writing under the heading "The proposal to summon a conference of the European Powers," the *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 29th October 1908, publishes a translation of an article which appeared in the *Bengalee* (Calcutta) of the 20th idem in which that paper sympathises with Turkey in her present troubles and opposes the proposal to revise the Treaty of Berlin. The editor thanks the *Bengalee* on behalf of Muhammadans for its sympathy with the Turks, and says that Turkey has great hopes from England's sense of justice. He adds that if British statesmen continue in their present mood, there is no likelihood of her being disappointed in these hopes.

The Suffragist Propaganda in England.

2. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 5th November 1908 :—

"The struggles of the women of England for obtaining the franchise, a glimpse of which is given in Lala Lajpat Rai's letter published to-day, have lessons for both the rulers and the educated community of India. The former will see that defiance of the police in carrying on a legitimate public movement is more a conspicuous feature of English life than of Indian, and that even English women have got to teach lessons to Indian political agitators in this respect which the latter have not yet learnt. In India it is still the police who are the aggressors, and if public demonstrations come into clash with the police it is not of their own seeking, but because the police come of set purpose to molest them. In England meetings and demonstrations are held in anticipation of police opposition, and with set purpose to defy the same, and even women print and post placards announcing their wish to 'rush' the House of Commons. In fact, there they have carried the policy of passive resistance to its utmost limits. From the details given in Lala Lajpat Rai's letter, it can well be imagined with what indifference, if not contempt, the female Suffragists of England would have treated an order like that of the Police Commissioner of Calcutta stopping the Partition-day meeting. And yet the leading politicians of Calcutta, who are amongst the foremost leaders of the country, submitted to that order quietly rather than allow their movement to have the appearance of offering the slightest resistance to the law. On the other hand, the educated community of India have an opportunity of seeing that even in their own country Englishmen have to struggle for their rights, be persecuted and imprisoned, and take such persecutions as a matter of course instead of rending the skies with their wails. Even women take six months' imprisonment as no very great matter and do not expect to be regarded

as martyrs on that account. Mrs. Pankhurst, who has been in prison once before, cheerfully bade her comrades at the meeting (of which we publish the proceedings) to be of good cheer, for though she might be again going to prison—it might be for weeks, months or years—'they were going on to victory.' And be it remembered that the struggle of the Suffragists is after all for the *luxury* of a privilege, while in the Indian movement the question is one of the very elementary rights of a civilised nation, in which also is involved the problem of bread and butter. Our struggle is therefore bound to be keener, and much greater sacrifices are called for than what even women in England are ready cheerfully to undergo for the sake of a mere idea."

*(b)—Home.*

The King Emperor's Message.

3. The following is from the *Observer* (Lahore), of the 4th November 1908:—

"The Message from His Majesty the King Emperor to the Princes and Peoples of India is destined to prove an historic document of unique importance. It was being anticipated with breathless interest, and now that it has arrived it will evoke a feeling of deep gratification throughout the country, a gratification which will become deeper and deeper as the Message penetrates into every nook and corner of the Indian continent. It is idle to pretend that the Proclamation will satisfy the dangerous Extremist or the dreamy theorist. But leaving aside these small classes, whom nothing short of absolute independence can satisfy but whose desires are too revolutionary or too visionary to be seriously considered, the Royal Message will be recognised by loyal and thoughtful citizens as confirming time-honoured privileges and heralding the grant of fresh valuable concessions to the people. * * * * The references to the Ruling Chiefs and the Indian Army are especially graceful, and the announcement will be universally welcomed that the pay of the Indian troops is about to be increased; while the allusion to the forthcoming reforms is most opportune. And the assurances of "affectionate solicitude" for the Princes and Peoples of India will give general satisfaction. Over and above this, the Indian public will read that part of the Royal Message with undisguised pleasure which, in referring to 'guilty conspiracies that have no just cause and no serious aim,' announces His Majesty's resolve not to suffer them to turn him aside from the task of building up the fabric of security and order. In the promised extension of representative institutions in India, the people will find ample evidence of this resolve, in which His Majesty is backed up by the united will of the people of Great Britain. His Majesty's Indian subjects, and especially the Indian Musalmans, can, on their part, assure the King Emperor and his Government that in India, in spite of some apparently jarring influences, the note of loyalty rings true now as ever. The cry of the malcontents proceeds from a hopelessly small minority, which can produce noise out of all proportion to its real importance. Though Hindustan has many voices, she has but one heart, and in that heart dwells a sacred passion, the passion of love. India loves, as she alone is capable of loving, truly and sincerely. This feeling may not centre round the stream of officials who come and go. But it does traverse beyond the seas to that distant Island, where once dwelt Victoria the Good, with whose name the Indian mind habitually associates all that is noble, queenly and generous on this earth. * * * * Muslim India, when judged by the supreme test, the test of loyalty to the Crown, will never be found wanting."

The King Emperor's Message.

4. The *Tribune* (Lahore), of 5th November 1908, publishes the following:—

"It is an old and time-honoured etiquette not to look a gift-horse in the mouth, and sensible people will not be disposed to take a critical view of a gift which, as in the present instance, comes from the King, and is meant to convey the sympathy and good will of His Majesty and the Royal House and through them of the people

of England with the people of this country. For this sympathy and solicitude, and the expressions of good-will and kindliness which are used in the message to communicate it once more to the people of India, there will be one feeling throughout the country—a sense of profound gratefulness to the Throne, and the noble monarch who occupies it. It would be idle to conceal, however, the fact that the Royal Message has not kindled that degree of enthusiasm which the solemnity of the occasion, the circumstances of the country, and the expectations of the vast millions of the Indian people made them look forward to. For some months past the country has been in the throes of coming changes, and the popular imagination has passed through alternate periods of hope and disappointment, the hearts have looked up with joy at some happy word or felicitous phrase, and ere long suddenly gone down at some further report or forecast. Throughout the long period since it was first known that reforms in the Legislative Councils were in contemplation, the people have trained their minds out of their enthusiasm and a passing report has long ceased to affect their mental spirits. Paragraphs in papers that claim to be inspired have produced, from time to time, the unpleasant impression, with what exact degree of truth it is impossible to say, that Anglo-Indian opinion took by no means kindly to the idea of celebrating the Jubilee of the Proclamation day and would, as a last resource, fain see it deferred to some other occasion. The sudden announcement that His Majesty had intimated his wish to send a message naturally made the hearts beat faster, for the idea was further confirmed that His Majesty's Government at all events took a view that was at variance with Anglo-Indian opinion in this country, and this further raised the popular expectation that further rights and privileges, over and above those granted in the great Charter of 1858, were coming. Finally, confirmation was lent to this notion in certain minds by the announcement in some Anglo-Indian journals that the King's Message would take the form of a Proclamation, a word which recalled visions of the great Charter of Indian rights and liberties of 1858. That the present Message of the King does not come up to the Queen's Proclamation as a State Document defining and declaring popular rights, and proclaiming an equality of rights and privileges for the Indian subjects of the Throne, and thrilling the popular imagination with the pleasure of the acquisition of a new status and full rights may be readily conceded. We are inclined to think, however, that the main blame for this misapprehension must rest with those Anglo-Indian journals who gave the people at large to expect that a Proclamation was intended, and not a message greeting the Princes and People of India on the occasion, and adverting to the rights and liberties already secured them by the Magna Charta of Queen Victoria, which laid down for all time to come some of the principles that were to be the guiding canons of Crown rule in India."

The King Emperor's Message.

5. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 6th November 1908:—

"One important respect in which the hopes formed of, and expectations raised by, His Majesty's Message have not been fulfilled is the case of the political prisoners. According to the rules laid down by the Government of India no doubt the benefit of the Royal clemency has gone to every prisoner in the Indian Jails, a certain remission proportionate to the period of the original sentence having been allowed to one and all of the denizens of the prisons, and this will certainly evoke their gratitude, but there was a widespread impression that the opportunity might be availed of to show some special clemency to the large host of political prisoners unhappily now to be found in this country. There was consequently considerable surprise among the public at the absence of any announcement on the subject. Any doubts on this score will be dispelled by Lord Morley's reply to a question by Dr. Rutherford in the course of which the Head of the India Office stated that political prisoners would not be treated in any way as a special class. In any case, each prisoner would have been separately considered and granted or refused amnesty as the Government considered expedient in his case, but it is certainly to be regretted that the Government declined to consider the question of political prisoners as a separate class, and to grant or withhold them liberty as

each case seemed to warrant. And as the result the Government have lost an important occasion of impressing the public at large with the exercise of Royal clemency which is above petty limitations, and can grant its benefits without bringing in any particular limitation."

The King Emperor's Message.

6. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 3rd November 1908:—

"*The Jubilee Proclamation.*

"No one will say that the Royal Proclamation issued yesterday, to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the passing of the Government of India from the Company to the Crown, equals its predecessor of 1858 in dignity of language, benevolence of spirit, or generosity of intentions. Queen Victoria's was a woman's gift to her children that took no account of their shortcomings and made no calculation of her own powers, but with one stroke of the pen 'placed' the Indians on terms of equality with the subjects of the British Empire.' Indeed, the good Queen was anxious to make her Indian subjects feel, as she wrote to Lord Derby, that it was a 'female sovereign' who spoke to them without reserve and without limitations. It was the spontaneous outcome of a mother's affection on meeting her stray child, and as such was unreserved and unqualified in its expressions of confidence and generosity. King Emperor Edward's Proclamation is an altogether guarded and calculating document, reflecting official opinion rather than Royal sentiment. Although the anxiety to conciliate popular opinion is evident, it will hardly evoke that affectionate regard with which his mother's outflow of soul has been cherished as the greatest possession of the people. It recognises limitations and distinctions, though professing to be anxious to remove them as time proceeds. It admits the desirability of taking the people into partnership in the administration, but has supreme faith in the capacity and wisdom of the 'servants of the Crown.' It recognises the evils of drought and plague, but lays it down that 'no secret of Empire can avert them,' and claims that 'experienced administrators have done all that skill and devotion are capable of doing to mitigate those dire calamities of nature for a longer period than was ever known in your land before.' His Majesty is perhaps unconscious that in these words he has only reproduced the official optimism and claimed more than is the Ruler's due. As a matter of fact, plague in its present epidemic form never existed in India before, and is an outcome of modern conditions of life for which British rule is largely responsible. As to famine, far from being 'mitigated,' it has increased in frequency and severity with the march of years. The King Emperor therefore fails to remove the fears of his subjects with reference to the two greatest curses of modern Indian life. He does not extend to his people the open hand of sympathy and generosity, saying that 'no matter what the cost, these scourges *shall be* removed, forming as they do a blot on a civilized administration.'

"*Disappointing and Poor in Spirit.*

"We find similar assumptions as we proceed. 'The law has been administered without disrespect to creed or caste . . . . It has been simplified in form and its machinery adjusted to the requirements of ancient communities slowly entering a new world.' Here also His Majesty has taken his servants entirely at their word. He has evidently not been informed that although the law may be administered '*without disrespect* to creed or caste,' one of the greatest grievances of the people is that it is not always administered without *respect* to creed or caste; further, that its complicated machinery is one of the most potent means of harassment of the people. That in the lines of public employment the administration is not conducted without respect to caste and creed His Majesty seems to have had some inklings of. 'Steps are being continuously taken,' we are told, 'towards the obliterating of distinctions of race as the test for access to posts of public authority and power.' The popular impression, however, is that far from being obliterated the distinctions have been emphasised of late years, and one of His Majesty's most trusted Viceroys, Lord Curzon, attempted to treat the Queen's Proclamation as a dead letter if not an old woman's gush. However, it is something that

His present Majesty recognises the existence of distinctions which should be removed. His Majesty's reference to the coming scheme of Reform on the representative principle is not explicit enough, and it is to be hoped that in this matter the trusted 'servants of the Crown' will not have everything their own way. However, we welcome it as a good sign that His Majesty has recognised the necessity of such reform in view of the advancing needs of the time. Let us hope that the measures in the course of preparation will really 'mark a notable stage in the beneficent progress of affairs.' The amnesty given to prisoners, as a signal mark of Royal clemency, we would welcome as another indication to conciliate the people if we could be sure that His Majesty has in view the political prisoners who have been sentenced so indiscriminately. Let us hope it is they who are specially meant. It is a pity, however, that while condemning 'guilty conspiracies that have no just cause or aim' His Majesty ignores the causes of deep discontent to the people that have been of late given by the administrators in such measures as the Bengal Partition and the policy of repression following it. We hope the recognition of the martial instincts of the Indian troops will be really 'substantial'; that would be removal of a true grievance. Altogether, however, the Proclamation is nothing like the straightforward, candid and generous document that its predecessor was. It gives no whole-hearted promise to correct past errors, nor re-affirms with emphasis, as it might have been expected to do, the title of the people to all the privileges of British Empire equally with the sons of Great Britain. The Partition and repressive measures are left where they are; the sufferings of the Indians in the Transvaal are not even mentioned and with regard to the small hopes held forward we are not assured that they will not be honoured more in the breach than in the performance like the pledges of his late gracious mother's truly Royal Proclamation. At a time of special unrest, when the leaders of the people are being ground down by severe measures of repression for the crime of protesting against baffled hopes and broken pledges, a much more open-hearted, sympathetic, and trustful assurance was called for; 'breathing,' to use the words of Her late Majesty, 'feelings of generosity, benevolence, and toleration.' Indeed, King Emperor Edward has not opened out his heart direct to his people, but has spoken to them through the mouthpiece of officials.

The King Emperor's Message.

7. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 5th November 1908, publishes an article headed "The King Emperor's Message to the Princes and Peoples of India". After expressing gratitude at His Majesty's promise to extend the system of representation in connection with the Legislative Councils, the paper publishes a translation of the passage in which His Majesty refers to the claim of Indians to "equality of citizenship and greater participation in legislation and Government" and says that "the public satisfaction of such a claim will strengthen, not impair, the existing authority and power." "Anglo-Indian officials," it adds, "would do well to ponder over these words and to remember at all times that His Majesty has placed Indians on a footing of equality with Europeans and has been pleased to concede that their appointment to higher posts will add to the strength of the Government." The paper concludes by remarking that although the Royal Message falls short of popular expectation the people should feel thankful for whatever has been conceded to them and should pray for more in a respectful manner.

The Royal Proclamation of 1858.

8. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 3rd November 1908, publishes an article headed "The Jubilee of the Royal Proclamation of 1858." After referring to the pledges contained in the said document, the editor says

that it should be the first duty of the Indian and Imperial Government to redeem these promises. It is not true to say at this time of day that Indians are still unfit to participate in the administration of the country and to discharge the duties of higher public appointments. They have been imbibing Western learning and civilisation for a long time past and the number of educated men among them is by no means small. In short, they are fitted in every way to take a hand in the management of their own affairs. Many of them are the equals of Anglo-Indian officers in ability and have been winning very high places in the Civil Service and Mathematical Tripos examinations. Again, a few who have been elevated to the benches of the Chief and High Courts or who have been appointed to other high posts have acquitted themselves in a highly creditable manner. India being, moreover, a very poor country cannot afford to employ Anglo-Indians on princely salaries. If, therefore, in accordance with the Royal promises to them, Indians are given a share of higher appointments equal to that of Englishmen, the change will not only benefit Government financially, but will also bind the people still more closely to the throne, while the knowledge of the country's condition and of the popular customs possessed by Indian officers will add to the efficiency of the administration.

The Royal Proclamation of 1858.

9. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 31st October 1908, publishes an article headed "The Royal Proclamation and its Jubilee," in which it remarks that, in view of the present treatment of the people by the authorities, of the invidious distinctions made by the courts between white and black men, and of the savage, oppressive and contemptuous manner, in which the former treat the latter, one finds it difficult to believe that India is still ruled by a dynasty, a member of which issued the Proclamation of 1858. Again, the present generation of Anglo-Indian officers does not care even a straw for the said document and looks upon it as so much (waste) paper. It is, therefore, a matter of surprise that the authorities should think of celebrating the Jubilee of the Proclamation referred to. Will the document, asks the paper, be read out verbatim at the proposed celebrations? Will it be read out to those officers who conduct themselves like so many Pharoahs? If so, will this not remind those tyrannical aud high-handed officers of the irregularities committed by them and destroy their peace of mind? They should not be asked to take the trouble of holding and attending the celebrations: it will be an act of cruelty to compel them to celebrate the Jubilee of a Proclamation up to which they have never acted even in their dreams. After remarking that Natives alone, who look upon the Proclamation as a great boon, should celebrate the proposed Jubilee, the editor observes that Anglo-Indians (*lit.* whites) do not look upon the children of the soil as human beings and that it is lacerating their hearts to tell them that in the eyes of the Royal Family both communities are entitled to equal rights. He next urges his countrymen to convene public meetings, to read out the Proclamation at them and to rejoice that they have been promised the rights of human beings, on paper at least. They should hold fast to the document and rest assured that their faith in it will be rewarded one day.

Lord Morley's Reform Scheme.

10. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 6th November 1908:—

"What are the much talked-of reforms? When are they coming? Will they be substantial? Will they have any effect for the better or the worse on the actual conditions in India? These are all questions which have kept the public already too long on the tenterhooks of anxiety and expectation until they have well-nigh become sick of the whole thing. What is the good of talking of reforms if they are always to recede more and more into the background as one advances like the phenomenon of the mirage. What are the precious reforms? We know not beyond the negative consolation that what were adumberated with a flourish of trumpets last year and dignified with the name and title of the Simla Reform Schemes have in all probability been consigned to oblivion as the result, it is safe to assume, of the adverse and effective criticism that they had to face at the very outset. What they will be like ultimately it is impossible to say? History repeats itself, and curiously enough Lord Morley who has strongly condemned the policy of the Partition and the procedure then adopted is himself following the identical course. The Partition scheme was published by Lord Curzon amid a blare of trumpets, but when that masterful Viceroy found that the storm it raised was too much for him he suddenly withdrew the scheme from public gaze, and ultimately sprang a brand new scheme upon an unsuspecting and lulled public and rushed it through in the teeth of opposition. Lord Morley may condemn its policy, may declare with a philosophic calm that he does not regard the scheme as sacrosanct, and yet he took shelter under the convenient theory of settled fact. Similar has been the course in the case of the reforms. The original scheme has been subjected to public criticism and has received its quietus, and we are to know nothing of the brand new scheme that has taken its place until the time comes for it to be laid before Parliament and passed through, and by the time public voice reaches England the reform will probably have become as much of a settled fact as partition of Bengal now is. When are they coming? Who knows? The latest date appointed was 17th November and now that even has given place to 12th December. Will that be the final date? It is hardly possible to predict. Will they be substantial? We cannot say, for we do not happen to be among those who are in Lord Morley's confidence. The *Daily Mail* is responsible. Our London contemporary declares that the measures contemplated are a Council of Chiefs, appointment an Indian to the Executive Council of the Government, the enlargement of the Legislative Councils, and the extension of their scope. Will they be for better or for worse? Let us hope for the better. The Advisory Council seems to have acquired the name and the style of the Council of Chiefs, who will confine their energies to the affairs of their States. Will the reformed Councils have a potent voice for good, and the power to enforce it remains to be seen. Unless our Councillors have the power to enforce their wishes, asd practically to review official acts, it can have little effect on the practical concerns of three hundred millions of the Indian people. Does Government contemplate this? Let us wait to see."

Rulers and the ruled.

11. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 10th (received on the 28th) October, 1908, publishes an article headed "Those who undertake a journey in the (hot) month of *Jaith* shall assuredly die." An individual or nation, says the paper, oppressing another is invariably punished by God. After remarking that the survival of the fittest is a law of nature, it observes that if Indians follow the right path even a combination of the whole world will prove powerless to vanquish them in their struggles for political and commercial advancement. Similarly, if the English bid good-bye to the eternal principles of justice and righteousness no earthly power will be strong enough to preserve their Empire, and their entire land and naval forces, as also the warlike inventions made by them to shed human blood will prove of no avail to them. Akbar, Jehangir,

and Shah Jehan consolidated the Mughal Empire in India, but their successor Aurangzebe undid their work by disobeying the immutable laws of God. Indeed, the kingdoms and nations of which the rulers swerve from the path of truthfulness are bound to suffer a downfall. The mistake committed by Aurangzebe consisted in devoting all his energies to bringing incompetent men to the top and sending their betters to the bottom. He dismissed the able and honest Hindu statesmen who had distinguished themselves for their loyalty to the Mughal throne during the reigns of Akbar and Shah Jehan, and replaced them by selfish, avaricious and incompetent Muhammadans, who usurped different parts of the dominions of their master. The editor cannot absolve the British Government from the guilt of following a similar policy, which has resulted in the people losing faith in British Justice. The punishment by the Calcutta High Court, he adds, of two or three magistrates in Bengal shows clearly enough that those appointed to preside over the courts in India do not possess a thorough knowledge of law. Another mistake committed by the British authorities consists in not allowing the people their legitimate share in the administration of the country. This conduct on their part is tantamount to declaring that they will not fulfil the promises made by the late Queen-Empress in her Proclamation of 1858, which has been lessening the people's faith in British justice and sincerity. The editor then quotes extracts from Mr. Digby's "'Prosperous' British India" to show that the lion's share of all public appointments goes to Englishmen: and adds that if the British Empire (in India) continues to be run on the present lines it cannot last long. If Natives had been savages and ignorant of their rights Government would have been free to govern them in its own way. It is, however, a mistake on its part to teach them Burke, Bright and Macaulay and then to ask them to bow their heads before short-sighted men like Fuller and Curzon. The paper further remarks that when competent Natives can be had to serve Government on small salaries there is no reason why Europeans should be imported and paid at higher rates. Again, Government pleads want of funds for not making Primary education free, but it can spare £ 8,000,000 for remittance to England every year. Is it just (in it) to overlook the claims of the most deserving (*i.e.*, Natives) and to take the bread out of the mouth of the starving in order to hand it over to rich foreigners? It should take pity on the country and also abstain from injuring itself by persisting in its present policy.

Government and the people.

13. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 30th October 1908, writing under the heading "*Purdah* between Government and the people", says that the relations between the rulers and the ruled in India have undoubtedly been strained. This should not, however, make the former believe that the latter have turned disloyal and are no longer attached to the throne. The people only demand their rights and ask for the removal of their grievances and complaints. No Government should ever follow the unstatesmanlike policy of turning a deaf ear to the cries of its subjects. The British Government is actuated by the best of motives, but a high wall stands between it and Natives and deadens the cries from the latter. Government should break down this barrier and look into the condition of the people for itself. As Mr. Kelkar, a pleader, at Bombay, has said, as long as the responsible authorities do not exchange ideas with the popular leaders nothing effective can be done to put an end to unrest in the country.

British rule in India.

13. The *Indar* (Lahore), for October 1908, publishes an article headed "The blessings of British rule." While condemning, it says, some high-handed doings on the part of the British authorities one cannot but admit that in one respect British rule is a veritable blessing to Indians. This blessing, adds the paper, consists in the religious freedom which the people of this country enjoy under the present régime. The religious persecution to which Muhammadan rulers subjected the children of the soil will live for ever in the pages of history. Indeed, Musalmans do not hesitate to persecute Hindus even now, whenever they have an opportunity of doing so. After remarking that it will not refer to their recent misdoings in East Bengal, the journal refers to two fresh cases of the looting of Hindus by frontier dacoits. It regrets that the authorities should take no steps to punish the dacoits, and goes on to say that recently the *Pioneer* charged the Amir with being at the back of the offending tribesmen. Some newspapers, it adds, protested against the *Pioneer's* conduct; but a consideration of the facts that the Amir not only helped the frontier rebels with one lakh of rupees but that he has also ordered one in every eight Afghans to serve in the army and that overland traffic of arms into Afghanistan has been very brisk for a long time past, lead one to the conclusion that it is not at all unlikely that the Cabul tom-cat may show the British lion its teeth one day and that frontier freebooters may again commit depredations into India. The fear derives further strength from the fact that great unrest prevails among Musalmans throughout the world in these days and that pan-Islamism has gradually been assuming a threatening aspect. Muhammadans, not only in Afghanistan but also in Persia, Turkey, Egypt, &c., are making preparations for uniting; while the shaking of the dry bones of the Ottoman Empire is a novel phenomenon indeed. In short, it would appear that the world is about to witness two dreadful wars,—one between the East and the West and the other between the Islam and the Christendom. The latter war will revive the days of the Crusades, and it is difficult to imagine that during its prevalence (any section of) Muhammadans will consent to live under a Christian Government. Although Indian Muhammadans are now trying to sheathe their claws, they may be relied upon to bring them into play if they ever have an opportunity of doing so. That will be a critical time for the British Government in India, a time when it will have to decide whether it will lean on Hindus or Muhammadans during the crusade referred to. In order, therefore, to prevent the shedding of blood in India it should be the duty of all well-wishers of the country to improve the strained relations between Government and the people. They should force Government to abate the severity of its repressive policy, so that Indians may acquire self-government under its *ægis*, tread the path of progress, and consider it an act of merit to die for their benefactor, England, in her hour of trial. Government should at once set to work to win the hearts of the children of the soil, in order to achieve which object it should, along with its efforts to maintain the peace, eschew those objectionable things against the doing of which the entire country is now full of complaints. One of these things is the undue severity with which it has of late been treating the press, which is considered a necessary safety-valve in every civilised country. After condemning the harshness of the punishments recently inflicted on some editors and reproducing Mr. Hyndeman's indictment of Government in the

*Times* in connection with the Tilak case, the journal says that the objectionable doings referred to constitute a blot on British justice and the fair fame of the British nation. Signs are not, however, wanting to show, it adds, that the Government is about to take some steps to remedy the existing state of affairs and to convert British rule into a real blessing to the people of India.

Western civilisation in India.

14. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 24th October 1908, publishes an article headed "The effect of Western civilisation on India." The dark side of Western civilisation, it says, which was introduced into India by British rule, may be expressed in one word—materialism. It has permeated the entire Indian Society, with materialistic ideas, which have greatly injured the country and eaten into the very vitals of the people. The Brahmins of olden days use to practise the severest austerities and to pass their lives in spreading the light of knowledge and liberty throughout the country, in acquainting the people with their rights, and in trying to minimise oppression on the part of the rulers. They cared nothing for lucre, let the morrow take care of itself, eschewed good food and fine clothes, and dedicated their lives to the service of society. Their descendants of the present generation, however, lead a life of pleasure and know nothing of religion, and this has sapped all the vitality of the community. Similarly, the Kshatriyas, also have fallen from their old ideals and are lacking in that courage which prompts one to sacrifice one self for the oppressed. Thousands of their co-religionists are being looted by frontier dacoits, who also offer gross insults to the women folk of their victims. Have they, however, ever given the matter a thought and been led to remember that at one time they were the protectors of their own country? It is true that the sceptre has passed away from their hands, but have they ever reminded those who rule the country now of the latter's duty in the matter? After remarking they no longer deserve to be called Kshatriyas, the paper deplores the prevalence of materialism among students and other classes of natives also, and says that the evil will soon degrade them to the level of beasts. It reminds them of the saying of a great politician that he alone can serve his country and nation who cannot be conquered by all the riches and women in the world. In conclusion, it asks them to rise above mean passions and to forego worldly pleasures in order to make education compulsory in, and to banish famine and poverty from, the country.

Western civilisation in India.

15. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 31st October 1908, publishes an article headed "The effect of Western civilisation on India," in which, in continuation of its foregoing remarks, it says that at one time India imparted knowledge to the whole world, was the richest and most prosperous country on the face of the earth, could boast of matchless arts and industries, and was the home of happiness and the fountain-head of religion. Thanks to Western civilisation and rule, however, it is the home of ignorance to-day, a quarter of its population cannot procure two meals a day, its arts and industries have been ruined, and cries of distress and suffering are to be heard from all parts of it. But the worst of it is that religion has disappeared from the country. It would not have mattered if Indians had learnt from others the means of acquiring wealth or if they had sat to acquire secular edcuation

at the feet of Western teachers. They have fallen so low that they run after the white people for a knowledge even of religion. Those *mlechhas* whom their forefathers did not allow even to touch the Hindu scriptures have come to be their spiritual guides. The paper then goes on to say that while Western civilisation has degraded India to the lowest depths it has placed Japan at the head of the world. The reason why the same thing has affected the two countries differently is to be found in their respective political conditions. Japan is not the slave of foreigners and that is why the things which have imparted strength to her have worked the ruin of this country. The only way for Indians to better their lot is to gird up their loins to obtain *Swaraj* and to devote all their efforts to breaking their chains of slavery. The editor adds that the Mikado's Government imported teachers from abroad, sent Japanese youths to foreign countries to acquire techincal education, and opened industrial schools and colleges in the country. The British, on the contrary, have killed the industries of India and taken her entire trade into their own hands by force. They have not established even one Technical College in the country on the lines of the Tokio College. Indeed, where was the necessity for their doing so after having destroyed Indian trade and industries? Government has also made no arrangements for imparting moral and religious instruction to the people, with the result that the latter are sinking deeper into the abyss of im morality and irreligion from day to day. The students of Government Schools are only taught that their ancestors were savages, that their religion consists of the worship of the elements and of ghosts, and that the Vedas are a bundle of superstitions. This sort of education may make John Bulls of them and not (worthy) descendants of the *rishis* of old. Unfortunate are those parents and boys who, for one reason or other, prefer t he Government College to the D. A.-V. College, the Islamia College or the Khalsa College. National Colleges alone should be patronised, because they improve the morals of their students, implant sacred feelings of nationality in their hearts, create in them a desire to serve their religion and country, and make self-sacrifi cing men of them. After remarking that the moral and religious condition of the Japanese is, unlike that of Indians, all that could be desired, the *Inqilab* says that although Japan came under tbe influence of Western civilisation only half a century back over 97 per cent. of the Mikado's subjects are able to read and write. In India, however, which has been in contact with the said civilisation for about one and a half centuries, barely 14 per cent. of the popula ion can sign their names. The backwardness of this country is due to Government being, unlike that of Japan, chary of spending money on the education of the people. Again, while the latter Government is anxious to improve the physique of its subjects quite the reverse is the case with the Government of India, which will, perhaps, deprive the people even of their *lathies* in a short time. Besides, the system of education obtaining in the country is such that University examinations shatter the health even of the most robust student. The education imparted, moreover, is not only very expensive, but is also subversive of the national prosperity, because, as it does not include technical instruction, it cannot fit its recipients to earn their bread. The editor next refers to the military strength of Japan and says that it is too well known to the world to require any lengthy mention from him. As regards India, he adds, no son of hers can rise beyond subehdarship or subehdar-

majorship, however high his social position may be. Nay, he can obtain even these posts only after sweating in the service for 50 years, whereas a raw youth of 25 from England can lord it over veteran soldiers who have seen nearly a dozen campaigns and have won a number of medals. Again, even the United States had to apologise to Japan for the insulting treatment of some Japanese in that republic. Natives should remember that only that nation is respected by the world which enjoys *Swaraj*. No one respects a slave. As the people of this country are the slaves of foreigners they are respected neither at home nor abroad. They have to face poverty and disgrace in their own land, while in foreign countries they are subjected to the grossest oppression. May God grant *Swaraj* to Indians, so that all their troubles may come to a speedy end!

Unrest in India.

16 Writing under the heading "A valuable advice", the *Civil and Military News* (Ludhiana), of the 26th October 1908, says that Mr. Whish, late of the Indian Civil Service, has contributed an article to the *Indian Review* on the subject of the prevailing unrest. The writer, it adds, is of opinion that important changes have become necessary in the methods of administration now obtaining in India. The advice tendered is sound to the core and the authorities should not fail to carry it into practice. All that natives demand is that they should be given a large share in the government of their country and that the highest posts in all branches of the public service should be open to them. Nothing is further from their minds than that British rule, which has proved so auspicious to them, should disappear from India. They only wish to achieve political and material advancement with the help and under the sympathetic guidance of their present rules. The paper next remarks that if Lord Morley's scheme of reforms does not come up to the expectations of educated natives it will greatly disappoint the people. It then endorses the advice of Mr. Whish to Indians not to throw off the British yoke, and urges Hindus and Muhammadans to leave off quarrelling and to endeavour to improve the political, industrial and commercial condition of India.

*Swaraj.*

17. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 10th (received on the 28th) October 1908, publishes an article headed *Swaraj*, boycott and national education; firm determination and faith in God. The paper begins by observing that the most powerful weapon for obtaining *Swaraj* consists not in the bomb, but in strong resolution and faith in God. If natives, it adds, were to freely use this weapon they would be certain to achieve victory. There has been more than one war between freedom and slavery in the past, and the day has invariably been won by the former, which always had God on its side. A tyrant never parts with the sweets of power for the good of his subjects, and his oppression at last drives the latter to use all sorts of means (to put an end to his tyranny). The English had to pay a heavy price for the liberty now enjoyed by them, and had to struggle for it for about 1,000 years. During this period hundreds of respectable men were sent to jail in diverse ways, a large number of persons were branded as rebels and sent to the gallows, many more were transported from the country and not a few were subjected to gross religious persecution. All this was done with the sole object of enabling "the tyrant" to practise oppression and to suck the life-blood of the

people for some time longer. When, therefore, English Kings have not hesitated to keep their own fellow-countrymen in the chains of slavery in order to enjoy themselves, how can they consent to grant *Swaraj* to an alien people and country governed by them? Natives should remember that it is but natural that their present rulers should be averse to granting them *Swaraj*: no one gives another anything unless he feels satisfied that he can get something in return. It is nothing short of foolishness on the part of the people of India to ask for *Swaraj* from the British authorities. The history of the world does not contain a single instance in which one nation received *Swaraj* from another. Nay, even kings ruling their own countrymen do not confer liberty on the latter until the sword is flourished in their faces. The Sultan has granted a constitution to his subjects not in a fit of generosity, but simply to preserve his head on his shoulders. The English beheaded Charles I merely because they looked upon him as a menace to their national freedom. Again, if King John had not signed the Magna Charta he would assuredly have been put to death. After remarking that the Czar Nicholas was killed by his subjects, the paper says that a perusal of European history shows that the rulers of those European countries in which the popular (*lit.* republican) form of Government obtains in these days were either put to the sword by their subjects or had to bend the knee to the latter. Indians also, it adds, can obtain *Swaraj* (only) in the way in which other nations have secured that boon. The best way for them to attain the desired end is to teach every Indian mother what *Swaraj* means and to make her transmit the lesson to her children. If this were done it would not be difficult for the people to obtain *Swaraj* in one generation. The editor exhorts his fellow countrymen to act up to his suggestion and says that every native boy should be told by his mother as follows :—"Thou hast been born to obtain *Swaraj* and to put down slavery. I carried thee (in my womb) for 9 months in the hope that thou wilt relieve the sufferings of Mother Bharat. It is thy duty to eschew ease and pleasure all thy days and to lead a life of self-sacrifice in order to obtain *Swaraj*. I shall have been repaid for all the hardships and sufferings which I endured in bringing thee up and thou wilt have been absolved of all thy duty to me if thou wilt spend they life in the service of Mother Bharat. The mission of thy life does not consist in amassing countless wealth in this world. On the contrary, I have borne thee to spend thy lakhs, shouldst thou possess lakhs, for the good of thy countrymen..... Go, my son, make thy living in the world like a lion. Cast not thy eyes on the unconsumed portion of a carcass. Let no individual or nation deprive thee of thy liberty. Lions can live in a cage, but they never lead the life of slavery, wagging their tails like dogs." The paper concludes by promising to revert to the subject in its next issue, in which it will state what sacrifices are required from the lovers of *Swaraj*.

*Swaraj.*

18. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 24th October 1908, publishes an article headed "*Swaraj* boycott and national education." The paper begins by remarking that tryannical is the nation which takes advantage of the physical and moral weakness of another to enslave it and to work its ruin in every respect. If every inhabitant of a country, it adds, is not given an opportunity to serve in the army, the physical growth of the people concerned receives a serious check, and an end is put to all progress on their part. Similarly, to

disarm a nation is tantamount to emasculating it and telling it to remain in a state of slavery for ever and never to think of obtaining *Swaraj*. Again, if the people are excluded from holding public offices requiring great prudence, wisdom and statesmanship in their incumbents, it means that their rulers do not wish them to acquire administrative ability and would keep them in a state of dependence for ever. Similarly, to keep the select men among them out of offices in which they could solve their country's educational, commercial, political and financial problems is to tell the people that they shall always be of low status, wanting in spirituality and that their life-blood will continue to be sucked by their rulers. The same fate befalls a nation which is not free to favour the principles of free trade or protection as it pleases. The paper then goes on to say that it is indispensable for ensuring national progress in India that the country should have *Swaraj*, *i.e.*, natives should govern themselves. So long as the people cannot obtain *Swaraj* it is impossible for them to achieve progress in any direction. Foreign rule cripples and dwarfs a nation in all respects, and the people of India should remember that if they are not afforded facilities for making physical, mental and spiritual advancement, this is being done with the deliberate object of working their ruin. They should bear in mind that those nations which become the slaves of others and do not try to shake off their claims of slavery are doomed to destruction. If Indians exert themselves and make the necessary sacrifices they will be certain to obtain *Swaraj*. They should curtail their wants and spend the savings in making education free in the country, this being the most powerful weapon for securing *Swaraj*. In conclusion, the paper expresses satisfaction at the birth of nationalism among the people and at their struggles to become free and to cease leading the life of animals.

*Swaraj.*

19. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 31st October 1908, publishes an article headed "*Swaraj*, boycott and national education: nationalism in our religion." It says that to serve one's nation is to render service to God and that those who will not make sacrifices for their nation can never be its true servants. Those natives, adds the paper, who have embraced the religion of nationalism, should preach their faith with a whole heart. The students among them should impress the excellence of their creed on their friends, mothers and younger brothers and sisters; while the clerks in their ranks should preach it to their *confrères*. These preachers should, however, never forget that if they do not fully conform to the principles of nationalism no one will listen to them. The editor then goes on to say that those who love the nation should posses an iron constitution, should stick to their principles even at the risk of live and in the teeth of the grossest oppression, and should keep alive in their hearts the fire of patriotism, in which they should consume their all, bodies, minds, wealth, children, wives and comforts. They should live the life of *sadhus* and *sanyasis* (ascetics) and purify the hearts of the entire population with the fragrant smoke from the altar on which burns the incense of *Swaraj*. The people, adds the *Inqilab*, should be prepared for the war in which justice, truth, liberty and self-respect stand on one side, and tyranny, cunning, slavery and dishonour on the other. In short, the pure thought of *Swaraj* should be created in the mind of every inhabitant of the country, which will, in the course of time, grow into the magnificent tree of *Swaraj* in whose shade

the entire Indian nation will taste of peace and happiness. Famine and pestilence will then disappear; illiteracy, irreligion and immorality will depart from the country; materialism which foreign rule has brought in its wake will be banished; education will be made free and imparted to both the rich and the poor; superstitious beliefs will become unknown, and gloom will give place to sunshine and happiness. In conclusion, the paper says that if the people fight for *Swaraj* with a firm determination, God, will assuredly grant them victory.

Self-sacrifices and *Swaraj*.

20. In a paragraph headed "Truth of the assertion and historical evidence" the *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 24th October 1903, says that self-sacrifice is not a synonym for death. It means the dedication, by hundreds of pious men in a country, of their lives to the fulfilment of some high mission and the daily endurance of hardships by them in the achievement of their object. It is easy for a man to strangle or starve himself to death, but it is a very hard task to play with a dagger night and day, as every patriot has to do. The editor then calls upon his fellow-countrymen to lead a life of the above sort of self-sacrifice, adding that their efforts will be certain to raise their nation. He next refers to some instances of self-sacrifice by Sikhs, and says that it was owing to their being a self-sacrificing people that the Guru's followers in spite of their being small in numbers, succeeded in wresting the reins of government from the hands of Muhammadans, and made themselves the strongest military power in the country shortly after. They had sowed the seed of self-sacrifice and reaped the fruit of *Swaraj*. If (the present generation of) natives also make sacrifices, their efforts will certainly bear fruit.

How natives can raise themselves.

21. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 31st October 1908, publishes an article headed "Fate and wisdom" in which it says that man is admittedly the noblest of created beings. There are, however, men and men, and it is for this reason that some of them are ruled over by others. It should not, nevertheless, be concluded that all men are not created equal by nature. Those who are governed by their fellow-men have only themselves to thank for living in a state of subjection. A man reaps only what he sows and cannot escape the consequences of his deeds. The paper then goes on to say that a person who believes in fate does not deserve to be called a human being and can have no incentive to better his position. Such men are a curse to society and should rid the earth of their accursed presence. It is Indians' belief in fate which has brought about the downfall of this country and prevents them from exerting themselves to better their lot. They were led to believe that the English had been placed over them by God and that they themselves had been involved in degradation. Consequently, they began to look upon themselves as contemptible and weak beings, and threw themselves at the feet of those (the English) whom they considered to be the favourites of fortune and of God. This has led the latter to rob them of their wealth and land, and to leave them not even a crust of bread. Will not Indians bethink themselves even now? Will not even hunger impel them to find out the truth? Can they not be brought to their senses even by the cries of the hungry and naked among them? They should know that there is no such thing as fate. They should not ascribe the wealth and power possessed by others (the English) to good luck and abase themselves before the latter. Mr. Keir Hardie attributes their present state of slavery to this trait in their character and has tried to

shame them into mending their ways. Indeed, all independent-minded Englishmen condemn this conduct on their part, and if they are regarded by Anglo-Indians as foolish, low and mean, they themselves are to blame for this. The paper concludes by urging Indians to learn to respect themselves and to stand on their own legs.

Capabilities of Indians.

22. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 31st October 1908, publishes a translation of an article headed "India might rival America," which appeared in *Bande Mâtaram* (of the 14th idem) :—

"'If Indians are freed from shackles (*i.e.*, are rescued out of the clutches of the English) they would become the strongest nation of the world. If the United States had charge of the educational work in India this country would soon become one of the greatest in the world. The English do not care to develop the minds of the natives, perhaps fearing they may take the same action as the American colonies.'

"This is one of the views the Revd. J. T. Sunderland holds in regard to the educational condition of India. Sunderland is a great student of the orient and has spent much time in investigating the religious, eductional and social condition of the people. Recently he made a speech in England in which he said :—

"'The Indian people are a brainy race. I have heard British officials say there are many Indians who are their superiors intellectually India was a civilized country when people wearing war paint were running around on the present British isles. The British took India state by state, by helping one fight against another. Then they disarmed the natives. Now they give them but an inferior education. It is the American Missionaries who are teaching the people.

"*India safer than England.*

"'There is no safer country to travel in than in India. I felt freer going about there than I did in the streets of London. There was less chance of being assaulted and robbed. The natives are kind-hearted and considerate to the traveller. I not only traversed the large cities but I also visited small villages. I studied the people in their homes. The more I saw of them the more fully convinced I became that they are a great people held in subjection. The resources of the country are numberless and if they were educated and permitted to rule themselves, India would soon become a second United States.

"'There is a great deal of political unrest. All the high positions are held by Englishmen, and the natives are given only the minor offices. While I was in Poona I attended a Political Congress, where I had an opportunity of seeing the attitude of the people towards the Government.'"

The article is preceeded by the following notes :—

"The article which we translate for the benefit of our readers was written by a liberal-minded Englishman, who has genuine sympathy with Indians in their (present) helpless condition. His name is Sunderland and he is a graduate of the Chicago University, He has toured through almost the whole of India and is therefore fully acquainted with the country's internal condition.—*The Editor.*"

"The *Hindustan* Republic."

23. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 23rd October 1908, publishes an article headed "The Hindustan Republic" from the pen of Pandit Rambhaj Dutt Chaudhri. The writer begins by saying that a perusal of the history of Switzerland shows how several peoples speaking different languages, professing different religions and following different modes of living, can become one and can establish a strong and powerful republic. He next refers to India's demand for *Swaraj* and says that a struggle between Anglo-Indians,

who are all powerful in the country, and the children of the soil, who have no political rights, has commenced in right earnest. When the resolutions adopted by the National Congress, he adds, are, like those passed by the Plebeian Assembly of Rome, treated as law, the struggle referred to will come to an end and all obstacles will have been removed from the people's path (? to self-government). Before, however, that day can arrive natives will have to pass through several stages of training and discipline. After remarking that in order to prevent *Swaraj* proving a failure educated Indians should spread education among the masses and make the latter keep pace with them on the road to political liberty, the writer says that he wishes to give his fellow countrymen a training in the art of self-government. His proposal is that the twelve thousand subscribers to the *Hindustan*, who belong to different religions and follow different modes of living, should form themselves into a *Hindustan Republic*. All important matters affecting the well-being of the paper should be laid before them and decided according to the votes of the majority, provided the decision does not clash with law, honesty, common sense and the admitted policy of the paper The proprietor will be the president of this Republic and will have the power to veto a decision arrived at by the majority of the subscribers. The sphere of the organisation could be extended in the course of time and the members could be consulted on municipal, social and political matters, and in the end on questions affecting the entire nation.

Patriotism and Communal love.

24. Writing under the heading "The difference between patriotism and communal love," the *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 31st October 1908, observes that love for country should not be sacrificed at the altar of love for community. This means, it adds, that Hindus and Muhammadans should subordinate their communal interests to those of the country, because what is good for the country must be so for both communities. Those who think of their personal interests first are extremely narraw-minded and short-sighted and the downfall of India is ascribable to such worthies. When different communities take up their permanent residence in a country they become children of the same soil and should work unitedly to promote the welfare of their common motherland. The paper exhorts Hindus, Muhammadans and Christians not to let their religious convictions stand in the way of their love for the country.

Ajit Singh.

25. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 24th October 1908, publishes a communication from one G. Ali Khan headed "Sardar Ajit Singh." The writer reports that at one of the two recent meetings of the Free Indian Society the Indians residing in London adopted a resolution recording their feelings of deep respect for the brave and fearless Punjabi patriot, Sardar Ajit Singh, applauding his conduct in establishing the *Tilak Ashram* for the service of the country and the nation, and expressing the hope that, unmindful of "outside" threats and mistaken policy, he will continue doing the patriotic work undertaken by him.

## II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

Tribal raids into British territory.

26. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 24th October 1908, publishes an article headed "Troubles of the frontier Hindus and the duty of Government." Tribal *badmashes* it says loot hundreds of Hindus every year, insult the

females of the latter, and wound or carry away their victims. So far, however, Government has made no satisfactory arrangements for putting an end to this state of affairs. Is it morally right in collecting different taxes from those whose lives and property it is powerless to protect? Again, why does it not permit the frontier Hindus to keep arms for defending themselves against tribal dacoits? If it does not do so through fear of their using those arms to commit breaches of the peace how can it forget that foreigners are shedding the blood of its subjects? But it is natives whose blood is being spilt, and Government will bestir itself only when 4 or 5 Europeans are killed on the frontier. The paper then goes on to say that tribesmen, being bloodt-hirsty savages and bigots of the first water, consider it an act of merit to kill Hindus and that the only way to make them mend their devilish ways is treat them in the manner in which they were dealt with by Hari Singh Nalwa in the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The other way to make the brigands behave themselves is to allow every person on the frontier to keep arms. In case Government is not prepared to adopt either of these suggestions or is too weak to relieve the sufferings of its subjects, it should hand over the frontier districts to the Amir, so as to enable the helpless frontier Hindus to taste of peace once more. The Hindus in Afghanistan enjoy greater security of life and property than their co-religionists in the frontier districts.

## III.—Native States.

Faridkot Council of Regency.

27. In a paragraph headed "Wanted a Muhammadan member on the Council of Regency, Faidkot," the *Civil and Military News* (Ludhiana), of the 26th October 1908, asks the Commissioner of Jullundur to select a Muhammadan official to fill the vacancy caused on the said Council by the death of Sardar Abdul Ghafur Khan.

Faridkot Council of Regency.

28. The *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 31st October 1908, writes to a similar effect.

## IV.—Kine-Killing.

*Jhatka* question at Kasur.

29. In a paragraph headed "the *jhatka* question at Kasur." the *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 31st October 1908, remarks that there is no reason why Muhammadans should prevent Hindus or Sikhs from eating *jhatka* meat or why they should express indignation at the latters' conduct in doing so or oppose the cooking of the said meat in the precincts of a school. If they have a right to eat *halál* meat, the Sikhs also are free to consume *jhatka* meat. After remarking the former threaten to cook beef (if the latter use *jhatka* meat at schools), the paper says that the Sikhs will retaliate by cooking pork, which will, however, lead to fighting and bloodshed. It concludes by advising Musalmans to eschew bigotry and act righteously.

## V.—Native Societies and Religious Matters.

Hindus and Muhammadans.

30. The *Sadik-ul-Akhbar* (Rewari), of the 17th (received on the 29th October 1908, publishing a communication headed "Necessity of Union between Hindus and Muhammadans." The writer says that the existence

of dissensions between the two communities is traceable to the bigotry of Aurangzebe, an obstinate ruler, who did immense harm even to his own co-religionists. After remarking that the followers of Islam and Hinduism generally fall out over the killing of kine, the writer exhorts Musalmans to respect the religious susceptibilities of their Hindu neighbours. They should leave off killing kine, especially as they can obtain the flesh of goats and sheep in great abundance. The correspondent wishes to add that in India beef is consumed chiefly by the British soldiery and not by Moslems who are blamed for killing cows for no reason. In conclusion, he suggests that committees should be established at different places to devise means to put an end to kine-killing, Butchers should be made to vow not to kill kine and those of them who cannot make a living otherwise should be helped with money to enable them to engage in some other trade.

Anadvice to the Punjabis.

31. Writing under the heading 'Grit' *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 30th October 1908, says that a Bengali Brahmin, who visited Lahore on the occasion of the last Dussehra, accused the Panjabis of having become cowards and advised them to regain their last courage from the English. This reminds the editor of an article in the September number of the *Nineteeth century and after* in which the writer, the Earl of Meath, discusses the question whether the English still retain the "grit" which characterised their forefathers. The Panjabis also, he adds, should institute a comparison between themselves and their forefathers and see whether they can boast of that grit and manliness which make men reck nothing of physical sufferings and regard the performance of a duty, however difficult and unpleasant, as an act of great merit. He concludes by publishing a translation of a Bengali national song composed by Robindro Nath Tagore, who exhorts "an unfortunate youth" to go on working single-handed if no one comes to his help.

Imported Sugar.

32. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 24th October 1908, publishes a communication from Sardar Ajit Singh headed "National festivals". After remarking that the festivals observed by a nation constitute an index to its vitality, the writer says that although the Hindu national festivals are the oldest in the world the followers of Hinduism do not emulate the example of the heroes honoured by them. As an instance in point, he states that they unhesitatingly use thousands of maunds of (imported) sugar, which is purified with the blood and bones of kine, in celebrating the Diwali festival in honour of Rama, a descendant of the Raghus, not a few of whom endangered their lives in order to protect the cow. The spectacle, he adds, is shameful and reprehensible in the extreme and does not say much for the Hindu sense of national self-respect. Must not Rama, he enquires, be sending down curses from heaven on those who spread beef-eating (*gae-khori*) among Hindus in honouring his memory? The writer next urges Hindus to do away with the evil and asks Muhammadans to join hands with them, remarking that the use of imported sugar goes against the Prophet's faith also and that large quantities of it are consumed on the occasion of the Id too.

## VII.—General Administration.

### (a)—*Judicial.*

Corporal Cullen's case.

33. In a paragraph headed "The murder of a Native at Jatogh" the *Rajput Gazette* (Lahore), of the 24th October 1908, expresses surprise at the acquittal of Corporal Cullen. It is not easy to understand, adds the paper, that the accused, who was on duty and in complete possession of his senses, should have suddenly gone mad just at the time of committing the murder. The jury's verdict is undoubtedly to be deplored, but it is inexplicable how a lawyer of Mr. Justice Rattigan's calibre could bring himself to accept the finding. After enquiring whether his conduct cannot be attributed to racial partiality, the *Rajput Gazette* says that in many other similar cases also natives have not been able to obtain jnstice against Europeans. It is a strange sort of justice, adds the paper, that a European guilty of murdering or ill-treating a native should be acquitted by a stretching of the letter of the law in his favour, but that a native prosecuted by a European should be most severely punished (*lit.* sent to hell), although his offence may be a very light one. This constitutes a most disgraceful blot on Government's sense of justice, and it is a matter of surprise that the authorities should keep silent in the matter.

Corporal Cullen's case.

34. In a paragraph headed "Corporal Cullen's case," *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 30th October 1908, says that the accused has been acquitted on the pretext that he committed the act in a fit of insanity. Cullen, it adds, was tried by a jury consisting wholly of Europeans, but that Mr. Tilak's prayer to be tried by his fellow countrymen was rejected by Mr. Justice Daver. Such incidents help to strengthen the popular belief that natives cannot obtain justice against Europeans. Indeed, a white man accused of assaulting or murdering a native is let off on some pretext or other. If a *gora* kicks a *punkha* coolie to death the mishap is attributed to a rupture of the spleen. The other pleas consist in the murderer having been in a state of intoxication or under a fit of temporary insanity. In conclusion, the paper says that cases like the one under reference have shaken the people's faith in British justice, which is undoubtedly a bad omen.

Mr. Shah Din's appointment to the Bench of the Chief Court.

35. In a paragraph headed "The Hindu Muhammadan question" the *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 24th October 1908, says that Akbar was always careful to hold the scales even. The result was that his reign was one of peace and strengthened the foundations of the Mughal Empire. Aurangzeb followed the contrary course and thereby created unrest in the country, set Hindus and Muhammadans by the ears, and undermined the foundations of the empire. He cared nothing for justice and made public appointments from motives of favouritism, *i.e.*, sowed bad blood between different sections of the population. The editor then enquires whether the British Government also is not creating disunion in the country and whether it does not follow the policy of "Divide and rule." The appointment of Mr. Shah Din to the Bench of the Chief Court, he adds, has aroused indignation throughout the Punjab and the people are accusing Government of having perpetrated a piece of gross injustice. Lala Lal Chand's claims have been overlooked on the score merely of his being a Hindu, and merit and and ability have had to go to the wall. After enquiring whether the days of

Aurangzeb have returned, the editor reminds Government that justice is the most powerful weapon for maintaining peace in the country. If it wields this weapon with vigour all unrest will disappear from the land and Hindus and Muhammadans will live in place.

Barrister-at-Law

36. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 30th October 1908, published a communication from Lala Hardyal headed "Barristership." The writer says that hundreds of native youths who go to England to become barristers squander their parents' money, fall away from their religion, are spoiled for life, and on their return home help to increase British influence in the country. Apparently, he adds, there was never any need of barristers in India. The locally manufactured pleaders were wholly sufficient for the requirements of the Indian courts, while the Law Colleges in the country itself could have answered the purpose of disgracing the Hindu Shashtras and the higher classes of Hindus. The correspondent then goes on to say that Government's object in allowing persons called to the bar in England to practice in India was to enable well connected but impoverished Englishmen to grab the money of *zamindars* and *sahukars* through the courts of law. After remarking that Englishmen practising at the bar in India are one of the agencies by which the country's wealth is drained away to England, he avers that the second object in view was to work the ruin of Hindus. The leaders of every nation consist of *raises* and *zamindars*, who spend money on religious works and consequently wield influence over their fellow countrymen. It is to the advantage of the British Government to spoil the sons of *raises* and to make the national leaders of the people overlook their duties. It was, however, out of the question for Englishmen in India to invite Hindus to feasts, while the latter were averse to marrying the former's daughters. They, therefore, hit on a novel plan to gain their object, *viz.*, to attract Hindu youths to England with the barrister's gown as a bait. They thought that by shaking hands with beautiful English women, by dressing themselves after English fashion and by eating English dishes and speaking the English language Hindus going to England would become anglicised, would begin to look down upon their co-religionists and would become the slaves of the English not only from a political point of view but from the moral and economic standpoints also. It was further thought that they would at least begin to eat and drink with the English and that this would prove the thin edge of the wedge in the matter of making them cast their lot entirely with the latter. In short, the object in view was to disgust them with the Hindu nation and religion and to make them associate with the English.

The *Jhang Sial* libel case.

37. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 31st October 1908, acknowledges the following subscriptions towards

"The fund in aid of Banke Diyal."

| | Rs. | A. | P. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Lala Hira Lal, of Toba Tek Singh ... ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Anonymous subscribers at Khushab ... ... | 1 | 6 | 0 |
| Lala Diwan Chand, of Dhilwan ... ... | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| Received from Simla ... ... | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Received through Babu Budha Mal, of Digri (?) ... | 21 | 0 | 0 |
| Total ... | 36 | 12 | 0 |
| Add amount already acknowledged ... ... | 320 | 8 | 0 |
| Grand Total ... | 357 | 4 | 0 |

### (*f*)—*Railways and Communications.*

38. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 30th October 1908, publishes a paragraph headed 'Travelling by rail,' in which it says that travelling by rail is becoming more unsafe from day to day. Several collisions, it adds, have occurred at different places within a short time and hundreds of lives have been lost. During the past few months crime has begun to be committed in trains and it has become unsafe for women to undertake journies by rail. The paper next refers to the murder of Miss Taylor, as also to the incident on the Great Indian Peninsular Railway in which a Muhammadan lady had to jump out of the train to protect her honour from a white Ticket-Inspector. The delay on the part of the railway authorities, it adds, in redressing the above grievances is undesirable in the extreme and is creating distrust in the country.

Safety of railway passengers.

39. In a paragraph headed "Railway accidents" the *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 31st October 1908, says that there was a time when travelling by rail was considered a very comfortable means of locomotion. Of late, however, both life and property have become unsafe on Indian railways, while outrages on female passengers have become a matter of daily occurrence. After remarking that Indians have always been jealous of the honour of their women and have never hesitated to shed blood to preserve the same, the paper refers to the case in which a Muhammadan lady is said to have jumped out of a running train to save herself being outraged by a European ticket examiner. It adds that the offenders usually consist of guards, ticket collectors, &c., and calls upon the railway authorities to send such miscreants about their business.

Safety of railway passengers.

40. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 31st October 1908, publishes a communication in which the writer complains that passengers, who are often in these days suffering from malarial fever cannot obtain drinking water at railway stations and have to suffer greatly in consequence. Only a few days back he saw, at Shorkot Road Station, passengers crying for water in vain. After remarking that Station Masters do not allow watermen to do their duty, he calls upon those officials to be more solicitous for the comforts of passengers.

Supply of drinking water to passengers.

### (*h*)—*Miscellaneous.*

41. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* (Lahore), of the 27th October 1908, publishes a communication in which the writer reports that the plague doctor has been at Bhangala (Hoshiarpur district) for two or three days in connection with the destruction of rats. The residents have, however, refused to allow the baits to be placed in their houses. The reason for this is that similar operations in 1906 at this time of the year led to an outbreak of the plague in the place full three months earlier than in previous years. After stating that the death-roll for 1906 was also unusually heavy, the correspondent says that the people of Bhangala are not opposed to the destruction of rats, but that they object to the methods employed by plague officials. Experience has shown that the killing of rats by means of poison produces a very bad stench, which results in the recrudescence of plague in a virulent form. Scores of instances can be

Destruction of rats.

cited in support of the assertion; and it is a matter for regret that plague officers should not learn wisdom from experience. Rats should be caught in traps and burnt, so that no unwholesome stench may be bred. In conclusion, the correspondent requests the authorities concerned to supply traps for the residents of Bhangala, as has been done in the case of the Gurdaspur district.

Jhang district affairs.

42. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 31st October 1908, publishes an article headed 'A cursory glance at this district.' The paper says that the Jhang district is in a very backward condition. Very few villages in it can boast of schools, and where such exist they are very sparsely attended. The people do not even know in what relation they stand to a *chaukidar*, who can shoe-beat them aud make them do his will. As to Police Constables, Sergeants and Sub-Inspectors, they kick and abuse villagers, over mere trifles. The arrival of a constable or a tahsil peon in a village causes quite a commotion in the place. The *lambardar* is shoe-beaten. the *chaukidar* has his hair pulled and even big *zamindars* who are offered chairs by the Deputy Commissioner and other high-placed officers, are given a beating The urban population fare no better, shop-keepers, *tum-tum* drivers and others being grossly ill-treated. It is the ignorance of the people of their rights which makes them submit to loot and oppression in silence. The paper then goes on to say that the *malba* fund accounts of villages teem with items about the supply of provisions to the aforesaid police officers as also to tahsildars and other officials. There are very few officers who prevent their subordinates from filching eggs, fowls, fodder and other articles from villagers. Mr. Harcourt used to look into the matter during the early part of his stay in the district, but his enthusiasm also has cooled of late. In conclusion, the editor say, that it is their lack of education which has rendered the people spiritless and makes *lambardars* submit to shoe-beating at the hands of Sub-Inspectors. It is also for the same reason that *zaildars* allow their moustaches to be fulled in the courts of *tahsildars*.

Devi Singh, the last proprietor of the defunct *Aftab*.

43. Writing under the heading "For the information of the public," the editor of the *Inqilab* (Lahore), in its issue, dated the 24th October 1908, reports that a few days before the assistant editor of the *Aftab* had seen him and had told him that the latter paper had been brought to grief by one Devi Singh, a resident of Pilibhit, Ruhelkhand. Shortly after this Devi Singh came to the office of the *Inqilab* and gave the editor the impression of being a spy. The man stated that he had just handed in an article for the *Arya Gazette*. He also offered to write for the *Inqilab* and was told that his contributions would be accepted only if they were fit for insertion in the paper. He styles himself a servant of the country, but he does no work and is always on the tramp. After publishing a description of the man, the paper asks the public to beware of him, adding that he gave out that he was staying with Swami Darshananand at the Harigian Mandir (outside the Mori Gate).

Devi Singh the last proprietor of the defunct *Aftab*.

44. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 31st October 1908, publishes a communication from Devi Singh aforesaid headed "An answer to the charge against Mahashai Devi Singh." The writer says that on reading the *Aftab* of the 19th July last he was seized with a

strong desire to see Syed Haidar Raza. He went to Delhi accordingly, but the Syed was absent at Nagpur at the time. He waited for the latter for some days and worked at the *Aftab* press during the time, supporting himself at his own expense. On his return from Nagpur Haidar Raza treated him with great respect and asked him to assume proprietorship of the press. The writer agreed to this, and it was announced in the *Aftab*, of the 14th August last, that the press had been sold to the writer and that all communications should be addressed and remittances made payable to him. The subscribers (*lit.* the public) began to do so, but all moneys received were handed over to Syed Haider Raza in the presence of the postman. Devi Singh came to know later that a sale-deed had previously been registered in the name of one Ram Chand and that the latter was in hiding because of certain articles written by the Syed. After remarking that the *Aftab* continued to be edited by Haider Raza and that he himself was only a dummy, the writer says that the former planted a black flag in the press in token of mourning for Khudi Ram Bose. He also circulated a notice to the effect that mourning for Khudi Ram would be observed at the Queen's gardens. The city Kotwal and the Superintendent of Police prevented him from doing so, but he would not give up the idea and held a meeting of mourning on the far side of the Jumna. On the 22nd August last the correspondent was made to execute a promissory note on account of the value of the press, but all moneys received were pocketed by Syed Haider Raza. Besides, as the latter seemed bent on quarrelling with him he submitted two petitions to the District Magistrate. As, however, that officer was out on tour Devi Singh had to fly from Delhi to save his honour. In conclusion he denies that he is a Government spy and says that there is no truth in the charge preferred against him by the assistant editor of the *Aftab*.

Commenting on the above the editor regrets that he should have used unbecoming language towards Devi Singh. He has also been assured by Lala Sheobarat Lal, M.A.. editor of the local *Sadhu*, that the writer is an extremely simple-minded person and wholly incapable of doing what the assistant editor of the *Aftab* accused him of having done.

Lala Hardial's offer to help to Indians going to England.

45. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 30th October 1908, publishes a communication from Lala Hardial who offers to help and advise Indian gentlemen going to England. He will consider it a source of pride to prove of help to native youngmen repairing to that country for education. If they write a post card to him on their arrival in London he will call on them and give them information as to board, lodging, studies and other matters. Letters should be addressed to him at the following address :—

97, Southmoor Road, Oxford,

or

3, Glazebury (?) Road, West Kensington, London.

G A. COCKS,

*Asst. to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*
*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

LAHORE :
*The 7th November* 1908.

Punjab Government Press, Lahore—12-11-08—5160—97—H. L. S.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 46. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB,

**Received up to 14th November 1908.**

---

## CONTENTS.


I.—Politics.

Page.

*(a)—Foreign—*

1. The Balkan crisis (*Vakil*) ... ... ... 691
2. The Balkan crisis (*Watan*) ... ... ... *ib.*

*(b)—Home—*

3. The King Emperor's Message (*Nasim-ul-Hind*) ... 692
4. The King Emperor's Message (*Army News*) ... *ib.*
5. The King Emperor's Message (*Civil & Military News*) 693
6. The King Emperor's Message (*Inqilab*) ... *ib.*
7. The King Emperor's Message (*Parkash*) ... 694
8. Liberalism and Indian Administration (*Hindustan*) ... 695
9. Western Civilisation in India (*Inqilab*) ... ... *ib.*
10. *Swaraj* (*Inqilab*) ... ... ... ... 696
11. Self-sacrifice (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... ... 697
12. Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal (*Hindustan*) ... ... 698

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

13. The Habibiya College (*Vakil*) ... ... 698
14. A suggestion to release certain State prisoners (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... ... ... 699

III.—Native States.

*Nil.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

15. Dispute at Kasur over *jhatka* meat (*Sher-i-Babar*) ... 699

Page.

V.—Native Societies and religious matters.

*Nil.*

VI.—Legislation.

*Nil.*

VII.—General Administration.

*(a)—Judicial—*

16. Corporal Cullen's case (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... 700
17. The *Jhang Sial* libel cases (*Jhang Sial*) ... *ib.*
18. Barristers-at-Law (*Hindustan*) ... ... 701

*(b)—Police—*

*Nil.*

*(c)—Municipal and Cantonment affairs—*

*Nil.*

*(d)—Education—*

*Nil.*

*(e)—Agriculture and questions affecting the land—*

*Nil.*

*(f)—Railways and Communications—*

*Nil.*

*(g)—Postal matters—*

*Nil.*

*(h)—Miscellaneous—*

19. The approaching marriage of Lady Violet Elliot (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... ... ... 702

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 46. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

**Received up to 14th November 1908.**

---

### I.—POLITICS.

#### (*a*)—*Foreign.*

The Balkan crisis.

1. The *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 4th November 1908, publishes an article headed "Turkey and European powers." Justice and humanity, says the paper, demanded that the powers should have abided by the Treaty of Berlin and have allowed no State to disregard the provisions thereof. England favoured this policy at first and was opposed to the summoning of a conference (to modify the Treaty); but she has ended by agreeing with Russia, while France, Germany and Italy also approve of the idea of convening the proposed conference. The Turks refused to agree to the proposal, knowing as they do that the result will be the separation of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Crete from Turkey. When, however, they saw that all the powers had come to an understanding unfavourable to Turkey they had to give way and to agree to the holding of the conference referred to. The Young Turkish party, adds the paper, had been under the impression that the establishment of a constitutional government in the Ottoman Empire would result in the re-acquisition of the lost Turkish provinces. The proposed modification of the Treaty of Berlin, however, threatens to put an end even to what little influence the Turks wield in Europe at present. If Turkey had violated any provision of the Treaty, the powers would have hastened to despatch an allied fleet against her. As, however, the offenders happen to be Christians it has been thought proper to amend the Treaty in order to legalise their dishonest doings.

The Balkan crisis.

2. The *Watan* (Lahore), of the 6th November 1908, publishes an article headed "The Balkans or a mine of calamity," in which it says that the European powers, particularly England, have always insisted on the observance of the Treaty of Berlin. Over a year ago, however, the Balkan States came to an understanding among themselves calculated to injure the maritime trade of Germany and to work a great change in Balkan politics. Turkey's astute decision, however, to allow Austria to construct the Novi-Bazar Railway completely frustrated the above move on the part of the States. Again, the establishment of a constitutional government in Turkey has led some of the powers to think that they will not henceforth be able to derive as much benefit from that country as they used to do in the past. The result is that they have come to a sudden decision to bring their designs against Turkey to a head. After publishing a translation of some of the articles of

the Treaty of Berlin and comparing the relative strength of Bulgaria, Servia, Roumania and Turkey, the editor reproduces the latest telegrams about the imbroglio in the Near East, as also the *Times'* article condemning Austria's high-handed conduct. He adds that though it is impossible to predict with certainty what will happen next, there is no denying the fact that the chances of a war have been greatly reduced by England's praiseworthy attitude in the matter and by the matchless patience displayed by the Turks and their government. It is now to be hoped that the proposed conference will deal with the situation in a becoming manner and will settle all the points in dispute with impartiality. And even if the greed of some of the powers should force the conference to modify the Treaty of Berlin it is to be hoped that the Turks will not lose their temper till their interests have been actually injured. War will be inevitable after that,—a war which will effect all the powers of Europe and cause a conflagration throughout the world. In conclusion, the paper says that it should be the bounden duty of European statesmen to do their utmost to avert such a catastrophe.

(*b*)—*Home.*

The King Emperor's Message.

3. Writing under the heading "The Royal Message," the *Nazim-ul-Hind* (Lahore), of the 7th November 1908, says that the King Emperor's Message, for which the people had been waiting so eagerly, has at last been published. The pleasing tone, it adds, in which His Majesty has addressed his Indian subjects should make the latter feel deeply grateful to him. Carping critics will be certain to find fault with the message, but the editor is of opinion that it is very opportune and constitutes an invitation, so to say, to natives to a very sumptuous feast. He admits that British rule has greatly benefitted India during the past fifty years, while it is his firm belief that the country will receive further benefits from England in the future. The promises, he adds, madelby the King Emperor bespeak the love which he bears his humble subjects in India, and his message confers a benefit on the people and does not take away anything from them. It is all the more worthy of being cherished with feelings of respect as it contains the Royal recognition of the loyalty of the natives of India. After remarking that the message speaks of the release of prisoners and of the rectification of some mistakes on the part of the authorities, the papers appeals to Government to undo the partition of Bengal and to release some of the political agitators imprisoned recently. It considers it its first duty to request Government to restore Mr. Tilak to liberty in honour of the jubilee of the Proclamation of 1858.

The King Emperor's Message.

4. The *Army News* (Ludhiana), of the 7th November 1908, pubshes an article under the heading The King Emperor's Message to the Princes and Peoples of India", The long expected message, it says, will be read with feelings of deep joy throughout India and will infuse hope into disappointed hearts, for the reason that it confirms the pledges embodied in the Proclamation which is regarded by natives as the Magna Charta of their rights and liberties. After remarking that it contains several glad tidings, the paper says that the pleasantest of these is that His Majesty has been pleased to assert that the satisfaction of the people's claim to equality of citizenship will

strengthen and not impair existing power and authority. These words, it adds, should teach a lesson to those narrow-minded Anglo-Indians who oppose the demands of natives for political rights on the ground that the conceding of these demands is calculated to weaken British rule in the country.

The King Emperor's Message.

5. The *Civil and Military News* (Ludhiana), of the 9th November 1908, publishes an article headed "An increase to the pay of native forces ordered." The King Emperor, it says, has not only highly praised the valour and fidelity of native troops, but has also ordered an increase of pay for all ranks thereof from the 1st of January next. After remarking that apparently the military authorities have had no hand in securing this promotion for Jack Sepoy, the paper asks him to feel deeply grateful to His Majesty. The best way to show his gratitude is to render willing obedience to his officers, to turn a deaf ear to Government's enemies within the country, and to fight its external foes to the last drop of his blood. The paper adds that last year some seditionists did their most to tamper with the loyalty of the sepoy by distributing seditious writings (in the native army), but that the sepoy did not listen to them and remained steadfast in his loyalty and devotion to the throne. If His Majesty has, therefore, decided, on his own initiative, to reward his loyalty by increasing his pay there can be nothing surprising in this. The editor then goes on to say that it has become extremely difficult for native soldiers to support themselves and their families on their present pay, and that people have grown averse to serving in the army in consequence. The coming increase in the pay of the sepoys will again popularise military service among the warlike native races and will remove all difficulty in securing recruits for the army.

The King Emperor's Message.

6. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 7th November 1903, publishes an article headed "The King Emperor's Message," in which it say that the Proclamation issued by the late Queen Empress had a magical effect in restoring peace in the country. The spirit of generosity which breathed through it led to the people regarding Her late Majesty in the light of a benign mother. It is quite a different question that her servants and advisers should have treated it with disrespect and abstained from redeeming even one of the pledges contained in it. The paper then goes on to say that the recent Royal Message is unworthy of an Emperor and lacks that spirit of love and generosity which had the effect of binding natives so closely to the late Queen Empress. The present condition of the country, it adds, is no whit less critical than the days of 1858. Fifty years back discontent prevailed among those persons alone whose possessions had been annexed by Government and who could count on the help only of the sepoys. Now, however, the entire population know that the promises made to them in the Proclamation of 1858 have not been redeemed; that they are being deprived even of their existing rights; and that a policy of repression and coercion is being followed everywhere in order to put an end to their liberty. The prevailing discontent is also due to the fact that the press, education and western civilisation have opened people's eyes and that famine and plague have become endemic in the country. The King Emperor's Message should have been able to remove the prevailing unrest as if by magic. So far, however, from doing so it has sprinkled salt into the (already smarting) wounds of the people.

The King Emperor's Message.

7. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 10th November 1908, publishes an article headed "Fifty years of British rule," in which it says that the Royal Proclamation of 1858 may rightly be called the Charter of the liberties of natives. Every Indian, adds the paper, should have it inscribed in letters of gold, framed and hung in his room. The circumstances connected with its drafting add to the interest attaching to it and show that the late Queen Empress was endowed by nature with a most sympathetic heart. The Proclamation is so just and sympathetic that the British authorities in India have always hesitated to act up to it, while one of them (Lord Curzon) put such a construction on it as to dash the hopes of the entire population to the ground. It is, however, a matter for thankfulness that the King Emperor's Message reiterates the promises made by the late Queen Empress. The paper then expresses surprise that the message, which is not an ordinary one, should not have evoked the deep feelings of joy which are its due. The reason for this is that either the people have ceased to hope for justice from the English and the non-fulfilment of the promises (contained in the Proclamation) has sickened their hearts, or that the crusade which Government has of late been waging against editors and speakers has so widened the gulf between the rulers and the ruled that the latter cannot feel happy even at the Royal Message to them. Nevertheless, there can be no denying the fact that there is a world of difference between the Proclamation of 1858 and the King Emperor's recent message. In the former document a mother speaks to her children with love, but in the latter an officer enumerates the favours shown by him to his subordinates. In spite, however, of this, the Royal Message is by no means a disappointing document. It reiterates the late Queen Empress' pledges to the people and thereby shows that at least the King Emperor and his ministers stick to those promises and wish to usher into India the golden age foreshadowed in the Proclamation of 1858. It is only the British authorities in India, adds the paper, who thwart His Majesty's wishes for some reason or other. After remarking that some deplorable omissions characterise the King Emperor's Message, it says that the document abounds in lip promises. Indeed, those acquainted with the form of Government obtaining in England cannot be unaware that Royal proclamations can contain nothing but promises and that the King Emperor should not be blamed for the non-fulfilment of these promises. The editor further remarks that it is unnecessary to refer to the progress made by India under British rule during the last fifty years. The English themselves say that Indians are as yet unfitted to be trusted with any responsible work. Japan and the Phillipine islands, however, have made surprising progress in even less than half a century. The *Parkash* then goes on to say that the King Emperor's Message asserts that no man among his Magesty's subjects has been favoured, molested and disquieted, by reason of his religious belief or worship. His Majesty is, however, ignorant of the real facts and his words read like an empty boast in face of the fact that the Aryas have been molested because of their religious convictions. Thanks to the anarchy which prevailed in the Punjab after the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai, several Arya Samajists are still passing their days in misery. The editor knows of an Arya who has never taken part in any political movement, but who was transferred from Batala to Ab-i-Gum in Baluchistan owing simply to his being a member of the Samaj. The hardships which his family has had to suffer in

consequence cannot be described in words. He felt no anxiety for his son who was reading at the Gurukula, or for the daughter who was studying at the Kanya Maha Vidyalaya (Jullundur). But the rest of his family he had to leave to the care of God, and two of his sons fell ill and died for want of medical aid in his absence. He was aware of the sufferings of his family, but could not go to the rescue of his wife and children. The only way for him to do so was to resign his post, but this would have made it difficult for him to support those who are dependent on him. At last, he applied for his transfer to the Punjab, describing in the application the miserable condition of his wife and children. He was, however, informed in reply that he had not been transferred to Baluchistan to be sent back to the Punjab and that he could return to this province only by resigning his post. In face of such occurrences what satisfaction can the people derive from the King Emperor's words that in his time no one is molested by reason of his religious belief? Again, on the occasion of the Viceroy's recent visit to Jodhpur the local Arya Samaj, the *mandir* of which was situated on the road by which His Excellency was to pass, was ordered to pull down its signboard. After remarking that such is the freedom of worship (enjoyed by the Aryas), the editor says that as there is no likelihood of the King Emperor reading his remarks or of any of His Majesty's representatives taking them into consideration he need not waste more ink and paper (in criticising the Message). He is also fully convinced that the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab will take absolutely no notice of this article. In conclusion, he says that if the British authorities in India were to change their policy the prevailing unrest would soon become a thing of the past.

Liberalism and Indian Administration.

8. Writing under the heading "Lala Lajpat Rai and Mr. Lloyd George," *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 6th November 1908, says that recently Mr. Lloyd George expounded the principles of Liberalism in a great speech at Swansea. This, it adds, has led to Lala Lajpat Rai writing a letter to the *Daily News* to enquire why these principles are lost sight of in governing India. The paper then publishes a translation of the communication.

Western Civilisation in India.

9. Writing under the heading "The effect of Western Civilisation on India," the *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 7th November 1908, in continuation of its previous remarks (*vide* paragraph 15 of Selections No. 45), says that the most disastrous result of the introduction of the above civilisation into this country has been that natives have degenerated into materialists or lovers of pleasure. Who is unaware, adds the paper, that the present régime in India is sucking the life-blood of the people and that one-sixth of the population never know what it is to have a full meal? Again, the extremely high price at which justice can be obtained in the British courts in the country has involved the people in ruin. There, however, exist natives who still desire the continuance of the existing methods of administration for fear lest a change should deprive them of their creature-comforts. The peasantry, who constitute five-sixths of the population, do not know that their poverty is due to the over-assessment of land revenue and consequently they do not blame Government for their sufferings and abstain from trying to bring about a revolution. As to educated Indians, whom Government considers to be at the bottom of the prevailing

unrest, they are far from being revolutionists and ask only for more bread. They are so mean and selfish that they care absolutely nothing for the sufferings of their fellow countrymen. Those among them who are in Government service and hold high posts are far more despicable creatures. They believe that they owe their all to the present Government, as if in former times the people had not the wherewithal to satisfy their hunger. The paper then passes on to rich and highly educated natives and says that these worthies are more selfish, covetous, ease-loving, cruel and cunning than the lesser fry. So far from creating unrest in the country they bless British rule daily, because they feel convinced that a change in the existing state of affairs would injure them most. They pay not the least thought to the sufferings of their countrymen and their sole ambition consists in shaking hands with highly-placed officers and in securing seats in Darbar or offices as Municipal Commissioners and Honorary Magistrates. Natives of the classes referred to may be called lovers of pleasure: they are averse to a revolution not because of their loyalty to Government, but because they fear that a change in the present administration would interfere with their enjoying themselves. After remarking that the less said about the native chiefs the better, the paper says that Western Civilisation has made the people so worldly minded that great men have ceased to appear in the country. It next shows how Hindus of all the four castes have fallen from the high ideals of their forefathers, and exhorts the Brahmins to imitate their ancestors in the matter of spurning lucre and spreading education in the country. The Kshatriyas, it adds, have lost their valour and martial spirit partly through the vicissitudes of time and partly through their having been disarmed by Government. After enquiring how they can consent to live such a degraded life, it writes as follows:—"Every one knows that a great misfortune has befallen us, *viz.*, we wear the halter of foreign rule (*lit.* slavery) round our necks. We are sincerely desirous of removing it and it is the mission of our life to obtain *Swaraj*. We are ready to face all dangers and suffer every hardship for the sake of *Swaraj*." The editor then goes on to say that in order to obtain *Swaraj* the Kshatriyas should turn Brahmins and sacrifice their all to educate the people *gratis*. When all native girls have been educated and come to understand the meaning and advantages of *Swaraj*, the plant of liberty will have taken root (in the land). Coming generations would not then think of self-enjoyment and would feel that they had been sent into the world in order to carry the struggle for *Swaraj* to a successful issue. In conclusion, the paper says that the establishment of *Swaraj* in India will improve the religious and social condition of the people and will banish poverty and sufferings from the country.

*Swaraj.*

10. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 7th November 1908, publishes an article headed "*Swaraj*, Bycott and National Education: patriotism is our religion." Hindus, it says, have never made use of the sword or given away their women in order to secure the acceptance of a particular idea. In the west, however, the followers of one religion do not hesitate to employ any means in order to prove another religion to be false. In propagating their religion the westerners, *i.e.*, the Jews, Christians and Muhammadans, deluged the earth with blood, ruined hundreds, nay, thousands of homes, and burnt alive as many youths on account of their religious beliefs. The world is fully aware how the Jews ill-treated Christ, but the treatment which they have been

receiving since at the hands of Christians is a thousand times more reprehensible. Muhammadans waged *jehads* against "infidels" and converted into shambles the countries which hesitated to embrace Islam. The oppression practised by them in India in the propagation of their faith is no secret to the readers of history. Crores of Hindus, both men and women, killed themselves in order to escape being made apostates from their religion. After remarking that only recently Roman Catholics in (a certain part of) England, which prides itself highly on its civilisation, were not allowed to form a procession in the streets, the paper advises natives to follow the peaceful methods of the Hindus and Bhuddhists in propagating the religion of nationalism. They should gain their object with the aid of love and should spread education in the country in order to make the people tread the road to nationalism. They should love their nation, remembering that love constitutes a power the like of which cannot be commanded even by a tyrannical king. The power begotten of the sword and cannon is only transient, but those who love their nation and religion wield an everlasting power. Alexander and Cæsar have passed away, but Hindus who love their religion remain still. And although they are in a very wretched condition they can still produce great men like Swami Dyanand and Parmahans Rama Krishna. Moreover, if natives wish to live they should hold fast to the religion of nationalism even at the risk of life and honour. The boat which can guide them to the above religion is named *Swaraj* and is propelled with the oars of boycott and national education. They should firmly grasp these oars and learn to work them rapidly, for otherwise they will assuredly be overtaken by ruin. The well-to-do among them should establish schools which will teach men how to wield the oars referred to, while experts in the art should instruct others *gratis*. In other words, the people should take a vow to abjure the use of foreign-made cloth and sugar, which latter is purified with the blood of kine and the bones of pigs. They should prevent their relatives, friends, and neighbours from using imported goods, which should be avoided like the germs of plague and cholera. Foreign manufactures have been ruining the nation and have already proved the death of crores of natives. But for them two crores of Indians would not have died (from starvation) during the last ten years. They are heartless dacoits, who should be killed with the bludgeon of national education, so that poverty and other (similar) evils may depart from the country.

Self-sacrifice.

11. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 7th November 1908, publishes an article headed "Sacrifice" in which it remarks that self-sacrifice means to sacrifice one's body, mind and wealth for the attainment of a particular object or for the fulfilment of a particular mission. He who sacrifices his all, adds the paper, for his religion, country and nation, lives for ever. Jail is a paradise to him and the gallows a bed of roses, while pain and sufferings have no meaning for him. He looks upon his wealth, wife and children as belonging to God, and consequently feels no pain at parting with them. Self-sacrifice consists in giving up one's all for the good of others and constitutes the touchstone for distinguishing between true and false patriots. The paper then goes on to say that, according to Darwin's theory of evolution, weak nations must be crushed by strong peoples. The present is the age of the fit and strong, and life has come to be a synonym for fitness to struggle. A people who are incapable of striking a blow for themselves are fit only

to be trampled on in a cruel and heartless manner. Struggle, adds the editor, is always attended by hardships, which can, however, be removed by self-sacrifice. If natives have entered on a period of struggle and are determined to prove to the civilised world that they are a living nation they should make the necessary sacrifices. Their present struggle for their rights is a question of life or death to them, and if they realise the true meaning and spirit of sacrifice their efforts will assuredly be crowned with success. It is a matter for thankfulness, remarks the paper in conclusion, that the sacred spirit (of sacrifice) is beginning to assert itself in the country.

Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal.

12. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 6th November 1908, publishes an article headed "Every Pharaoh meets a Moses," in which it says that the *Indian Sociologist*, being a revolutionary Journal, its entry into India is said to have been forbidden by Government. The editor has not, therefore, seen it for a long time past and only comes across occasional reprints from it in the English press. When Lala Lajpat Rai went over to the Moderates the *Sociologist* published a severe attack on him and now it has attacked Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal. After publishing a translation of the article (which appeared in the October number of the *Sociologist* and is headed "Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal becomes a political turncoat") *Hindustan* says it cannot see why Mr. Pal should be accused of being anxious to retain the tyrannical yoke of foreign usurpers on the neck of natives. How has he, it asks, become an enemy of the country by throwing in his lot with Mr. Gokhale's party? The Moderates have been trying to serve the country by working on constitutional lines, and it is wrong to charge them with following a policy of mendicancy. They work with energy and wish to obtain their rights in the same way in which the English secured theirs from the kings of England. The grand old man of India has shown by his life that in order to gain their rights natives should be as hardworking, simple, patient, resolute and self-sacrificing as the British public. The Moderates have been doing their best to raise themselves to the above level and are not the lazy beggars which the Extremists would make them out to be.

## II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

The Habibiya College, Kabul.

13. The *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 31st October 1908, remarks that the application which has recently been made for the affiliation of the Habibiya College, Kabul, to the University of the Punjab, leaves no room for doubt that the Educational authorities in Afghanistan do not know what should be the aim and object of education. It has been admitted on all hands that the curricula and the system of instruction favoured by the Indian Universities have proved of absolutely no help in creating a longing for research in native students, in developing their intellectual faculties, and in improving their morals and character. The editor is, therefore, at a loss to understand what benefit the introduction into Afghanistan of the Indian system of education and of the text-books prescribed by the Punjab University can confer on that country and what useful additions it can make to the physical and intellectual powers of Afghan students. The Amir, he adds, who is an enlightened and wide awake ruler, should have followed in the footsteps of Japan and have sent a large number of well-connected Afghan

youths to Europe, America and Japan to acquire proficiency in different branches of knowledge. These young men would have made a close study of the systems of education obtaining in the above advanced countries and have adapted them to the requirements of their native land. Graduates of Indian Universities are incapable of filling the chairs at the Habibiya College with advantage to the country of the Afghans. The poor men are fit only to teach at the (Muhammadan) Colleges at Lahore and Aligarh, which do not know the real object of higher education. The editor concludes by promising to write on the subject in detail at some future time.

A suggestion to release certain State prisoners.

14. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 9th November 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "Prayer for Royal mercy to the Khan of Hangu and others," in which it suggests that the Khan of Hangu and other frontier chieftains, who have been at Lahore as State prisoners for many years, should be pardoned in honour of the jubilee of the Royal Proclamation of 1858 and should be allowed to pass their remaining days at their homes. They have been sufficiently punished for the political offences, if any, committed by them and their release will make the frontier tribes think well of the British Government.

## IV.—KINE-KILLING.

Dispute at Kasur over *jhatka* meat.

15. The *Sher-i-Babar* (Lahore), of the 4th November 1908, publishes a communication from one Pritam Singh, a book-seller at Kohat, headed "The question of *halal* and *jhatka* (meat) at Kasur." The writer begins by saying that of late Muhammadans have been conducting themselves in a very high-handed manner and have committed a series of mischievous acts. After remarking that they have been doing so at the instance of another party (? the authorities), he says that they have begun to ill-treat their non-Muslim neighbours, especially Hindus and Sikhs. The high-handed treatment, he adds, by their Musalman *confrères* of the Sikh inmates of the boarding-house attached to the Government School at Kasur constitutes one of the recent instances in point. The correspondent then goes on to say that the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 1st ultimo publishes a communication, in which the writer endeavours to suppress the true facts, to conceal the mischievous doings of the Muhammadan boarders and to lay all the blame at the door of the Sikh students (*vide* paragraph 24 of selections No. 41). He also says that Muhammadan students have always been forbidden to eat beaf in the boarding-houses attached to Government Schools, but that the Sikh students at Kasur had been eating *jhatka* meat secretly, while recently they went the length of bringing that meat into, and cooking it in, their kitchen in the boarding-house. He should, however, know that it is reprehensible on the part of Sikh or Hindu boarders to use pork and not *jhatka* meat, just as it would be objectionable in their Muslim *confrères* to eat beef. As regards *jhatka* meat, they should be as free to cook it as are Muhammadan borders to cook *halal* meat, which the Guru's followers are strictly forbidden to eat. If, therefore, Muhammadan students are averse to *jhatka* meat being cooked in boarding-houses they also should discontinue using *halal* meat. The writer next finds fault with the Sikh students at Kasur for their weakness

in eating *jhatka* meat in secret, and advises them to eat it as openly as Musalmans do *halal* meat. He also regrets that the rights of the Sikh boarders, who are twice as numerous as their Muhammadan *confrères* should have been trampled on. The Sub-Divisional Officer's orders, he adds, are unjust and must have pained the entire Sikh community and have shaken their faith in Government's sense of justice. In conclusion, he urges the Chief Khalsa Diwan to lay the matter before Government and have it settled once and for all.

## VII.—General Administration.

### (a)—*Judicial.*

Corporal Cullen's case.

16. Writing under the heading "A white madman" the *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 7th November 1908, refers to the acquittal of Corporal Cullen by the Punjab Chief Court, and says that it is always in this way that justice is administered in cases between white and black men. If a *Sahib* shoots a native he is let off on the plea of insanity, while in the event of his kicking the latter to death the mishap is ascribed to a rupture of the spleen. To the best of the editor's knowledge not a single white man has so far been hanged for murdering a native: it is very seldom that the culprit is even imprisoned for one or two months or is fined Rs. 100 or Rs. 200. On the other hand, if a native even assaults or abuses a European he is invariably punished by the courts.

The *Jhang Sial* libel cases.

17. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 7th November 1908, publishes an article headed "Banke Dayal in jail," in which it refers to the Sessions Judge's order in the libel case instituted against Banke Dayal by Mr. Wakefield, and says that the accused has again been sent to jail. After thanking those who have helped it with money and subscriptions in connection with the case, it observes that an appeal in the Chief Court will entail considerable expenditure of money. The editor, therefore, appeals to his readers to help the paper with funds and not let it be crushed for want of money. He then acknowledges the following subscriptions:—

| | Rs. | A. | P. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Lala Mul Chand Kapur ... ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Received through Lala Parma Nand ... | 5 | 14 | 0 |
| Diwan Mul Chand ... ... ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Lala Mahindra Nath ... ... ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Anonymous subscribers ... ... | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Missar Bishambhar Das ... ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Lala Ram Saran Das ... ... | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Received through Lala Brij Lal, Contractor, Pind Dadan Khan ... ... ... | 6 | 4 | 0 |
| Total ... | 27 | 2 | 0 |
| Add amount already acknowledged ... | 357 | 4 | 0 |
| Grand Total ... ... | 384 | 6 | 0 |

18. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 6th November 1908, publishes a communication headed "Barristership," in which the writer, Lala Har Dial, in continuation of his previous remarks (*vide* paragraph 36 of Selections No. 45), says that the English always try to destroy the individuality of the alien peoples under their sway and to make the latter regard the British Empire as their own, so that their foreign subjects may not think of establishing independent governments. They employ different methods to make Hindus forget their traditions and look upon the former as their friends. One of these methods consists in inducing Hindus to become barristers, so that the Thakurs and Sardar's (among them) may think that the Empire, in which they are free to practise as barristers any where, is their own and that they should not remember the Hindu *raj* which British rule has displaced. Another object in view is to create a class of natives who will depend on Government for bread and will stand by it in its hour of need. It is to the interest of the British Government to make the sons of *Zemindars* and *Sahukars*, who care only for lucre, depend on it for livelihood. Those whose grandfathers used to enjoy themselves at their homes and did not care to see Deputy Commissioners, appear before Government officers daily to ask for permission to earn a few pice, abstain from taking part in useful political movements through fear of being deprived of their (barrister's) license, and pray for favours from the authorities as if they were servants of Government. The existence of such a class of persons in a country increases the Government's power tenfold, inasmuch as those who should protect the people become supporters of the Government in order to make a living. The writer adds that another object which the permission to Indians to become barristers was intended to serve was to teach Hindu *raises* to sit below Englishmen, who wish to stand to Hindus in the relation of Brahmins. It is incumbent on a barrister to address English Magistrates as "My Lord" and to stand before them with folded hands in a respectful attitude. This order is intended to render the political subjection (of Hindus) complete through their daily treatment by the authorities. No law can compel a Hindu to abase himself before an Englishman and to address the latter as "My Lord." There, however, exist Hindus who would be guilty of this mean act of their own free will. Those who become barristers through avarice or ignorance help in the achievement of the results which the English wished to attain by allowing Indians to qualify themselves for the bar in England. These results, says the writer, are as under :—

Barristers-at-Law.

(*a*) Barristers increase the influence of Government by creating in the country the impression that the British courts in India administer impartial justice.

(*b*) They bring the Hindu law into discredit.

(*c*) They make money by entangling their fellow-countrymen in the meshes of the British courts in India. They commit the most heinous sin of siding with foreigners and colluding with the latter to plunder the children of the soil.

(*d*) They follow Christian usages during their stay in London. Indeed, they cannot become barristers unless they go against their religion, which is not known to the general public in India.

(*e*) They bring disgrace on their nation by sitting below Englishmen and reduce the people to a lower level than even that of the African negroes. Natives have lost their country, but they should not part with their *izzat*, which is the most valuable asset of the nation, by salaaming Englishmen indiscriminately and standing before them like *khansamas*.

Lala Har Dial then advises his fellow-countrymen not to send their sons to England to become barristers. Again, he adds, no barrister should be respected by his fellows or by the nation, while he should not be included among the office-bearers of any Sabha, Samaj or Anjuman. After remarking that this will cure natives of their fondness for a barrister's life, he appeals to those who have sent their sons to England to study law to recall the young men and to spend their money in furthering the interests of their religion and nation. In conclusion, he calls upon native barristers to leave off practising at the bar and to earn their bread by engaging in some more honourable work.

(*h*)—*Miscellaneous.*

The approaching marriage of Lady Violet Elliot.

19. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 7th November 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "A cursory glance at the *Daily Chronicle's* statement," in which it says that the latter journals' account of the approaching marriage of Lady Violet Elliot seems to be greatly exaggerated. It sounds incredible that all the Native Chiefs and Civil and Military Officers, nay, even the Amir of Kabul, will be invited to attend the nuptials. The rulers of the feudatory states, adds the editor, will be considerably out of pocket in travelling to and from Calcutta, while they will also have to make costly presents to the bride. It would be improper to burden them with this expenditure at a time when they have to spend enormous sums of money in coping with famine and other evils. In conclusion, the *Paisa Akhbar* says that all that is possible is that the big *Zamindars*, Ruling Chiefs and Civil and Military Officers residing at, or in the neighbourhood of, Calcutta may be invited to be present at the marriage.

G. A. COCKS,

*Asst. to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*
*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

LAHORE:
*The 14th November 1908.*

Punjab Government Press, Lahore—19-11-08—5290—97—H. L. S.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 47. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

Received up to 21st November 1908.

---

## CONTENTS.


I.—Politics.

Page.

(a)—*Foreign*—

*Nil.*

(b)—*Home*—

1. The Suffragists and the Unemployed in England (*Hindustan*) ... ... ... ... 703
2. The King Emperor's Message (*Army News*) ... *ib.*
3. The King Emperor's Message (*Civil and Military Organ*) ... ... ... ... 704
4. The King Emperor's Message (*Akhbar-i-'Am*) ... 705
5. The King Emperor's Message (*Watan*) ... *ib.*
6. The King Emperor's Message (*Watan*) ... 706
7. Rulers and the ruled (*Inqilab*) ... ... *ib.*
8. The authorities and the people (*Jhang Sial*) ... 707
9. *Swaraj* (*Inqilab*) ... ... ... ... *ib*
10. *Swaraj* (*Inqilab*) ... ... ... ... 708
11. How natives can obtain liberty (*Jhang Sial*) ... 709
12. The prevailing unrest (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... *ib.*
13. Attempt to murder Sir Andrew Fraser (*Nur Afshan*) *ib.*
14. Attempt to murder Sir Andrew Fraser (*Paisa Akhbar*) 710
15. Repression and Anarchism (*Panjabee*) ... ... *ib.*
16. Repression and political crime (*Punjabee*) ... 711
17. The *Yugantar* newspaper (*Jhang Sial*) ... *ib.*
18. Indian nationalism (*Inqilab*) ... ... ... 712
19. "Passive Resistance" in England (*Panjabee*) ... *ib.*

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

*Nil.*

Page.

III.—Native States.

*Nil.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

*Nil.*

V.—Native Societies and Religious matters.

*Nil.*

VI.—Legislation.

*Nil.*

VII.—General Administration.

(a)—*Judicial*—

20. How anarchists should be tried (*Civil and Military Organ*) ... ... ... ... 713

(b)—*Police*—

*Nil.*

(c)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs*—

21. The Lahore Municipal Committee (*Panjabee*) ... 713

(d)—*Education*—

*Nil.*

(e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land*—

*Nil.*

(f)—*Railways and Communications*—

22. Wanted a waiting room at the Montgomery station (*Victaria Paper*) ... ... ... 714

(g)—*Postal matters*—

*Nil.*

(h)—*Miscellaneous*—

23. Desecration of the late Queen-Empress' statue at Nagpur (*Tribune*) ... ... ... 714

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 47. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

**Received up to 21st November 1908.**

---

### I.—POLITICS.

*(b)—Home.*

**The Suffragists and the Unemployed in England.**

1. Writing under the heading "Agitation and demands for rights," *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 13th November 1908, says that the courage and perseverance with which the unemployed and the suffragettes in England are carrying on their agitation should teach a lesson to the people of this country. The recent speeches by labour leaders, adds the paper, leave no room for doubt that agitation for rights is extremely necessary. If relates how one of the said leaders persisted in pleading the cause of the unemployed at a recent meeting (of the London County Council), although he was called to order by the chairman more than once and was told that the Police would be called in to turn him out. After praising truthfulness and perseverance, *Hindustan* refers to the expulsion of Mr. Grayson from the House of Commons for his persistence in speaking on the unemployment question in defiance of the speaker's orders to the contrary. These incidents, it says, should teach Indians to carry on their agitation for rights with a strong and resolute heart. It then speaks of the attempt of the Suffragists to rush the House of Commons and observes that the courage, patience and perseverance displayed by these women on the occasion, as also their fight for their rights, should shame and hearten men throughout the world. The spectacle should teach Indians that when these women have to agitate on a vast scale in order to obtain their rights from their national Government the people of this country should set on foot a permanent and gigantic agitation for their rights. Some people may say that when the Imperial Government is so chary of granting rights even to men and women of its own nationality it is likely to treat Indians in a still more niggardly spirit. The editor is opposed to this view and still reposes implicit faith in the sense of justice and magnanimity of the British Government. It is, however, by agitating that natives can rouse Government's sense of justice and attain their object.

**The King Emperor's Message.**

2. The *Army News* (Ludhiana), of the 14th November 1908, publishes an article headed "The King Emperor's Message and the civilisation of the East and of the West". There can be nothing surprising, it says, in Bangali newspapers having expressed disappointment at the Royal Message.

It is, however, a matter for regret that Anglo-Indian newspapers, which should serve as a model to their native contemporaries, should have criticised the Message in a grossly insolent tone. After advising the native press to abstain from following this example, the paper says that it may be permissible in the West to carp at everything done by crowned heads, but orientals are in the habit of regarding all Royal *firmans* and messages with feelings of the deepest respect. The recent Message from the King Emperor, it adds, may have been drafted by Lord Morley and may, according to the *Pioneer*, contain no glad tidings excepting "cheap bounty" anent the release of prisoners; but it is a great thing to natives to have been even remembered by their sovereign. The people of this country ask neither for rights nor for *Swaraj*: their only desire is that their sovereign should occasionally speak to them and should give them a hearing. The *Army News* then publishes a translation of the *Pioneer's* criticism of the Message and says that the writing is wanting in respect even for the crown. There can be no doubt, it adds, that the Message is not as elegent and impressive in style as was the Proclamation of 1858; but a people should receive all *firmans* emanting from the throne with feelings of sincere respect. There may be no good news in the Message for the *Pioneer*, but it is full of glad tidings for the natives of this country. The promised increase of pay to the sepoy may be no great thing to the *Pioneer*, but it will carry great weight with the rural population, who give their youth for the army, and will again popularise military service among them. The last fifty years have been a period of peace and progress for the country and it is, therefore, but natural that the Message should refer to the blessings of peace enjoyed and the material progress achieved by the people during the past half century. It also reprimands seditionists and promises reforms (in the administration) and an expension of the system of representation. Again, the document orders the release of prisoners and promises an increase in the pay of the sepoy. What else, enquires the editor, is there which the King Emperor could have said to the people under existing circumstances?

3. *The Civil and Military Organ* (Ludhiana), of the 12th November 1908, publishes an article headed "The Jubilee of the Royal Proclamation," in which it says that the Proclamation of 1858 was a message of hope and sympathy to the people of this country. British rule, adds the paper, has conferred numerous blessings on natives during the past fifty years, and Government never hesitated to relieve distress during the prevalence of a famine or of any other earthly or heavenly visitation. The recent Royal Message is very opportune, coming as it does at the termination of bomb-throwing in India. After condemning the doings of anarchists and praising Government for having averted a second mutiny by adopting stringent measures to suppress anarchism, the editor says that no fair-minded Indian can deny that British rule is nothing short of a divine blessing to India. It refers to some of the benefits which the country has derived from the present régime and says that the abler the people grow the larger becomes their share in the management of their own affairs. Those of them who have already begun to dream of *Swaraj* lose sight of the (unsatisfactory) relations existing between the different sections of the population. The indigenous newspapers which teach the country's leaders and youth how to obtain *Swaraj* are creating estrangement between

**The King Emperor's Message.**

different classes of natives, with the result that Hindus and Muhammadans have begun to regard each other with far deeper feelings of hatred and contempt than they used to do in former days. When the people prove themselves deserving of the rights which they are demanding, the King Emperor and Parliament will grant them *Swaraj* of their own accord. As it is, however, if the British were to abstain from maintaining peace in India the country would assuredly become a scene of internecine war and bloodshed. After publishing a brief summary of the Royal Message, the editor prays to God that his countrymen may realise the error of their ways, may remain loyal to the throne and may devote their all to promoting the cause of education and union in the country, so that their motherland may achieve the desired progress.

The King Emperor's Message.

4. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* (Lahore), of the 18th November 1908, publishes a communication headed "The King Emperor's Message." His Majesty, says the writer, has re-affirmed the promises made to the people in the Proclamation of 1858 and has assured his native subjects that his officers are doing their best to redeem those pledges. After remarking that the people should not, therefore, give way to despair, he observes that, if the Proclamation had been acted up to, it is possible that the prevailing unrest would not have made its appearance in India. As it is, he adds, not only have the promises contained in the document not been fulfilled, but narrow-minded officers like Lord Curzon have not hesitated to put an ungenerous (*lit.* quite a different) interpretation on it. Indeed, if the *ex*-Viceroy had been a large-hearted man he would not have proved instrumental in spreading disorder (*abtari*) in Bengal and other parts of the country. The correspondent then asserts that the people are anxious to know how the authorities in India will receive the Royal Message and how far they will act up to it. Not a few persons, he says, complain that the writer of the Message has intentionally used words capable of being interpreted in more than one way. If, however, the authorities honestly obey the King Emperor's orders the results will prove very beneficial to both the rulers and the ruled. Referring to the forthcoming release of prisoners in honour of the Jubilee of the Procalmation of 1858, the correspondent says that several natives, who are an ornament of the country, are rotting in jail or the Andamans on charges of sedition. The (severe) sentences passed on Tilak, Pillai, Siva, Paranjpe and others, have taken the entire population by surprise. The authorities should not fail to set these men free, because their release will bind the people still more closely to the throne and will put an end to the prevailing unrest.

The King Emprer's Massage.

5. The *Watan* (Lahore), of the 13th November 1908, publishes an article headed "The blessings of fifty years of British rule in India." The King Emperor's Message, it says, has revived the memory of the Proclamation of 1858 in the minds of the people, because it speaks briefly of the fulfilment of the promises contained in the latter document. After remarking that it also refers to some Royal favours to come, the paper says that there can be no doubt that British rule has proved a divine blessing to India. It has established peace and order in the country, which in pre-British days was inhabited by ignorant and savage people professing different religions and

thirsting for one another's blood. The British have also spread education in the country, constructed railways and telegraphs, revived indigenous arts and industries and extended the means of irrigation. Again, they have protected the country against external aggression; and it would be black ingratitude (in Indians) to deny the excellence of the present peaceful and auspicious régime and to rebel against the generous and liberal British Government. The editor feels confident that the hopes held out in the Message regarding the coming Royal favours will be realised and that the King Emperor's promise to redeem the pledges made to the people by his august mother will also be fulfiled. He further feels convinced that all the defects, the existence of which in the administrative machinery have been the cause of such complaints, will be removed. He expresses the hope that the political prisoners released in honour of the Jubilee of the Proclamation of 1858 will mend their ways, will leave off speaking and writing against Government and will let the country taste of the blessings of peace, devoting their talents to the improvement of the intellectual and economic condition of their countrymen. In conclusion, he prays for the long life of the King Emperor, for the continuance of peace in the country and for the improvement of the relations between the rulers and the ruled.

The King Emperor's Message.

6. In a paragraph headed "The Royal Message and Muhammadans" the *Watan* (Lahore), of the 13th November 1908, says that no exception can be taken to His Majesty's words regarding the obliteration of racial distinctions as the test for access to posts of public authority and power. Muhammadans, however, are being crushed by powerful rivals (Hindus) in every way, and there is no likelihood of their succeeding against the latter unless Government stands by them and helps them to recover the lost ground. It is not, therefore, unreasonable to hope that the proposed reform scheme will pay due regard to the safeguarding of their rights, especially when there is no dearth of able men in their ranks. In conclusion, the paper says that Musalmans are entitled to support from the authorities, just as the weakness of a child should secure it the protection of its parents.

Rulers and the ruled.

7. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 14th November 1908, publishes a communication headed "Revolution" over the signature of "Bedil", of Roorki. The writer says that sudden convulsions in society are called revolutions, which change the destinies of nations and humble even the proudest. Such convulsions have been frequent in the world and are either religious or social and political in character. The social and political conditions of a people, adds the correspondent, are co-related. Social progress and political power always go hand in hand. No one dare interfere with the political rights of a socially-advanced nation, while a people whose social condition is the reverse of satisfactory can have no political importance. After quoting instances from history, in support of his contention, the writer says that the oppression practised by the indigenous Government which were established in India on the break-up of the Mughal Empire had the effect of leading natives to be guilty of the foolishness of linking their fate with, and placing on their neck the yoke of, a foreign people. The foreigner, on the other hand, made a great show of trying to gain the

confidence of the children of the soil. The juggler performed such tricks of sleight that the simple-minded natives began to praise him on all sides. They were so pleased with him that they emptied their pockets before him, and he quietly appropriated the contents and sent them over to England. When, however, he found that stupid Indians had been left nothing he began to think of a change of tactics. On the other hand, when the latter, being troubled with hunger, put their hand into their pockets, they were brought to their senses at once. They experienced such a revulsion of feeling that the event must be called a revolution. It is, however, too late for them to repent.

The authorities and the people.

8. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 14th November 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "The price of justice", in which it says that Hindu *Shastras* loudly proclaim that a ruler should be solicitous for the welfare of his subjects and should administer (even-handed) justice, and that if he neglects this duty he can never secure the love of God, no matter how much he may worship his Creator. The Muhammadan religion also teaches that to administer justice for one hour is equal in merit to passing 70 years in prayer and meditation. A king may perform lakhs of pilgrimages and give away crores in charity, but all this can avail him nothing if he denies justice to his subjects. The tyrant who practises oppression, the strong man who usurps the rights of the weak, or the ruler who murders justice, does not know that he injures himself by his conduct. Some short-sighted officers, who have been led astray by Satan, seem to be unaware that they have been adding to their sins (by disregarding the dictates of justice), which will crush them in the end. They deserve to be pitied, because they have been misled by the devil, their judgment has been warped and they are unable to distinguish between good and evil. The worst of it is, however, that they do not listen to others and make those who would ask for justice from them and would show them the right path, taste of their devilish tyranny. They thus add to their burden (of sins), under which they will be crushed at last. They will then rue their conduct, suffer disgrace in this and the next world and be hurled down the deep abyss of hell.

*Swaraj.*

9. In a paragraph headed "The women of England and the men of India", the *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 14th November 1908, says that it requires manliness to engage in a struggle in the political world. After remarking that this is fully borne out by the history of the world, the paper observes that the engagement in political warfare of people wanting in manliness leads to undesirable results. They are found wanting on being weighed in the balance and this discourages their comrades and lowers the latter in their own estimation. It is, therefore, essential that leaders of the above description should not step into the political arena, for the reason that their subsequent conduct injuriously affects the moral courage of coming generations. The paper continuing says that the idea of true sacrifice was created among the Sikhs only when Guru Tegh Bahadur sacrificed himself at Delhi for his religion or when Guru Govind Singh's young sons went forth to fight. It was easy for the latter Guru to save himself or his sons, but he knew human nature well and was fully aware that the fruit which sacrifice, especially

the sacrifice of one's dear ones, bore could be reaped in no other way. The editor adds that if natives wish to fight for *Swaraj* they should display the energy and the spirit of sacrifice which characterises the Suffragists in England at the present moment. He can predict that if the Suffragists continue to stick to their guns they will assuredly obtain their rights in a short time. If the men of India, he adds, struggle for *Swaraj* with the same determination it will not be difficult for them to gain their end.

In another paragraph headed "A lesson for India," the paper remarks that while the Suffragists are fighting for a mere privilege, the rights for which the people of India are struggling constitute a question of life or death to them. There are only two alternatives before natives;—to die from starvation or to struggle for *Swaraj*; to remain illiterate semi-savages for ever or to sacrifice themselves to obtain *Swaraj*; to continue to bend the knee to foreigners, untie the latchets of the latter's shoes and flatter and serve them in order to make a living, or to become independent, acquire national pride, learn self-reliance and earn their bread like free men. Every native should try to solve this question, the solution whereof will land the people in paradise (so to say). If, however, they neglect to solve it or behave like cowards and are frightened away by imaginary fears, they will assuredly be overtaken by ruin. Indeed, if famine and plague continue to work havoc at the present rate, which is ascribable mainly to foreign rule, Indians will become extinct in fifty or sixty years. They have to fight for the solution of the above question, which is one of life or death to them.

10. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 14th November 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "They smell of royalty," in which it relates a story to the effect that when Ahmad Shah Abdali was told that the presents sent by him to the eighth Sikh Guru had been returned he was led to remark to his courtiers that they (the gurus) smelt of royalty. The story, adds the papers, conveys the lesson that one should not sacrifice great things for the sake of trifles. If the Sikh gurus had accepted presents from, and done the bidding of, Mughal Emperors, they could not have infused (new) life into Hindus or have laid the foundations of their Khalsa rule. The editor then advises his countrymen not to give up the idea of *Swaraj* for the sake of petty creature comforts. Hundreds and thousands of temptations will be thrown in their way in order to make them turn their back on *Swaraj*. The petty reforms which Lord Morley is engaged in formulating are meant to deprive them of mountains of gold in return for a few shells. Natives should, therefore daily pray God that they may struggle for *Swaraj* with a resolute heart and that no worldly temptation may prevent them from doing so. They should keep up their spirits, acquaint their fellow countrymen with the advantages of *Swaraj*, and spend their all in educating the poor by opening schools in every village. So long as they do not sow the seed of sacrifice they should hope to reap no harvest. God helps only those who help themselves.

*Swaraj.*

In another paragraph headed "What is our goal" the paper says that natives should not aim only at securing four or five seats on High and Chief Courts. This cannot work the salvation of the entire nation and they will greatly injure themselves by contenting themselves with a few favours from Government. Their goal consists in the attainment of *Swaraj*,—a *Swaraj*

under which they will not bend the knee to any one but God. They should pray God to make them deserving of *Swaraj* and to give them strength, because *Swaraj* cannot be obtained by begging nor can it be given to one people by another as a gift. They will not obtain *Swaraj* so long as they do not make themselves more powerful than Government.

How natives can obtain liberty.

11. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 14th November 1908, publishes an article headed "If you want peace you should endure sufferings." Blessed, says that paper, are those who suffer, because their sufferings prompt them to struggle to secure peace. Woe to those (? the English), however, whom ease and happiness have made indifferent to their own interests, because they are about to be removed from their throne of comfort. They know how to reform themselves, but would not do so; while if they ever wish to turn over a new leaf their pride prevents them from carrying their wishes into practice. Again, the life of ease which they have been living has rendered them lazy and incapable of bestirring themselves. The lion-hearted man, adds the paper, who does not let sufferings and hardships overcome him and who faces them with a strong and resolute heart frees himself of them in a very short time. On the contrary, he who is unmanned at the very mention of them, passes all his days in pain and sufferings. It is true that Indians have fallen on evil days, but if they lose courage they will remain in the chains of sufferings for ever, nay, these chains will be rivetted on them still more tightly. Sufferings constitute a trial, and, just as one has to satisfy some test before being allowed to enter any walk of life, no examination can be too difficult for obtaining the greatest blessing in this world (liberty). Natives should know that after passing through their present ordeal they will obtain the degree for which they long from the very bottom of their hearts. There stands the throne of happiness on the far shore of the sea of misfortunes. The goddess of liberty sits on it waiting for Indians, who can reach over to her if they will. If they love her truly and sincerely wish for happiness they should jump into the sea with resolute hearts, resting assured that they will not be drowned. They can reach the goddess in no other way and cannot know peace till they take themselves to her.

The prevailing unrest.

12. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 14th November 1903, publishes a paragraph headed "The cause of unrest," in which it says that Indians are a peaceful people and that they do not view the prevailing unrest with favour. After remarking that this unrest is the work of the authorities themselves, the paper observes that whatever they and their spies may say to the contrary no trace of sedition is to be found in the country. There only exists some unrest among the people owing to no heed being paid even to their legitimate grievances. Instead, however, of allaying it the authorities have been deepening it by following a policy of coercion and distrust.

Attempt to murder Sir Andrew Fraser.

13. The *Nur Afshan* (Ludhiana), of the 13th November 1908, writing about the recent attempt on the life of Sir Andrew Fraser, strongly deprecates and condemns the spread of the revoltingly mischievous spirit of

anarchism among the Bengalis. After remarking that the evil reflects discredit on the people and is calculated to prove detrimental to the progress of the country, the paper says that anarchists not only work injury to Government officers, but also constitute a menace to the public peace and to the lives and property of the people. It should, therefore, be the duty of Government to put them down with a strong hand, while the people should co-operate with it in arresting and punishing the men. In conclusion the editor expresses the hope that exemplary punishment will be inflicted on the assailant of Sir Andrew Fraser.

Attempt to murder Sir Andrew Fraser.

14. In a paragraph headed "An attempt to murder the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal," the *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 12th November 1908, says that the act was undoubtedly maniacal and dastardly in the extreme. A few foolish persons, it adds, have been trying to create a panic in the country by resorting to such proceedings. This can only retard the progress of the people, disturb the public peace and prejudice the rulers against the ruled. If the aforesaid shortsighted persons believe that the bomb or the revolver cartridge can frighten the English out of India they are labouring under a grievous mistake. After expressing satisfaction at Sir Andrew Fraser's escape, the paper regrets that an attempt should have been made to kill His Honour at a time when he is about to retire after long and meritorious service and after having spent the best part of his life in serving India.

Repression and Anarchism.

15. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 14th November 1908 :—

"We observed in our last that mere condemnation and punishment of the anarchists will not serve to stamp their movement out. The rigors of the law have apparently no terrors for those who have come under the Nihilist's fascination. The assailant of Sir Andrew Fraser, a boy of 18, is reported to have declared in the Court that, his object in making the murderous attempt was to show the Bengalis an example. What dread can the law have for those who defy it not merely in the public gaze, but in the presence of the highest representatives of authority? We have said before that anarchism is a psychological problem which cannot be dealt with by the measures intended to repress the ordinary criminal. Indeed, such measures can only help their propaganda by lending colour to their theory of the oppressive character of the Government and by investing the victims with a halo of martyrdom. The Government hanged Kanai Lal to make an example of him for the young generations, but we read of his bier having been attended by a large number of students, bare-headed and bare-footed, while the funeral oration over his body was received with shouts of "Kanai Lal ki Jai". It is a pity that the high officials of the Government make no attempt to enter into the feelings of the people, and allow themselves to be hypnotised by the assurances of the professional loyalist who only gives them assurances of the popular hatred of violence and anarchy. The people abhor murder and bloodshed, it is true, but they abhor a repressive policy no less, and so long as the latter is not removed, the anarchists will command a certain amount of sympathy among less thinking people as men prepared to sacrifice themselves for a good cause. The thoughtful, on the other hand, will look upon them not as ordinary criminals, but as misguided fanatics whom the circumstances of the country place beyond the check and control of their responsible elders, not to speak of public leaders. People will ask, while the Government is taking such drastic measures to punish the miscreants who commit bloodshed and murder in the name of political regeneration, what has the same Government done to bring to account the miscreants

who brought so many innocent and respectable men into trouble and disgrace at Rawalpindi, Midnapore, Barisal and elsewhere in the name of law and order? It is unscrupulous members of the police, spies, and informers who have fomented the discontent of which the bitter fruits are being borne to-day. Let the Government also make an example of official miscreants and see how much of the discontent and unrest will disappear within a short time. One Martineau helped to quench the smouldering embers of discontent in the Punjab, though there were officials ready to rake up the ashes into a new blaze. Let the people be convinced of the Government's impartial justice and generosity, and the anarchist will die of mere inanition, for want of materials to feed the flame which he would keep up. Even in the treatment of anarchists themselves a dash of generosity would help the Government's position. Let them be confined and restrained by all means against fresh mischief; but let the officials know that the hanging of inexperienced boys who have developed no sense of responsibility sinks deep into the hearts of a people like the Indians, more emotional than rationalistic and converts the abhorrence of their deeds into compassion and pity for themselves. It is this which explains the demonstrations which attended the funeral of Kanai Lal. It was not sympathy for anarchistic deeds, but compassion for the circumstances which brought about the young man's deplorable end."

16. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 17th November 1908:—

Repression and political crime.

"It has been the experience of all ages and countries that repression and political crime are intimately connected with each other. The latter has always flourished where the former has been in force. And no Government has had better opportunities of realising this bitter truth than the British in dealing with Ireland. In India, within the last few months it has been seen that crimes such as were beyond people's dreams, and would have been thought by the Government to be impossible on Indian soil, have begun to luxuriate side by side with a luxuriant policy of repression. And yet there are Anglo-Indians who are calling for further repression in the shape of a method of 'swift and summary justice' to deal with political criminals, who in their opinion are not being sharply and severely enough dealt with under the present law. Further, such a suggestion is made on the very morrow of the Midnapore fiasco, which has proved most conspicuously what the effects of a 'swift and summary process' would have been. The *Englishman* observes that 'had there been in existence a special tribunal, dispensing a special law, and had the Crown taken something more than cursory interest in the case, either it would not have been brought at all, or it would have been brought to a successful conclusion.' The evident force of the last sentence is that since the case was instituted, the accused should have been punished whether they were innocent or not. The *Englishman* would have a 'simple, effective, despotic' policy, which means hanging a man first and trying him afterwards. The *Indian Daily News* takes a more sane view of the situation and cites the very Midnapore case as a warning against 'summary' processes. 'A single false step in the direction of securing the "sharp and summary" disposal of cases,' observes the *Indian Daily News*, 'will risk the possible punishment of innocent men *through insufficient enquiry*, and will delay, and possibly defeat, the progress of reform and compromise our reputation for even-handed justice, the greatest asset of British rule.' "

17. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 14th November 1908, publishes an article headed "Eureka! Eureka!" in which it says that the authorities have hitherto failed to suppress *Yugantar* and that since the confiscation of its press that journal has been issued from different places. Again, it has been saying things which perhaps it would not have said if it had been allowed to be published in the ordinary way. It is no longer issued by particular individuals, but is published by anarchists from whatever place they can. Its publishers are, therefore, to be found in all parts tsof the country,

The *Yugantar* newspaper.

which renders its suppression by Government an impossible task. The only way for the authorities to achieve the desired result is to follow a policy of conciliation. Government may confiscate printing presses and suppress the liberty of speech and writing, but this will not help it in winning hearts, which can be done with the aid only of love and justice. As it is, the short-sighted authorities are increasing the number of "Yugantarists" in the country without thought.

Indian Nationalism.

18. Writing under the head "The present condition of India and the cult of nationalism," the *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 14th November 1908, publishes a translation, prepared by Sufi Amba Parshad, of the first part of the lecture delivered by Arbinda Ghosh on the above subject in the Mahajan Wadi, Poona, on the 19th January last. The lecture, says the paper, was heard by a very large audience and has been considered to be the best of its kind.

"Passive Resistance" in England.

19. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 21st November 1908:—

"The Suffragists of England delight in calling themselves 'passive resisters.' So we believe do also the Unemployed. But as we have seen from cuttings from the English papers and the letters of our London correspondent, the 'passive' resistance of Englishmen and women has a good deal of the *active* element in it. Breaking of meetings held by Cabinet Ministers is one of their methods of passive resistance. Making noisy demonstrations at the door of the House of Commons, or getting inside by force or fraud to interrupt the proceedings, are also among the ways in which amiable ladies of England and the leaders of the London Democracy try to carry out their 'passive' propaganda. But how very active these methods are in comparison with the picketing of *Bilaiti* shops or rum saloons for which Swadeshi workers or Temperance volunteers have been sent to prison in India! Our London letter in the last issue gave an account of the attempt made by working men to break up a meeting in which Mr. Buxton, M. P., one of the Cabinet Ministers, was to speak. There were other rowdy gatherings of working men during the week for which the mail is last to hand. A number of people were arrested for making inflammatory speeches or inciting to riot, but we read of no severer action taken by the authorities than binding the persons on security. The only legislative measure contemplated in the connection is said to be a Bill making interruption of the proceedings of either of the Houses of Parliament a criminal offence, in the same sense that bawling in places of worship now is. In the meantime the Suffragists are preparing to carry the war to the knife. They have passed a resolution 'warning the Government 'that coercion will only fire the women to sterner opposition, and that they cannot end the struggle except by securing the passage of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill into law this session.' They have further resolved to raise £50,000 and carry on their propaganda in a manner to which the London *Daily News* gives the expressive heading of a 'Campaign of Violence.'"

The British Gospel of Force.

"The moral of all this is that in their long history of struggles for constitutional rights and the privileges of humanity, the English people have come to know that the argument of *force* is an essential requisite to bring home to legislators truths which do not appeal to their intellectual faculties or moral perceptions with sufficient strength. As Mr. Grayson, Socialist M. P., said to a huge meeting of working men on Tower Hill, on the 29th ultimo, 'you have got every industrial Bill, not by begging and praying, but by threatening and acting.' The threat and action may not consist in totally upsetting the social order, for the English people are constitutionally averse to revolutions, but they surely overstep the bounds of what we in India understand by passive resist-

ance. In fact, even in Houses of Parliament Hon'ble members give utterance to sentiments for the like of which a public speaker in India would be liable to be immediately hauled up and severely punished. For instance, in the debate on the Unemployed in Parliament of which the reports are brought by the last mail, no less a veteran and self-restrained speaker than Mr. Keir Hardie, in making an attack on the Government's 'beggarly and miserly' policy, uttered a threat as to the probability of the working men '*shocking* the country out of inaction.' Needless to say that outside the House more angry threats were being uttered by the representatives of the hungry and the unemployed at the same time. Here are a couple of cuttings.

'Violent speeches were made at a demonstration of the unemployed at Tower Hill, the speakers at which included Mr. "Jack" Williams and Mr. Victor Grayson, M. P. After referring to Mr. John Burns as "Judas Iscariot" and "Ananias," Mr. Williams said "Mr. Asquith, and I know what is going on." The West End *will not be safe* this winter if work is not granted to the unemployed. We are masters of the situation. If we make up our minds, who can stop us? We have arrived at a crisis. If you cannot get bread for your starving wives and children, *then I say rob and plunder all round.*

'Mr. Grayson said, "Mr. Asquith is a fraud. You must not be content to demonstrate on Tower Hill; *you must go nearer home.* The Suffragists are going to get the vote before this Parliament goes out, because they have put the fear of God into the hearts of Cabinet Ministers. I want the unemployed to do that. I say to you, hungry men, the House of Commons is a heartless club that does not understand the problem of poverty. You can *form your own plan of campaign*, and you will impress that House of Commons when you have *presented yourselves to its Members.*"

"The appeal to the physical force and angry passions of the audience is plain in the above. Mr. Jack Williams gives an open hint for robbery and plunder. These and the intimidation of Cabinet Ministers and members of Parliament by 'rushing' the House are, we believe, among the British working man's method of 'passive resistance.'"

## VII.—General Administration.

### (*a*)—*Judicial.*

How anarchists should be tried.

20. The *Civil and Military Organ* (Ludhiana), of the 12th November 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "Wanted yet more rigour," in which it suggests that anarchists should not be tried in the ordinary way. It is strange, adds the paper, that these enemies of Government and the people, who seem bent on committing loot and murder and killing high-placed officers, should have to be proved guilty in accordance with the procedure laid down by the Criminal Procedure Code. They should be dealt with according to Martial law, and put to a speedy and cruel death, as was the practice in olden times.

### (*c*)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs.*

The Lahore Municipal Committee.

21. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 17th November 1908:—

"Despite their odoriferous reputation for filth, the Lahore Municipal Committee have succeeded in attracting the attention of the Imperial Parliament by reason of the splendid outlay they make on European employés who help to make the city—the native quarters we mean—the perfumery of the Punjab. It is a pity Dr. Rutherford, who is a medical gentleman, was not furnished with details of the conservancy arrangements of the town, including the great Nullah and the Tramway with its filth depôts, which have made the border-line between the city inside and outside the gates more trying to the nostrils than ever. It would then have appeared to the Hon'ble Members and the Under-Secretary for India that the grievance of the citizens of Lahore was not one merely of high payments to Europeans officials, but still more one of the over-taxing their olfactory organs. It is true, as the well-informed Under-Secretary of

State replied, that the Punjab Municipal Committees appoint their town servants, but then he does not know that the little finger of the Deputy Commissioner President is thicker than the loins, taken together, of all the fat Bunnias who sit on the Committees. We wish he could be present at one of the meetings of the Lahore Municipal Committee and witness the scenes of the pigmy radicals tugging at Lieutenant-Colonel Parsons' coat-tails only to be jerked off like mosquitoes buzzing on the horns of the bull. But we agree with the Under-Secretary that it is not a question for the Parliament to interfere in. The remedy lies in the hands of the people themselves. There should be enough public life in a city like the capital of the Punjab to bring at least the Indian Commissioners, nominated as well as elected, to a sense of their duties. Otherwise why make so much fuss about self-government?"

### *(f)—Railways and Communications.*

Wanted a waiting-room at the Montgomery station.

22. In a paragraph headed "Wanted a Waiting-room," the *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), of the 16th November 1908, enquires whether it is true that there is no waiting-room at the Montgomery railway station and that the passengers concerned are greatly inconvenienced in consequence. If this is so, adds the paper, the railway authorities should take early steps to supply the want.

### *(h)—Miscellaneous.*

Desecration of the late Queen-Empress's statue at Nagpur.

23. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 17th November 1908:—

"News has been received that the statue of the late Empress Victoria, which was placed in the Maharaj Bagh gardens at Nagpur, has been desecrated by some unknown hands. The statue had been disfigured with some adhesive substance—a mixture of oil and tar— the sceptre smashed, the features of the statue, especially the nose, being defaced, and even mutilated. The news of this wanton and outrageous act of vandalism will no doubt create a feeling of intense indignation at the ways of the misguided miscreants, who are responsible for this act of outrage. The statue was erected mainly by the subscriptions of loyal Indian subjects in connection with the Victoria memorials after our late Sovereign's death and was unveiled by Sir Andrew Fraser in 1906. The statue therefore stood as an abiding monument of the feelings of profound veneration and loyalty with which Indian people in that as in every other part of the country regard their late Sovereign, and an act of outrage towards the statue is thus really an unmitigated affront to the Indian people. The act, outrageous and intensely malicious as it would be at any time, was more so, occurring as it did on the morrow of the opening of the Exhibition at Nagpur, which has been described as one of the best of its kind held in India in recent years, and we have no doubt that one feeling which this act will create all over the country will be of intense repulsion and indignation. We fervently trust that it will be possible to remove the discolouration and undo the mischief. Meanwhile considerable surprise will be felt at the news that the Head Master of the local Agricultural College, Mr. Paranjee and two overseers and a student of that College have been arrested on suspicion."

G. A. COCKS,

*Asst. to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*

*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

LAHORE:
*The 21st November* 1908.

Punjab Government Press, Lahore—25-11-08—5388—97—H. L. S.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 48. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

Received up to 28th November 1903.

---

## CONTENTS.


I.—Politics.

Page.

(a)—*Foreign*—

*Nil.*

(b)—*Home*—

1. The King Emperor and his native subjects (*Raghbir Patrika*) ... ... ... ... 715
2. Rulers and the ruled (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... *ib.*
3. Goverament and the people (*Raghbir Patrika*) ... *ib.*
4. Western civilisation in India (*Inqilab*) ... ... 716
5. How natives can obtain liberty (*Raghbir Patrika*) ... 717
6. *Swaraj* (*Inqilab*) ... ... ... ... *ib.*
7. *Swaraj* (*Inqilab*) ... ... ... ... 718
8. Attempt on Sir Andrew Fraser's life (*Nasim-ul-Hind*) 719
9. Attempt on Sir Andrew Fraser's life (*Watan*) ... *ib.*
10. Attempt on Sir Andrew Fraser's life (*Parakash*) ... 720
11. Bengali anarchists (*Vakil*) ... ... ... *ib.*
12. Bengali amarchists (*Sada-i-Hind*) ... ... 721
13. The partition of Bengal (*Inqilab*) ... ... *ib.*
14. The loyalty of Hindus (*Jhang Sial*)) ... ... *ib.*
15. Recent addition to the cost of the British garrison (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... ... 722
16. The coming Madras Congress (*Inqilab*) ... *ib.*
17. Boycott (*Raghbir Patrika*) ... ... ... 723

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

*Nil.*

III.—Native States.

*Nil.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

18. Muhammadans and kine-killing (*Hindustan*) ... 723

V.—Native Societies and Religious matters.

*Nil.*

VI.—Legislation.

19. Special legislation for dealing with anarchists (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... ... ... 724
20. Special legislation for dealing with anarchists (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... ... *ib.*
21. Special Legislation for dealing with anarchists (*Parkash*) ... ... ... ... *ib.*

VII.—General Administration.

(a)—*Judicial*—

22. Invidious distinctions between European and Native offenders (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... ... 725
23. The case against P. Daulat Ram of Jhansi (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... ... ... *ib.*
24. Libel cases against the *Jhang Sial* (*Raghbir Patrika*) 726
25. Libel cases against the *Jhang Sial* (*Jhang Sial*) ... *ib.*
26. Lala Har Diyal on native Barristers (*Hindustan*) ... *ib.*

(b)—*Police*—

*Nil.*

(c)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs*—

*Nil.*

(d)—*Education*—

*Nil.*

(e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land*—

*Nil.*

(f)—*Railways and Communications*—

27. Telegram charges (*Savaj-ul-Akhbar*) ... ... 727

(g)—*Postal matters*—

*Nil.*

(h)—*Miscellaneous*—

*Nil.*

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 48. ]

# SELECTIONS

## FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

**Received up to 28th November 1908.**

---

### I.—POLITICS.

#### *(b)—Home.*

The King-Emperor and his native subject.

1. The *Raghbir Patrika* (Jhang), for October 1908, publishes a few verses in Punjabi from the pen of "Kushta," who tells the King Emperor that although the people have submitted thousands of petitions to him he has not paid the least heed to them. Again, His Majesty's officers (in the country) are bent on practising oppression and murdering justice and have been throwing people into jail for nothing. After remarking that life has become a burden to natives, the poet finds fault with the authorities for having deported Tilak Maha raj for no fault. Banka Dyal also, he adds, has been punished for no reason and the people have been muzzled. In conclusion, he says that while the King-Emperor is passing his days in ease and comfort in London the misery of his Indian subjects knows no bounds.

Rulers and the ruled.

2. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 21st November 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "A true idea," in which it says that if the authorities were to keep themselves within the bounds of moderation the people would never have any cause of complaint against them. An experienced Anglo-Indian officer has well said that it is less difficult to prevent natives from committing crime than to keep Englishmen in India from overstepping the limits of moderation. The paper adds that immoderation on the part of the authorities and the (other) white men in the country has rendered life a burden to the people. Again, it is the exercise of arbitrary and oppressive powers by officers of Government which is at the bottom of the prevailing unrest and which has bred sedition in the country. If the authorities were to mend their ways and to conduct themselves with moderation even now, and if Government were to keep white men in hand, sedition and unrest would disappear in no time.

Government and the people.

3. The *Raghbir Patrika* (Jhang), for October 1908, publishes some Punjabi verses composed by one Daulat Ram, *Asad*, of Ramnagar. The writer says that the people are clamouring for rights, but that Government will give them absolutely nothing. Sufferings have become their ordinary lot and even a Liberal like Lord Morley has done nothing for them. Again, if Lord Minto

continues to follow his present policy, hunger and poverty will assuredly reign supreme in the country. The authorities have reduced the people to a state of helplessness and desire to strangle the latter. They have brought ruin on the country, but no one dare open his lips in complaint. The writer continues that it is not wise on the part of Government to turn loyal natives into disloyal subjects. Natives, he adds, have begun to regard jails as places of pilgrimage, while the gallows has now no terrors for them. Pindi Dass was sentenced to undergo five years' imprisonment, but he showed no signs of grief. Many (lit, hundreds) other Editors have also been extinguished, and not one of the innocent men charged with sedition has escaped conviction. The writer then says that Kings who oppress their subjects and murder justice invariably lose their power and dignity. Similarly, a ruler who causes suffering to his subjects cannot himself know peace either.

In another place the poet observes that he who oppresses India will fare worst of all. If Government, he adds, continues to practise oppression it will not henceforth be able to pocket any part of the country's wealth. It has dismissed those of its serva nts who preached swadeshism, but it is Manchester which has fared worse than any of them. In conclusion, the writer praises the Bengalis for having stuck to the *swadeshi* movement in spite of the oppression practised on them by Government and the police.

Western civilisation in India.

4. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 21st November 1908, publishes an article headed "The effect of Western Civilisation on India" in continuation of its previous remarks (*vide* paragraph 9 of Selection No. 46). The paper condemns the materialism of the West and says that the European considers only those peoples to be highly civilised who can manufacture machines for murdering the noblest of created beings with t he maximum of rapidity and in the minimum of time. After remarking that the possession of gold is not synonymous with happiness, the paper shows how in America the Westerners have killed off the Red Indians. It ad ds that they have treated the Negroes also in the same manner, and that even in the darkest ages human beings were not so heartlessly killed as the aborigines of America, Africa, Australia and Asia have been exterminat ed by civilised Europe. It then goes on to say that Western civilisation has rendered natives a prey to starvation, plague, fever and cholera by making famines endemic in the country. The Bengalis are the richest section of the population, and as their prosperity is ascribable to the land revenue of their province having been permanently settled, Lord Curzon devised several means to undo the arrangement. Failing, however, to gain his end he partitioned Bengal in the teeth of universal opposition, although his efforts to divide the Bengalis have not been crowned with success. The Editor continues that Western civilisation will prove the ruin of European nations, which look upon the w hole world as a happy hunting ground for themselves. Their avarice and selfishn ess will lead to their killing one another, and as they are the votaries of a civilisatio n which teaches the strong to destroy the weak, they will assuredly be overtaken by destruction. In conclusion, the *Inqilab* prays that Indians may obtain *Swaraj* and became powerful and prosperous; that on gaining their liberty they will gladly pardon their present oppressors, who are sucking their life-blood; and that their fight for *Swaraj* may be for the good of the whole world.

5. The *Raghbir Patrika* (Jhang), for October 1908, publishes some Punjabi verses headed "Become practical." The writer, "Almast," tells natives, both young and old, that they are about to be put to the test. They have to fight a powerful people (the English), whom they always call brothers, but who do not treat them as human beings, take no pity on them, oppress them for demanding their rights, throw them into Jail on their asking for *Swaraj*, and try to crush them in diverse ways. Again, they wean away patriotic natives from the service of the country by conferring empty titles on them, those caring nothing for these baubles being thrown into jail. The writer then calls upon Indian youths not to allow temptations and oppression to keep them away from the banner of patriotism. Those, he adds, who wish to see the Goddess of liberty should reck nothing of deportation, hanging and imprisonment. There can be no reason why India should not advance if all her sons, young as well as old, were to desire her advancement. They may deliver thousands of (patriotic) lectures and sing lakhs of songs in the same spirit, but they can achieve nothing unless they practise what they preach.

How natives can obtain liberty.

6. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 12th November 1908, publishes an article headed "Why is there unrest in India?" When a nation, it says, is placed in an unnatural condition it utters complaints and does its utmost to get out of that condition. Does this conduct on its part, asks the paper, constitute an offence? No; for if it were not to cry it would soon be swept off the earth's surface, just as a child, which has been so weakened by hunger that it cannot cry (for milk), can never escape death. Indians are in an unnatural condition at present. If they complain that they are hungry they are branded as rebels; while in the event of their complaining of the over-assessment of land revenue and water-rates they are punished with deportation. Again, if they take even a twig from a tree to cook their food they are thrown into the lock-up forthwith. They subjected themselves like cows to the foreigners and expressed their willingness to work for the latter night and day for mere subsistence. They were (*lit* are), however, told that if they were cows they should be bled and not milked, because otherwise foreigners could not live their life of ease and pleasure. There can be no doubt that the days of Muslim, Sikh and Marhatta rule were days of anarchy in India, but the people could eat their fill then. Now, however, 60 millions of natives have to go to sleep on empty stomachs. In pre-British days *ghi*, milk and food grains were very cheap and the country was prosperous in all respects. It is said that this is the age of civilisation, but may God save (Indians) from a civilisation which means starvation to five crores of them and which threatens to involve them in speedy ruin. Again, before the advent of the English natives were well-practiced in the art of war and consequently they possessed strong bodies and were able to fight their enemies. To-day, however, a trembling seizes them on handling even a knife. All this is due solely to their being the slaves to foreigners. This slavery stands in the way of their physical growth, because they are now forbidden to keep arms. It also does not let them eat their fill, while it taps the vitality of their hearts by preventing them from fearlessly speaking out their minds. The natural result is that they are growing weak physically; while morally they have degenerated

*Swaraj.*

into hypocrites, which prompts them to always profess a loyalty which they do not feel. They know in their hearts that foreign rule is sucking their life-blood, but outwardly they express a desire for the permanence of the present Government in India. It is this hypocrisy which is at the bottom of their misfortunes. If they consider slavery an unnatural burden, why do they not master courage enough to throw it off? If they prove that they sincerely desire liberty no power on earth will be able to keep them in a state of slavery. What are they wanting in? In union? They should feel certain that it is (their) alien Government which is spreading disunion among them, which is admitted by fair-minded members of the ruling race itself. They possess every mental and physical excellence, but should know that foreign rule is depriving them of all their faculties. They should gird up their loins, bearing in mind that God does not wish to keep any nation in the chains of slavery. It is also noteworthy that when the Americans gained their independence they were less educated and civilized and more heavily-taxed by the British than the natives of India. The only difference between them and Indians is that the latter resemble a child which is threatened with death from hunger, but will not cry to attract the attention of its negligent mother, who is killing it by inches by withholding milk from it. After enquiring how long such a child can live, the paper says that the people of this country are like a *Sadhu*, who has withered his arm by keeping it stretched upwards and defying a law of nature. Do they not, it asks, carry an unnatural load on their back, which has deprived them of their bread and stripped them of their clothes to ensure their dying of pneumonia. It has also killed their cattle and extinguished their physical, spiritual and intellectual faculties in an extremely cruel manner. The *Inqilab* then shows how the unemployed and the suffragetts threaten to bring about a revolution if they are not listened to, and remarks that if Indians were to follow this example it would not take them long to obtain *Swaraj* from Government and to throw off their chains of slavery. The Boers, who killed lakhs of Englishmen, have been granted *Swaraj* by the Imperial Government of its own accord. Nay, they have obtained the concession by the strength of their arms and now wish to turn both Indians and Englishmen out of the Transvaal. Natives should remember that a child fights with its mother to get what it wants: a mother will not suckle her child unless the latter cries for milk. How can they then hope to get *Swaraj* without fighting for it? They should cry, agitate and struggle for it, and know no rest till they have gained their end. They should also resort to boycott and Swadeshism, so that they may not die from hunger even before entering on their struggle (for *Swaraj*).

*Swaraj.*

7. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 21st November 1903, publishes an article headed "Truth always triumphs", in which it says that natives do not repose much faith in this maxim. After remarking that God always grants victory to truth, the paper says that those who proclaim the truth are invariably involved in troubles and hardships. Their efforts to expose falsehood offend the rulers for the time being and prompt the latter to work for their extinction. For instance, if a native were to advise his countrymen to throw off the foreign yoke and to acquaint them with the means of doing so, he would probably displease the authorities. It may be added that the last named

would feel displeased not because slavery is a good thing, but because India is shaking herself free from her claims of slavery is calculated to greatly injure the ruling race. They may look down upon slavery, but they like it for the people of this country. It is to be desired that they should act up to the christian saying "do unto others as you would be done by." The Editor then calls upon his countrymen to fear no earthly power in speaking out the truth. The utmost that can be done to them for doing so is that they will be hanged. It is, however, the sinful who feel shame in being sent to the gallows. His death on the cross only purified Christ. If a man is hanged for obeying God he should consider himself a blessed being. The paper adds that the command of God (to natives), which it is incumbent on them to obey, is that the country should have *Swárâj*, *i. e.*, it should be under their own rule, so that they may cease to be others' slaves. It concludes by referring to the evils of foreign rule, which have already being enumerated in the foregoing article.

Attempt on Sir Andrew Fraser's life.

8. The *Nasim-ul-Hind* (Lahore), of the 14th November 1908, writing about the recent dastardly attempt on the life of Sir Andrew Fraser, expresses satisfaction at His Honour's miraculous escape. If the assailant, adds the paper, had been in his right mind he would never have committed the mistake of attempting to murder the Lieutenant-Governor of his province. After remarking that lads have come to be the arbiters of the destinies of India, it says that their maniacal doings may be relied upon to prove the ruin of the country sooner or later. There was a time when natives used to revere their rulers more highly than their elders, but a complete change has come over them of iate in this respect. It is a matter of surprise that the Bengalis, who understand their and the country's rights, should be ignorant of the relations which should exist between the rulers and the ruled. The paper continues that foolish speeches on politics are mainly responsible for the spirit of anarchism and fanaticism which is abroad in the country at present. While, however, the speakers have retired from the arena (Bengali) lads have been converted into mischievous spirits, whom it has become impossible to exorcise. This can result only in the people being deprived even of their present liberty while public peace has already begun to be disturbed. The country's political leaders are free to agitate on constitutional lines, but they should keep young men in hand, for otherwise Government's (heavy) hand will assuredly come into play. It should be the duty of influential leaders and (other) respectable natives to do their utmost to suppress anarchism in the country. The paper concludes by congratulating Sir Andrew Fraser on his escape from his assailant's revolver.

Attempt on Sir Andrew Fraser's life.

9. The *Watan* (Lahore), of the 20th November 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "It was a most distardly act," in which it says that the attempt to murder Sir Andrew Fraser was undoubtedly a maniacal and cowardly deed. The sympathy, it adds, which a large number of people have shown with His Honour leaves no room for doubt that the general public do not countenance devilish acts like the one in question. If the foolish anarchists think that their mean deeds will frighten the English out of India they are labouring under a

delusion. Again, they may think that their doings will conduce to the well-being of the country, but as a matter of fact they are placing obstacles in the way of the advancement of the people. The Editor feels confident that Government will not postpone the introduction of the proposed reforms because of the mischievous doings of these men. He also expresses the hope that it will spare no efforts to put down anarchists, whose number is undoubtedly very small. In conclusion, he requests it to safeguard the rights of its quiet, respectful and loyal Muhammadan subjects, who are being trampled upon by that section of their neighbours (Hindus) who monopolise every branch (of the public service) at present.

Attempt on Sir Andrew Fraser's life.

10. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 24th November 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "Congratulations to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal," in which it remarks that in congratulating His Honour on his miraculous escape the people of India are merely performing a duty. The Bengal aharchists are not only causing anxiety to Government officers, but also constitute a menace to the peace of the country. If they think that they will be able to secure the sceptre by shooting one or two officers they are labouring under an egregious delusion. So far from proving instrumental in the liberation of the country, their reprehensible doings will bring trouble even on the innocent. It is therefore wholly unfair (on the part of the leaders) at such a critical juncture to continually ask Government to keep cool. They should impress on the people also that whatever complaints the latter may have against Government they should lay the same before the authorities in a respectful manner. Even if natives have lost faith in Government's promises and have come to believe that it will not listen to them, they should remember that in that event also the bomb does not constitute the only means for them to obtain their rights. They can employ a more effective and less harmful means to compel Government to concede their rights to them. In other words, they should make themselves more industrious, painstaking, just, truthful and honest than the English, which will bring them success without a struggle. They should never forget that hatred cannot achieve what love can accomplish and that the best way to kill an enemy is to heap coals of fire on his head. The paper adds that the failure of their murderous attempts should teach anarchists that it is not the will of God that the English should leave India yet. It should also prompt them to arm themselves with the sword of character, which is far sharper than the sword of steel.

Bengali anarchists.

11. The *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 18th November 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "Words are thrown away on those who are amenable only to kicks." The Royal message, it says, has failed to pacify the Bengali anarchists, and the fire of murder and bloodshed in Bengal has been fanned into a flame. After referring to the bloodthirsty character of the last issue of the *Yugantar*, as also to the attempt on Sir Andrew Fraser's life and the murder of Inspector Nand Lal Bannerji, the paper says that it would appear that the youthful Bengali anarchists are supported by a powerful party, on whom the police have not as yet been able to lay hands. Royal favours and Lord Morley's reform scheme, it adds, will not cool the heated brains of those who demand "India for the Indians" and "Aryavarta for the Aryas."

Bengali anarchists.

12. In a paragraph headed "The Bengalis' spirit of revenge" the *Sada-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 19th November 1908, refers to the attempt on Sir Andrew Fraser's life and to the murder of Sub-Inspector Nand Lal Bannerji, and urges Government to display all its wisdom and tact in suppressing anarchism. If incidents like the above, adds the paper, continue to occur there is a fear of anarchy becoming rampant in the country. After remarking that the peace established by Government constitutes the greatest blessing conferred by it on natives, it calls upon the authorities to make strenuous efforts to put down anarchists.

The partition of Bengal.

13. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 21st November 1908, publishes an article headed "What does example teach us?" The Bengalis, it says, opposed the partition of their province, but their opposition was replied to with contempt and foolishness, which is now admitted by every statesman in Great Britain. So far from bringing any gain to the rulers, the partition has done them immense harm. It has set the richest, the most powerful and the best educated native community against them. When the Bengalis saw that their petitions to Government were treated with the grossest contempt they began to hold meetings to teach boycott and swadeshism to the public. The authorities considered these meetings seditious, and not infrequently the police broke up the same in a most exasperating manner. Nor is this all. Gurkha soldiers were called in to oppress the people, which implanted in the latter's minds inextinguishable feelings of enmity towards the English. Further repression had the effect of prejudicing the Bengalis against the ruling race still further and led in the end to the appearance of the bomb in the country. In short, the more the authorities persisted in following a policy of coercion the more of unrest and sedition was created in the country, which is exactly what took place in Ireland. If Government had listened to good-hearted Anglo-Indians like Sir Henry Cotton and Mr. Hyndeman, who do not love England less than India, things would never have come to the present pass. These good men only ask their countrymen not to commit a mistake like the one which cost England the United States of America. They advise Government to abandon its policy of oppression and highhandedness and to undo the partition of Bengal. The measure was a mistake, the rectification of which can take away nothing from the prestige of Government. Indeed, every honest man should always be willing to rectify the mistakes committed by him. The reversal of the partition of Bengal will bridge over the gulf which now separates the rulers and the ruled.

The loyalty of Hindus.

14. Writing under the heading "Hindus worship their Kings" the *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 21st November 1908, says that the Hindus are the most loyal people on the face of the earth. After remarking that their ancient history strongly supports this contention, the paper observes that they look upon Rama and Krishna, who punished tyrants and afforded protection to the oppressed, as incarnations of God even to the present. It adds that in the matter of loyalty Hindus, who bow their heads before even a tyrannical King, are far superior to the English, who cruelly murdered Charles I and

extorted the Magna Charta from King John. It is a pity that a people with such antecedents should brand a loyal nation like the Hindus as rebels. If they do so owing to the latter demanding their rights from Government they should look into their own past and hide their heads in shame. It is grossly unjust to charge a mild and inoffensive people like Hindus with disloyalty and sedition. They have never uttered a single word of complaint against His Majesty the King Emperor. They entertain feelings of respect for him and complain only against the oppressive and high-handed authorities. They feel convinced that as soon as their sovereign comes to know of their real grievances His Majesty will hasten to redress the same. The paper continues that although Hindus have been loudly proclaiming that they are no rebels Government goes on filling its gaols with them. Has it forgotten that on one occasion in the first says of British rule in India Hindu soldiers offered to live on gruel to enable their white comrades to feed on boiled rice? The English are undoubtedly an ungrateful people in that they have forgotten Hindu loyalty to them in their hour of need. They may, of course, urge that (Bengali) anarchists also are Hindus, but they should know that the appearance of the bomb in India is ascribable to their own civilisation. Besides, if the authorities were to mend their ways and to adopt a policy of reconciliation the few native young men who now favour anarchism would again become loyal to the throne. They should study the statements made by anarchists in the courts in order to find out and remove the causes which have bred anarchism in India. The Editor concludes by remarking that Hindus are and will remain loyal to the throne.

Recent addition to the cost of the British garrison.

15. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 19th November 1908, publishes an article headed "Continued increase in the cost of the British garrison." The recent unexpected increase to the above cost, says the paper, has led to several questions being asked in the House of Commons on the subject. As, however, Mr. Buchanan has refused to lay the report of the Romer Committee on the table of the House it is difficult to say whether the representatives of the India Office on the Committee did anything to prevent this country being saddled with another £ 300,000 a year. After remarking that the Government of India has strongly objected to the increase, the Editor approves of this step taken by it, saying that even the present military expenditure is too heavy a burden for India to bear. The country, he adds, cannot afford to meet the daily increasing expenditure on the army, nor has the War Department the power to saddle the Indian Exchequer, fairly or otherwise, with heavy burdens at its own sweet will. It has become highly necessary to make public and searching enquiries into the matter.

The coming Madras Congress.

16. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 21st November 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "The coming congress," in which it says that the whole country is anxiously waiting to hear what decision the Moderates and Extremists will come to regarding the forthcoming session of the National Congress. The meeting held at Calcutta by the Extremist party on the 6th instant was atttended by Sardar Ajit Singh, who explained to the Editor the difference between the *Swaraj* demanded by this party and that which the Moderates wish to secure. The Sardar added that the Extremists were willing

to join hands with the Moderates on the condition that the four resolutions on *Swaraj*, national education, boycott and Swadeshism adopted at the Calcutta Congress were not interfered with. They were also willing to accept the Moderates' ideal of *Swaraj* for the present, but would like the matter to be decided by the Congress once and for all, the decision of that body being binding on both parties.

Boycott.

17. The *Raghbir Patrika* (Jhang), for October 1908, publishes some verses headed 'Boycott' from the pen of Banka Dyal. The writer says that boycott is a deadlier weapon than the arrow or the cannon. After remarking that boycott means buying nothing from one's enemies, he observes that those who say that it is less effective than the bomb and the gun tell a downright lie. When the tyrant's pocket, he adds, is touched he begins to think of both friends and foes, and feels as if a knife had been thrust into his heart. Similarly, so long as the people do not touch the pockets of white men they will never attract the latter's attention. The writer concludes by exhorting his countrymen to grasp the weapon of boycott and to wield it like men.

## IV.—Kine-Killing.

Muhammadans and kine-killing.

18. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 20th November 1908, publishes a communication from one Nawab Rai headed "Union between Hindus and Muhammadans: the question of kine-killing." The writer states that Maulvi Mujib-ul-Rahman, Editor of the *Mussalman* (Calcutta), has contributed an article to the November number of the *Hindustan Review* (Allahabad), in the course of which he complains that Bengal zamindars do not allow their tenants to sacrifice cows on the occasion of the Bakra 'Id. In fact, the Maulvi desires that his co-religionists should have the fullest liberty to sacrifice kine. He says that the cow is not only the cheapest animal, but that it is seven times more meritorious to sacrifice it than to offer sheeps and goats in sacrifice.

Commenting on the above, the writer observes that when the Amir declared at Delhi that Muhammadans ought to discontinue sacrificing cows and should sacrifice other animals instead, no *ulema* had the courage to take exception to the declaration. Maulvi Mujib-ul-Rahman also complains of the Hindu institution of *chhut*, but he should know that it does not insult the religious beliefs of Mussalmans, whereas to kill kine is to deeply wound the religious susceptibilities of Hindus. The followers of Hinduism go the length of applying the epithet "mother" to the cow, and there can be no union between them and those who kill the animal for food. After remarking that the killing of cows was forbidden by the Emperor Akbar and that the animals are not sacrificed in Hindu States even now, the writer says that Hindus are prepared to give up *chhut* in order to promote union between the two communities. They can, however, never consent to the sacrifice of kine and tolerate the evil only because of their present helpless condition. It is to be regretted that the Prophet's followers should mar the future of India for a few mouthfuls of beef. In conclusion, the writer urges leading Muhammadans to look into the matter.

## VI—LEGISLATION.

Special legislation for dealing with anarchists.

19. Writing under the heading "Is any special law about to be passed?" the *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 20th November 1908, says that, unfortunately for the country, the anarchists at Calcutta have again begun to show signs of activity. The paper then refers to the attempt on the life of Sir Andrew Fraser and to the murder of Inspector Nand Lal Bannerji, and goes on to say that the terrorists in the metropolis seem determined to kill all the prosecution witnesses in the Alipur Bomb case. The murder of the approver Gossain before he could be cross-examined and the consequent rejection of his statement as admissible evidence has placed an obstacle in the way of the conviction of the accused. An abortive attempt was also made recently to stab one Sarat Chandar Das, another witness for the Crown. All this leaves no room for doubt that if the existing state of affairs continues the Police will not dare to arrest anarchists in future, while no one will venture to give evidence against the culprits and the courts will fight shy of punishing them. Again, no patriotic speaker or journalist will have the courage to condemn their doings and justice and order will become unknown in the country. The prospect has led to Anglo-Indian newspapers urging the authorities to add to the rigour, and extend the purview, of the Criminal law. Apparently there exists sufficient justification for Government acting up to the suggestion, which will, however, be a bad omen for the country. After reporting that the Viceroy has summoned the Home and Law members of his Council, as also the Home Secretary, to Bikanir, the paper says that the event is fraught with deep meaning. Indeed, it is rumoured that after consulting these officers and obtaining the sanction of the Secretary of State Lord Minto will place some important measures on the legislative anvil.

Special legislation for dealing with anarchists.

20. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 25th November 1908, publishes an article headed "The manufacture of special weapons for dealing with special difficulties". The Chamber of Commerce, Bengal, the Trades Association, Calcutta, and the Anglo-Indian Defence Association of the same place, it says, have sent a joint telegram requesting His Excellency the Viceroy to constitute a special court for trying anarchists. After referring to the reply sent to the above societies, the paper quotes extracts from Lord Minto's recent speech at Lucknow. His Lordship's remarks, it adds, show clearly enough that Government is ready to adopt the severest legal measures for stamping out unrest and anarchism. No peaceful man can deny that exemplary punishment should be inflicted on law-breakers, but it is at the same time impossible to approve of any measure calculated to place innocent persons in the clutches of law.

Special legislation for dealing with anarchists.

21. Writing under the heading "The rumoured new law," the *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 24th November 1908, says that Government's legislative machine appears to be so swift of motion that it is not difficult for it to make a new law in almost no time. A consideration, however, of the (rapid) pace at which unrest has been striking root in the country suggests the only inference that such laws prove harmful and not beneficial. The result of

the law suppressing the liberty of speech has been that the enthusiasm which zealous speakers used to waste at public meetings now remains locked in their breast and is preparing them for other things (*aur báton ke lie tayar kar raha hai*). If the intrepid Bengalis had been left to their "speechifying" they would never have thought of establishing secret societies. Similarly, the law gagging the press has resulted in newspapers like the *Yugantar* committing acts of mischief and publishing writings of which they would never have thought under the old press law. It was the fight between Government and the *Yugantar* which led to the passing of the Newspapers Act, but the measure has proved powerless to stop the publication of the said journal. The proposed new law also, which is perhaps intended to put down anarchism, will not be able to achieve the desired result, because laws cannot win hearts. The measure may succeed in bringing about the transportation of a number of persons, but what guarantee is there that it will lead to the arrest of all the culprits? The fell disease of unrest with which the country has been inflicted should be remedied as soon as possible, but the treatment followed should not be worse than the disease.

## VII.—General Administration.

### (*a*)—*Judicial.*

Invidious distinctions between European and native offenders.

22. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 21st November 1908, says that the stiff-necked authorities seem bent on bringing discredit on British justice. They are openly declaring (so to say) that white and black men are not judged by one and the same law by the British Courts. If a white man commits an offence he escapes scot-free, but a native guilty of the same conduct is sent to jail for life. Mr. Moore (of Rawalpindi), who raped a Hindu woman, was acquitted by the Punjab Chief Court, and John Farry, a devil in human form, who recently attempted to outrage a Muhammadan female passenger, has also escaped scot-free. It is such occurrences, adds the paper, which are undermining the foundations of the British Government in India. It is to be wished that the authorities will give up their present dangerous ways.

The case against Pandit Daulat Ram of Jhansi.

23. Writing under the heading "Pandit Daulat Ram in jail," the *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 21st November 1908, refers to the order of the District Magistrate, Jhansi, binding down the Pandit to be of good behaviour, for one year. Among other things, adds the paper, it is alleged in the District Magistrate's judgment that although the accused is not a member of the Jhansi Arya Samaj he delivered a lecture at the Samaj *mandir* on the 16th August last. This shows that the officer referred to would allow no preaching work to be done in the country. Does there exist, asks the Editor, any law to the effect that only a member of a society can make a speech in its premises? He then goes on to say that the District Magistrate has also taken exception to the following passage in the *Satyarath Parkash*:—"What a pity it is that the descendants of the Aryans should be trampled on by foreigners." Mr. Smith does not, however, controvert the statement; nay, he has corroborated it by

his conduct, which constitutes an attempt to trample on the feelings of natives. Besides, is it not a fact that even common Europeans do not treat Indians like human beings and are in the habit of kicking the latter to death? India, adds the *Jhang Sial*, should look for protection to God alone when Magistrates object to statements like the one referred to; when they regard it as objectionable for a man to speak under the auspices of a society of which he is not a member; when it is considered an offence in one to collect *ata* and money (for one's maintenance); and when free education is an eye-sore to the authorities. Will Government, it asks, prevent heads of districts from conducting themselves in an arbitrary manner? It does not become it to imprison Editors and speakers on charges of sedition, but to do nothing to restrain its officers from breaking the people's hearts by their high-handed doings.

Libel cases against the *Jhang Sial*.

24. The *Rahgbir Patrika* (Jhang), for October 1908, publishes a few verses from the pen of one Daulat Ram, *azad*, of Ramnagar. The writer complains that Banka Dyal has been sent to jail for having spoken the truth. He also accuses the Deputy Commissioner, Jhang, of having used his official position to work the ruin of the prisoner.

Libel cases against the *Jhang Sial*.

25. Writing under the heading "Fund in aid of Banka Dyal," the *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 21st November 1908, again appeals to the public for pecuniary help in connection with the libel cases instituted against it. It also acknowledges the following subscriptions in aid of the fund referred to :—

| | | | Rs. | A. | P. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Received through Lala Diwan Chand | ... | | 3 | 12 | 0 |
| Received from Murree | ... | ... | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Babu Moti Dutt ... | ... | ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| From anonymous subscribers | ... | ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Munshi Muhammad Umar | ... | ... | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| From subscriber No. 4352 (to the *Jhang Sial*) | ... | ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | | ... | 24 | 12 | 0 |
| Add amount already acknowledged | | ... | 384 | 6 | 0 |
| GRAND TOTAL | | ... | 409 | 2 | 0 |

Lala Har Dayal on Native Barristers.

26. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 20th November 1908, publishes an article headed "Sri Krishen and Lala Har Dyal," in which it remarks that the former, the greatest national teacher of Hindus, has said in the *gita* that the world always imitates its great men. Lala Har Dayal adds the paper, is one of those natives of the day who exercise great influence on their fellow countrymen. While, however, he himself has gone to England a second time in his articles on "Barristership" and other subjects he advises natives not to pollute themselves by going to that country of *mlechhas*. In other words, he asks his countrymen to act up to his advice and not to follow his example,

which shows that he knows absolutely nothing of human nature. It is, besides, a gross mistake on his part to prohibit Indians from going to England. It is very necessary for them to go abroad in order to develop and expand their intellectua l faculties, to increase their store of knowledge and to learn whatever the world can teach them. As long as India had dealings with other countries she maintained her (material) existence and was considered the queen of the world. Her fall dates back from the time when she severed her connection, and ceased dealing with the outside worlds. Signs are not, however, wanting to show that she is anxious to revive her relations with other countries, which will be certain to win her back her past greatness. Lala Har Dayal's advice to his countrymen not to go abroad is, therefore, calculated to at least surprise them. After remarking that the Lala is given to hair-splitting, the paper concedes his contention that permission to natives to join the *Inns* of Court was intended to allow English Barristers to practise in India. He, however, overlooks the fact that Native Barristers prevent considerable legal work and much of the country's wealth from going into the hands of their foreign *confrères*. Again, if there had not been able Hindu Barristers in the country who would have so ably defended the accused in the bomb and sedition cases? The Editor has no doubt that, but for the existence of a Barrister of Mr. K. B. Dutt's calibre, the three hundred innocent persons implicated in the Midnapur bomb case would not have been released. He admits that there are some immoral men in the ranks of Native Barristers, but he contends that they would not have been better men even if they had not gone to England to study law. Their residence abroad, he adds, has at least broadened their vision, while so far as national affairs are concerned they occupy the position of extremists (sic !) In conclusion he says that no Indian young man can become a patriot merely by avoiding the donning of the Barrister's gown.

*(f)—Railways and Communications.*

27. The *Siraj-ul-Akhbar* (Jhelum), of the 17th November 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "Rates for telegraphic messages." The paper does not approve of the proposed enhancement of the rates now charged for different classes of telegrams. It is of opinion that the change will result in a reduction in the number of telegrams despatchad and consequently in a falling off in Government's income from the Telegraph Department. It will also seriously inconvenience the public ; and Government should not therefore enhance the prevailing rates. Nay, it should, if possible, reduce them still further, so as enable even the poor to profit by the Telegraph Department.

Telegram charges.

G. A. COCKS,

*Asst. to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*

*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

LAHORE:
*The 28th November* 1908.

Punjab Government Press, Lahore—5-12-08—548L—95—C. D.

[Confidential.]

Vol. XXI.] [No. 43.]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

Received up to 5th December 1903.

---

## CONTENTS.


I.—Politics.

Page.

(a)—Foreign—

1. The coming supremacy of the labouring classes (*Army News*) ... ... ... ... 729

(b)—Home—

2. England's treatment of Persians and Indians—a contrast (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... ... 729
3. Government's repressive policy (*Jhang Sial*) ... 730
4. How natives can rise (*Akash*) ... ... ... *ib.*
5. The new spirit in India (*Parkash*) ... ... 731
6. Unrest in India ... ... ... ... 732
7. Anarchism and unrest in India (*Akash*) ... ... 733
8. Bengali anarchists (*Parkash*) ... ... .... 734
9. Bengali anarchists (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... *ib.*
10. Bengali anarchists (*Vakil*) ... ... ... 735
11. Bengali anarchists (*Akhbar-i-Am*) ... ... *ib.*
12. The *swadeshi* movement (*Akash*) ... ... *ib.*
13. Ill-treatment of natives by Anglo-Indians (*Akash*) ... 736
14. Lala Lajpat Rai (*Akash*) ... ... ... 737
15. Sufi Amba Parshad (*Hindustan*) ... ... 738

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

16. Tribal raids into British territory (*Akash*) ... 738

III.—Native States.

17. Hyderabad disaster (*Akash*) ... ... .... 739
18. Bahawalpur affairs (*Akhbar-i-Am*) ... ... *ib.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

19. Cow protection (*Hindustan*) ... ... ... 740

V.—Native Societies and Religious Matters.

20. Hindus (*Akash*) ... ... ... ... 743
21. Hindus and Muhammadans of Sialbha (?) in the Ambala district (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... *ib.*
22. The Arya Samaj (*Parkash*) ... ... ... 744

VI.—Legislation.

23. The proposed Crimes Act (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... 746
24. The proposed Crimes Act (*Vakil*) ... ... *ib.*
25. The proposed Crimes Act (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... *ib.*
26. Punjab representative on the Viceregal Council (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... ... ... 747

VII.—General Administration.

(a)—Judicial—

27. Durga Charn and Corporal Cullen (*Panjabee*) ... 747
28. Invidious distinctions between European and native offenders (*Parkash*) ... ... ... *ib.*
29. Mr. Shah Din's appointment to the Bench of the Chief Court, Punjab (*Akash*) ... ... 748
30. Libel cases against the *Jhang Sial* (*Jhang Sial*) ... *ib.*

(b)—Police—

31. The late Mr. Clough, Superintendent of Police (*Jhang Sial*) ... ... ... ... 748

(c)—Municipal and Cantonment affairs—

Nil.

(d)—Education—

32. A complaint (*Vakil*) ... ... ... 749

(e)—Agriculture and questions affecting the land—

Nil.

(f)—Railways and Communications—

Nil.

(g)—Postal matters—

Nil.

(h)—Miscellaneous—

33. The *Akash* newspaper (*Akash*) ... ... 750

III.—NATIVE STATES.

13. Hatgarhpal dissolved (Adana) ... ... ... 235
14. Hanpawipni ahaiya (Adana-i-Am) ... ... ... do.

VI.—KING-KILLING.

15. Cow protection (Hindustan) ... ... ... 240

V.—NATIVE SOCIETIES AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

16. Hindus (Adana) ... ... ... ... 243
17. Hindus and Mahammadans of Zilladar (1) in the Amdala district (Adana Zila) ... ... ... do.
18. The Arya Samaj (Partabad) ... ... ... 244
19. The Adana members (Adana) ... ... ... 245
20. A complaint (Adana) ... ... ... 246

(1)—Agricultural and irrigation difficulties in the land—
Nil.

(2)—Railways and Communications—
Nil.

(3)—Postal matters—
Nil.

(4)—Miscellaneous—

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 49. ]

# SELECTIONS
## FROM THE
# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS
## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

**Received up to 5th December 1908.**

---

### I.—POLITICS.

#### (a)—*Foreign.*

1. The *Army News* (Ludhiana), of the 21st November 1908, publishes an article headed "The Shudra rule," in which it says that, according to the Hindu Shastras, in the first cycle of the *Kali Yuga* the sceptre of the world passed into the hands of the *banias*, who still retain their supremacy. Indeed, it is trade which now governs the world, and statecraft has come to be a synonym for securing new markets (for a nations' manufactures). In India the interests of the Lancashire weavers are preferred to those of the children of the soil. The reason for this is that the former return so many members to Parliament that if the party in power were to displease them it would not be able to retain its position even for one day. It is, therefore, no exaggeration to say that it is *banias* who now rule (this country). Government can pass no new law without first consulting the Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Karachi. Continuing the paper says that the time is not far off when the Shudras will become the rulers of the world. (The recent) strikes on railways and by mill-hands afford a foretaste of the coming great power of the *Shudras*. The rich, the nobles, king and ministers are mere puppets in the hands of the *Shudras*, who have come to realise their power of late and have been making their existence felt in both England and America. After remarking that the Socialist, Anarchist, Nihilist and Nationalist movements are worked on principles calculated to bring about the salvation of the labouring classes, the paper says that as the Shudras are striving to level all distinctions of rank and position, their rule will usher in the millennium. It will, however, take many years to bring about the change and that also after a great deal of bloodshed. The fire of jealousy will be kindled between nations and only the fittest will survive, after which peace will reign in the world for a very long time.

*The coming supremacy of the labouring classes.*

#### (b)—*Home.*

2. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 28th November 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "Differences between profession and practice," in which it says that Russia and England are bringing pressure to bear on the Shah to

*England's treatment of the Persians and Indians—a contrast.*

grant a parliament to his subjects. Is this not the same England, asks the paper, which imprisons and deports Indians for speaking the truth, demanding their rights and desiring freedom? Again, thousands of the Czar's subjects have been shot, banished to Siberia or thrown into jail for demanding a parliament from His Majesty. It is strange that England should espouse the cause of the Persians, who took up arms against their King, but that she should have no patience with Indians who petition for their rights in a respectful manner. She calls them rebels, sends them to jail and would keep them in a state of slavery (for ever).

Government's repressive policy.

3. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 28th November 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "A new method of preaching," in which it says that on the occasion of the recent Durga Puja a Bengali ordered from Germany a large number of copies of a picture depicting the highhandedness of the Police and the authorities and the pitiable condition of the Bengalis. In order, however, to avoid being shown up in their true colours the authorities did not allow the said Bengali to distribute the copies. This led to the holding of an exhibition at Pondicherry where clay images of Khudi Ram Bose with a halter round his neck, and of the approver Gossain with Srijut Kanai Lal Dutt on his shoulders were exhibited. Another exhibit represented Mother India dressed in rags and holding the beggar's wallet, through a hole in which foreigners were seen robbing her of her all. Continuing the paper says that necessity is undoubtedly the mother of invention. The more the Government has tried to crush the nationalist movement with the aid of repression, the larger proportions the propaganda has assumed. The more laws the authorities have passed to stop the pens and tongues of the people the newer methods the latter have invented (to checkmate the former). It is difficult to say what will happen next if the existing state of affairs continues.

How natives can rise.

4. The *Akash* (Delhi), of the 5th (received on the 26th) November 1908, publishes an article headed "What should be done now?" It is the duty of every Indian, says the paper, to seriously ponder over this question and to sacrifice his personal interests for the good of his country. The people should discuss their political affairs with seriousness, while the rich among them should leave off selfish enjoyments and take the lead in all political movements. Some people are of opinion that the agitation which has been going on in the country during the past few months transgresses the bounds of moderation. Others, however, do not share this view. But, whichever party may be in the right, the question that requires consideration at present is what course the people should adopt. The editor is of opinion that they should discontinue agitating and should achieve something practical. There can be no doubt that the sufferings through which all provinces, expecially the Punjab, have had to pass cannot be described in words. These should not, however, lead the people to do nothing to make up for the lost time and to pass their days in idleness. The wise profit even by their troubles, and the more a worthy person suffers with greater vigour does he press forward even at the risk of his limbs. Indians should bear in mind that it is no child's play to make progress. They will have to sacrifice their selfish interests at the altar of nationalism. Progress cannot be achieved by lolling in the soft bed

of pleasure. After remarking that they will have to suffer every conceivable hardship on the way to progress, the editor says that if they sincerely desire that their beloved country should prosper, that they should eat of the fruit of liberty once more, and that their descendants should enjoy prosperity, they should exclaim boldly and loudly "The wave of nationalism can on no account be stemmed." If the sacred seed of patriotism has germinated in the hearts of the children of the nation, if the fire of sacrifice and patriotism burns in the breasts of young men, and if the hearts of the national leaders are aglow with the light of unselfishness, sympathy, perseverance and self-sacrifice, they will assuredly rise and end the troubles of the country. Indians should remember that they cannot reach their goal without exerting themselves. There should be national educational institutions in all parts of the country where children can imbibe feelings of patriotism and become able to produce in their turn children who will shake the whole world. The editor then appeals to native youths to bestir themselves, to develop their character, to purge their hearts of malice and bigotry, to imbibe the spirit of self-sacrifice, to leave off empty talk, to make themselves as courageous as those (the English) from whom they have learnt the words *swadeshi*, boycott and self-government, *i.e*, *swaraj*, to cultivate the virtue of firmness, to court troubles and sufferings, to establish free primary schools in every street, to teach and recite at them the deeds wrought by their great men and leaders and to prepare the entire population (? for obtaining *swaraj*). The small party of the educated can achieve nothing unless all the thirty crores of natives acquaint themselves with the country's conditions and love *swadeshism*, boycott and *swaraj*. Small tracts written in easy language should also be published to convey the message to women. It is a matter for regret that in spite of the last twenty years' agitation for rights there should not be a single political institution in the country for preparing political preachers. After remarking that Muhammad, Christ, Budha, Shankaracharya and Dayananda made their great achievements through their power of speech alone, the paper suggests that (political) societies should be established in all cities, that each of them should employ forty preachers to lecture in villages, and that every village should publish a newspaper to teach the common people what boycott and *swaraj* mean. In short, natives should adapt themselves to the circumstances of the times.

The new spirit in India.

5. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 24th November 1908, publishes a communication from "A servant of the country" headed "What arms do we want in political warfare?" The writer says that some four years ago the people were locked in the arms of profound sleep and that quiet reigned in all parts of the Indian continent. Again, the authorities did their utmost to produce the impression that they had been performing their duties in a strictly just and impartial manner. They also felt unbounded joy at the sleep and quiet referred to and were never tired of praying that the same might last for ever, inasmuch as they could have things their own way in that event alone. But the scene changed with the partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon in the teeth of universal opposition. Memorial after memorial was submitted and the leaders warned Government of the coming danger; but the latter treated the warning as foolish talk. After referring to the different phases of the anti-partition agitation, the correspondent says that the movement induced a large

number of persons to throw off their sleep and gave rise to feelings of nationality in Bengal. The wave spread to the Punjab, where also public meetings and forcible speeches became the order of the day and enthusiastic young men stepped into the (political) arena. The province, however, became quiet again as soon as Government brought its heavy hand into play. Continuing the writer says that it cannot be denied that a change is passing over the country. Government also, he adds, is determined to crush the new spirit by some means, however savage or oppressive. On the other hand, not a few natives have come to reck nothing even of life and mount the gallows with smiling faces. Indeed, signs of an awakening are visible on all sides and a very large number of the people have realised what are their rights and have been trying to obtain the same by their own efforts. It is, however, worthy of consideration whether there have actually risen pilots capable of steering the barque of India into a haven of safety and whether the people have procured the necessary arms and ammunition for ensuring success in a war for liberty. History relates that patriots have had to face thousands of hardships. They have been sent to jail and into exile and have had to lay down even their lives. They went to every town and village and taught their fellow-countrymen what patriotism meant. They also told the latter that it lay in their own hands to free themselves from their political cares. Such men made sacrifices themselves and taught others to follow their example. Far different, however, is the state of affairs in India. Only a very small party of natives is working for the salvation of the country. The rest are wasting their energies in quarrelling among themselves, and not even the greatest political leader tries to remove the evils which stand in the way of their conversion into a "civil force." Again, the people spend lakhs and crores in litigation which enables thousands of officers to pass their days as if they were denizens of the Muhammadan paradise. Enormous sums of money are also spent on liquor, which is deteriorating the physical as well as the financial condition of the people. The writer also condemns the selfishness of natives, as also the hatred with which the higher classes regard the lower castes. A native, he adds, who succeeds in obtaining a post under Government considers it derogatory to associate with his fellow-countrymen out of the public service. He then refers to the ill-treatment of the people by petty officials like booking-clerks and ticket-collectors, and proceeds to find fault with his countrymen for deserting patriots who happen to incur Government's displeasure and for bringing about the imprisonment or deportation of their own kith and kin. After accusing legal practitioners of encouraging litigation and remarking that the country is sunk in abject poverty, he observes that in view of the above evils it is foolish to say that the people are about to see better days. He concludes by promising to revert to the subject in the next issue of the paper.

Unrest in India.

6. In a paragraph headed "Only try it" the *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 28th November 1908, says that no one wishes for the continuance of the prevailing unrest. The evil is, however, assuming larger proportions from day to day, while a wave of anarchism has entered Bengal from over the seas. No one considers himself safe in these days and the people are having a bad time of it. The sins of a few (misguided) youths are being visited on

the most respectable and scholarly natives, and there prevails quite a panic in the country. The Police have taken advantage of the situation to avenge themselves on the public, the Midnapur bomb case being an instance in point. On the other hand (Anglo-Indian) officers also have become strangers to peace and scent bombs on all sides. Again, the exchequer has been burdened with the pay of the extra secret and regular police employed by Government. After remarking that it is the repressive policy followed by the authorities which has made things unpleasant for themselves as well as the people, the paper regrets that they should not turn over a new leaf. They know and have also heard from Lord Morley that the hearts of people cannot be won by repression, but they will not abandon their policy of coercion. The recent developments in Turkey leave no room for doubt that if a government gives up repression and listens to the grievances of its subjects, it becomes independent of the help of spies and soldiers. The British authorities in India seem to think that leniency is synonymous with cowardice. They should know that it is a synonym for justice and liberality, and that it puts down rebels and sedition as if by magic. If they conciliate the people the latter will again become the humble slaves of the English.

Anarchism and unrest in India.

7. The *Akash* (Lahore), of the 5th (received on the 26th) November 1908, publishes a communication headed "A double dealer," in which the writer reproduces a paragraph by Mrs. Besant in a recent number of the *Hindu College Magazine* condemning the dastardly deeds perpetrated by Bengali anarchists. The lady named, he adds, has, like other Anglo-Indians, attributed the prevailing unrest to public workers in the country. She also seems to imply that the trouble has been created by Hindus, while she has delivered an attack against Mr. Tilak. After remarking that no sensible native can approve of the deeds which have recently been perpetrated by some Bengali youths, the correspondent says that it is an open secret that not only Hindus but also all other sections of the population have been struggling to move forward and that consequently it is unfair to accuse only Hindus of sedition (*sic*!). Perhaps not a single Indian wishes to see innocent persons killed or rivers of blood shed in the country, because such a state of affairs would spell ruin for India. There is, however, nothing criminal in the people asking Government to protect them from ill-treatment in foreign countries and from rude Europeans and Eurasians. Continuing the writer says that impartial consideration will show that the prevailing unrest is attributable not to the teachings of the leaders but to the continued havoc by famine and plague, to the destruction of the indigenous industries, to the curtailment of the means of earning bread open to the people, to the oppression practised by the Police and to the cruel treatment of natives by Anglo-Indians and in the British colonies. The spread of education in the country is beginning to make the people realise their degraded condition and has rendered them anxious to put an end to their troubles. And as long as they have faith in the British sense of justice they will continue struggling (for their rights). Some short-sighted people ascribe the new spirit in India to Western education and have been urging that obstacles should be placed in the way of its acquisition by Indians. They hold that natives should be taught in such a way that the idea of an awakening may never enter their

minds and that they may not learn to respect their political leaders. But the days are gone by when the people could be befooled by such talk. The writer concludes by praying God to enable Indians to distinguish between their friends and foes.

Bengali anarchists.

8. Writing under the heading "Lesson from these incidents," the *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 17th November (received on the 1st December) 1908, refers to the attempt on Sir Andrew Frazer's life and to the murder of Sub-Inspector Nand Lal Bannerji, and remarks that Bengali youths may have been justified in killing the approver Goshain, but that there can be no justification for them to commit wholesale murders. There can be no doubt, it adds, that Government committed an act of injustice in partitioning Bengal, but are not the recent blood-thirsty doings of the Bengalis calculated to throw that unjust deed into the shade? After condemning anarchism and desiring its banishment from the country, the editor says that he wishes his countrymen to acquire the virtues of bravery and manliness. Bravery, however, consists in retaliating on one's assailants, while it is nothing short of cowardice to commit assaults like those referred to. The leaders in Bengal should take steps to crush this blood-thirsty spirit, for if to-day the hand of the anarchist has risen against Sir Andrew Fraser it may, in the event of a difference of opinion, rise against Mr. Gokhale or Babu Surrendra Nath Bannerji to-morrow. It is useless to ask Government to remedy the evil, for it can do nothing in the matter. Nay, its present conduct is calculated to intensify and not to abate the evil. The leaders named should use their moral influence to stem the tide of anarchism, lest it should wash away even the part of the national edifice which has so far been raised in the country. In conclusion, the editor says that the Bengali youth should not be taught the lesson of hatred. He also wishes that these youths would realise the dangerous character of their ways and would learn to distinguish between good and evil.

Bengali anarchists.

9. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 28th November 1908, publishes an article headed "The fatal effect of anarchism on the progress of the country". The objectionable agitation, it says, which has been carried on in Bengal during the past few years has been causing the people considerable anxiety and trouble. The appearance in quick succession of boycott, national volunteers, agitation by students, the bomb conspiracies and anarchist crime has done the country very serious harm. The revolutionary and mischievous speeches and writings of some short-sighted speakers and editors in Bengal have not been without their effect in other provinces also. After remarking that Government is determined to preserve the public peace, the editor says that it is the duty of all peace-loving Indians to help the authorities in the matter, so that the country's progress and industrial development may not be arrested. He then refers to the repressive measures which Government has had to adopt to put down undesirable agitation in Bengal and says that it has now resolved to suppress anarchism with a strong hand and is thinking of passing a special law for the purpose. After observing that Native States are following in its footsteps, he recapitulates the recent objectionable doings of the Bengali anarchists, and says that these show clearly enough that efforts are being made to inflame simple-minded people (in

Bengal) against Government. Such proceedings are, however, greatly injuring the country and the rights of the people are being curtailed instead of being added to. And if the contagion spreads to other provinces also, India will have to sign her own death warrant, as has been aptly remarked by Mrs. Besant.

Bengali anarchists.

10. The *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 25th November 1908, says that the cruel and foolish Bengali anarchists, whose dastardly and heartless doings constitute a foul blot on the fair fame of India continue their nefarious work. The worst of it is, however, that they select inexperienced and unthinking lads to serve their impure and blood-thirsty ends. They are so mean and cowardly that they have neither the courage to run the risk of arrest by doing their devilish work themselves nor do they feel pity for their youthful tools. After remarking that such persons would be regarded as a nuisance even by savages, the editor expresses surprise at their toleration by Bengali society, which can boast of scores of enlightened members. He asks it to take prompt steps to purge itself of pestilential anarchists.

Bengali anarchists.

11. The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 28th November 1908, publishes a communication headed "Sir Andrew Fraser and Government's good fortune." The Bengali anarchists, says the writer, who are the enemies of both the throne and the nation, are not likely to let the people or Government know rest. Every Indian should give them a wide berth and also make his offspring follow his example. After referring to the attempt on Sir Andrew Fraser's life, the paper says that his unpatriotic assailant will be tried in a court of justice. The fact, it adds, that the would-be assassin will be punished only after a regular trial shows that British rule is nothing short of a blessing to natives. Under the Moslem or the Sikh rule not only the accused, but also his relations would have been hanged without loss of time. Indeed, the Brtish Government in India rests on its sense of justice, and so long as it administers even-handed justice the anarchists cannot work it the least injury. It should not be inferred from the doings of the Bengalis that Government will be frightened into handing over the country to them. The foundations of British rule are laid deep in the hearts of the people and it is for this reason that the few seditionists in the land are being caught and punished with the help of their own countrymen. The loyal and peaceful sections of the population know that if the anarchists are not brought to their senses they will bring ruin on the country. They have dashed to the ground the expectations which the National Congress had been entertaining for the last quarter of a century and have put an end to all hopes regarding the repeal of the Arms Act. Indeed, how can Government free the country from the operation of the Arms Act at the instance of these rebels? The writer concludes by telling his countrymen that it is to their advantage to remain loyal to their present rulers.

The *swadeshi* movement.

12. Writing under the heading "*Swadeshi* Soshila", the *Akash* (Delhi), of the 14th (received on the 26th) November 1908, says that although, owing to their being uneducated, native women know nothing of politics and nationalism, still, when some principle is fully impressed on them

they do not hesitate to lay down even their lives for it. As an instance in point, the paper reports that a young Bengali wife named Soshila committed suicide recently in consequence of her husband having brought some foreign-made cloth for her. It is a strange contrast, it adds, that in a country, where men of education and experience—both old and young—murder their consciences in order to wear the chains of slavery and live by double-dealing and back-biting, a girl of 15, with the world before her, should kill herself for the sake of *dharma* and to promote the welfare of her nation and country. The editor does not approve of her conduct in committing suicide, but cannot help admiring her patriotism. Her tragic story and her singleness of purpose will fan the fire of swadeshism into a gigantic flame. The paper concludes thus :—" Indian youngmen, are you fond of glossy foreign-made articles even now and (*lit.* or) will you not inconvenience yourselves to expand your trade, to promote the welfare of the country and for the sake of your destitute brethren ? Will you not make sacrifices to again raise your fallen country ? . . . Become swadeshists . . . Spread swadeshism to each and every house. It constitutes your first step in the direction of progress . . . You lie in the lap of Mother *swadeshi*. Dedicate your lives to her. God will shower blessings on ycu and make you prosperous ".

Ill-treatment of natives by Anglo-Indians.

13. The *Akash* (Delhi), of the 12th (received on the 26th) November 1908, publishes a paragraph headed " An arrogant Englishman," in which it relates a story to the effect that (recently) an Englishman did not allow a respectable *Zamindar* to enter a first class carriage at the Dacca station, saying that he would not travel with a native ; that on the station officials remonstrating with him he threatened them with a revolver ; and that on leaving the train at Mymensingh he paid no heed to the station master's demand for his ticket.

Commenting on the occurrence, the paper asks why all the officials attached to the Dacca station became frightened at sight of a revolver and whether there were no policemen there to interfere with the proud Englishman in question. How would it have gone with a native, it further enquires, if he had prevented an Englishman from entering the carriage occupied by him ? Old Durga Charan Sanyal has been sent to jail for two years on the charge of having abused an English passenger on being brow-beaten by the latter. The railway authorities did not, however, interfere with the Englishman referred to, who feeds himself and his family on the earnings of natives, but considers it a sin to travel with a native, and who insulted the station master of Mymensingh by not giving up to that official his ticket. The paper is of opinion that he should be prosecuted under section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code for creating feelings of hatred between natives and Europeans by having refused to travel with a child of the soil. The proud authorities should know that it is Englishmen of this description and not native newspapers that create ill-will between Indians and Europeans. The editor wishes that all Englishmen would hate natives, so that the latter may learn to stand on their own legs. He concludes as follows :—" Indians, have you ever reflected how you fare in the Transvaal and America ? Do you see what value is placed on you in your own country ?

You are regarded with such hatred (by Englishmen) that they do not consent to sit near you. They do not wish to see your cursed faces. If this Englishman had not been drunk with power, if this creature of God had looked upon natives as his fellow-beings, and if he had not prided himself on his white skin, he would never have dared to assault a respectable *Zamindar*, Well, Lord Curzon's relatives, you are forgiven."

Lala Lajpat Rai.

14. The *Akash* (Lahore), of the 5th (received on the 26th) November 1908, publishes an Article headed "Lajpat Rai and Urdu newspapers."

All *raises* and lawyers in Bengal and Bombay, it says, are patriotic men, but their *confreres* in the Punjab are so many traitors to the nation. It is, therefore, a matter for thankfulness that nature has produced at least one Lajpat Rai in this province. He has been serving the nation for the last 25 years, and it is because of him that feelings of nationality exist in some parts of the Punjab. He has given up his practice to promote the country's welfare, a sacrifice not as yet made by any other Panjabi Lawyer or *rais*. After remarking that the Panjabis do not appreciate the services rendered by their political leaders, the paper enquires whether there is any Panjabi who left off work, abstained from taking his food and held an indignation meeting on the day of Lala Lajpat Rai's deportation. Again, is it not a matter for shame that while Poona was converted into a place of mourning on the occasion not a single meeting has been held in the capital of the Punjab to sympathise with Mr. Tilak in his present troubles? Some selfish persons may perhaps blame Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Ajit Singh for this, but there is no justice in the accusation. If Ajit Singh and others had no sympathy with Mr. Tilak they would never have put on ochre-coloured clothes (in consequence of his conviction). Again, the editor saw with his own eyes that on the day of Mr. Tilak's arrest Lala Lajpat Rai threw all articles of luxury out of his bed-room and commenced sleeping on a wooden board. Continuing, he says that there is no life among Panjabi *raises* and lawyers and that none of the latter would consent to defend the accused in the *India* sedition and the Lahore riot cases on payment even of double or treble the fee usually charged by them. Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh were undergoing hardships at Mandalay and nationalist young men at Lahore suffered intensely from thirst in the jail and the lock-up. A few poor and sympathetic souls went about soliciting help for the accused, but the well-to-do men who posed as leaders would not bestir themselves. Again when Lala Lajpat Rai washed away his past sins by performing a pilgrimage to Mandalay and returned home a pure angel both friends and foes went to see him at his house. A certain person, however, who was considered a leader, not only did not do so, but turned away his face from the Lala on encountering the latter on the road. Lajpat and Ajit can achieve nothing so long as such inconstant persons exist in the Punjab. The leaders should always be encouraged and helped with money, &c., in their hour of difficulty. The editor concludes thus:—"Fellow-countrymen, fault-finding and mutual jealousies can avail nothing. Purge your hearts of envy and malice. Give up inconstancy. This is the time for work and not for talk. If Lajpat Rai has disgraced himself and if Ajit has been vanquished you yourselves should step forward. The field is a vast one. Serve (your country). Service brings greatness."

Sufi Amba Parshad.

15. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 27th November 1908, publishes a communication headed "Sufi Amba Parshad and the District Magistrate, Lahore." In this communication the writer says that the Sufi was summoned by the (District) Magistrate. Lahore, to attend his court on the 25th instant when some information would be communicated to him. On the Sufi appearing in the court on the day fixed Mr. Connolly told him that Government had been informed that the Sufi was writing some seditious books or pamphlets and that he was, therefore, directed to warn him against such conduct. The Sufi, thereupon, submitted a written statement in which he said that he could not understand the significance of this premature warning and asked whether he should consider that he was about to be prosecuted (by Government). How could the Government, he asked, know what was going on in his brain because he had not written any book till then. He also said that Government should not believe these things and observed that he was being daily informed that, with a view to lower him in the public estimation, the police were trying to get up cases against him (Sufi) and Sardar Ajit Singh reflecting on their morals and character. He, however, added that he could not believe that Government was so weak as to be led by the police. The Magistrate, however, replied that he had been directed to communicate the warning to him but he could not accept any written statement to be placed on the file. The details, says the writer, will be published in the next issue. A similar warning, he adds, was given to Lala Lal Chand Falak and an account of this also will be published in the next issue.

## II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

Tribal raids into British territory.

16. Writing under the heading "Dacoities in the Peshawar *ilaka*," the *Akash* (Delhi), of the 5th (received on the 26th) November 1908, says that the public cannot have forgotten the raids committed into British territory by Afridis last year. Winter, it adds, has set in again and the lives and property of the poor (Frontier) Hindus have been endangered once more. A punitive expedition, which cost about £150,000 and nearly 250 lives, was sent against the offending tribesmen, but absolutely nothing has come of it. After referring to some recent raids, the paper condemns the indifference of the police to the matter and remarks that it is difficult to believe that Peshawar forms part of British territory. Is it not the duty of Government to protect the inoffensive and helpless Hindus (on the Frontier) against marauding tribesmen? Continuing, it says that Anglo-Indian newspapers call natives rebels, but it is the English who can be truthfully branded as such. Let alone the young and the experienced old men, even the women of England do not hesitate to break down the doors of the House of Commons in search of their rights. On the contrary, the women inhabiting this country, *i.e.*, the *raises*, the rich, pleaders and barristers, go about fawning upon the authorities for no reason or merely to secure empty titles. Loyalty in India consists in being shoe-beaten, but saying in return "Yes, Sir," "(you are my) father and mother" (and the like). Three crores of natives have died from hunger alone during the last 150 years, but sycophants tell the authorities that the country has become prosperous under British

rule. Natives with bare backs and empty stomachs fall down on public roads, while not a few commit suicide, considering it derogatory to beg for food. Again, who can say how many young man are prevented from acquiring education because of their poverty. The editor recently saw an old man parting with his staff, his sole support, in order to procure bread for himself. *Pardah-nashin* women are to be seen crying on roadsides for food for their starving children. The unemployed in England have taken to looting the rich and to organising demonstrations (to attract attention to their grievances). Poor Indians, however, cannot imitate their example, and look for help to God alone. If they had been seditious in very truth they would have fastened themselves on the calves of white men and torn away the flesh. They are undoubtedly poor and penniless, but, unlike English labourers or tribal dacoits, they are not rebels. They starve themselves and consign their children to the grave, but they accommodate their guests (? the English) in clean (*lit.* white) houses. They feed themselves on buttermilk, but treat their honoured guests to milk and butter. They do not cover their own backs, but procure velvet and silk muslin for the latter. No sane man should, therefore, suspect them of being rebels.

## III.—Native States.

Hyderabad disaster.

17. The *Akash* (Delhi), of the 5th (received on the 26th) November 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "Indians' ill-luck means good luck to the English." Writing about the Hyderabad disaster, says the paper, a correspondent of the *Pioneer* reported that fifty or sixty thousands lives had been lost, but that "fortunately" only natives had perished and that none of the Europeans and Eurasians in the city had been killed. If any native newspaper had remarked in connection with the Muzzaffarpur bomb outrage that fortunately only English people had been injured the English would have flown into a rage and felt highly angry with the indigenous press. Besides, God alone knows how it would have gone with the offending journal and under what section it would have been prosecuted. It is of course true that every one loves his own nation, but then why should the word "national sympathy" on the lips of natives serve as gall and worm-wood to Anglo-Indians? Are not Indians also human beings? Indeed, how can a people, thousands of whom cut the throats of their own brethren and lead the lives of schemers, hypocrites and deceivers, claim to be called human beings? Again, do the members of a nation, which is a stranger to shame and self-respect, deserve to be styled human beings? Crores of Indians, adds the paper, fall victims to famine, lakhs of them are carried away by plague and malaria, and thousands perish in railway accidents and floods; but bigoted (Anglo-Indian) newspapers speak of the catastrophes as so many pieces of good fortune. These journals should remember that unfortunate natives also will be in luck one day. It is to be wished that some value were placed on a native's life in his own country.

Bahawalpur affairs.

18. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* (Lahore), of the 30th November 1908, publishes a communication headed "A fame-hunting State." The Bahawalpur State, say the writer, has given one lakh of rupees to the Anjuman-i-Himayat-

Islám, Lahore, and the Nadwat-ul-Ulema, Lucknow, in the current year. It has also raised its permanent grant to the former body from Rs. 600 to Rs. 2,600 a year, while it has promised to collect for the Anjuman another Rs. 25,000 from the State Zamindars, who have already been hard hit by famine, disease and indebtedness. After accusing the present managers of the State of squandering its revenues, the writer remarks that the internal condition of States, which spend vast sums of money on show, is invariably the reverse of satisfactory. The money wrung by them from their subjects is not spent in relieving the latter's sufferings, but is wasted in diverse ways from motives of fame-hunting. The people may suffer from hunger, poverty and sickness, but the State authorities pay no heed to this and miss no opportunity of serving their selfish ends. Continuing, the writer enquires from the *Ulemas* connected with the Nadwat whether it is permissible for an Islamic State, the subjects of which are in such a wretched condtion, to give their money to outsiders. He adds that the subjects of native states are deserving of sympathy from Government, which alone can protect them against their oppressors. Before allowing fame-hunting states to indulge in extravaganee it should ascertain whether their subjects can conveniently be saddled with the expenditure. The adoption of such a course will earn Government the gratitude of State subjects and ensure their standing by it in its hour of need.

## IV.—Kine-Killing.

"Cow protection."

19. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 27th November 1908, publishes a communication headed "Cow protection" from Lala Har Dyal (London), who, referring to the communication on the same subject from one Hira Singh Dat published in *Hindustan*, of the 11th September 1908, (*vide* paragraph 11 of Selections No. 38), hopes that all Hindus who love their community and religion will express their feelings on the subject so that the matter may be fully threshed out in all its bearings. After expressing regret that so far the subject has not been discussed in the columns of *Hindustan*, the writer says that this apathy on their part is a sign of death and adds that if the Hindus cease paying heed to the cries of cows their gods will forsake them. He then goes on to refer to the usefulness of cow to India and remarks that the cow is the flag of the Hindu nation and that nobody dare kill a cow in a Hindu State. The writer refers to the cow-killing riots in 1890 and says that Hindus in the nineties made some active arrangements for the protection of cows, but when Government came forward to suppress it by repressive as well as by peaceful methods the entire movement collapsed. Those who were anxious to protect the cow began to think of protecting themselves and the enthusiasm hitherto displayed completely evaporated. The time has now come when Hindus should decide what steps should be taken in the matter. Those who desire the protection of cows and are not entirely lacking in courage should take the following facts into consideration:—

(1) The education imported by Government is most inimical to the idea of cow protection. It will surely tend to weaken the love which they bear towards the cow because Indian children are never taught to love cows in Government schools. If, therefore, Hindus are anxious that their youths should care for the protection of cows they should take steps to remove them

from Government schools. The very fact that out of the numerous societies started in the country there is not one association for the protection of cows shows that Hindu youths are totally ignorant of the matter. Indeed, when the teachers of those youths themselves eat beef how is it possible that their disciples should learn to love and honour cows? Hindus, therefore, should take care not to place their boys under the tuition of beef-eating Christian and Muhammadan teachers if they really desire to impress on them the desirability of cow protection. If they do not do this they must remember that their children or children's children will surely eat beef with as much relish as missionaries and English professors do. The writer then publishes an extract from Professor Max Müller's "Auld Lang Syne", in which it is stated that one Ram Tanu Lahiri used to go about in the streets of Calcutta with beef in his hands with a view to inviting Hindus to partake of it. The writer then goes on to ask "Do you desire that Hindu students like Ram Tanu Lahiri should be born in Muthra and Brindaban? If you are not willing to witness the scene enacted in the streets of Calcutta immediately after the opening of the Government Colleges re-enacted in Hardwar and Benares you should call back your boys immediately from Government and Christian Colleges, as otherwise the root of their religion will become hollow and cow protection will only be a dream.

(2) Sriman Hira Singh Dat in his communication says that Swami Dayananda made an effort to protect cows and succeeded to a certain extent in drawing the attention of the British authorities to the matter. The writer, however, considers it a mistake on the part of the Swami to move the Government in the matter of cow protection. Is it wise to ask a Deputy Commissioner, who himself takes beef daily, to express sympathy with the cow protection movement. The movement of 1894 drew a clear statement from Lord Lansdowne who plainly declared that the British Government would never stop the sacrifice of cows for religious purposes or for food. Under these circumstances Hindus should totally give up their usual mendicant policy in this matter and should act with a little more sense. They have undoubtedly lost their Raj, but they should not act foolishly.

(3) The writer would like to see cow-protection societies established in every city and town which should make it a point to acquaint the Hindus of their duty in the matter. These societies should engage the services of preachers who should be well read in the Shashtras and Puranas and who should work on small pay. The writer then goes on to make the following suggestions in connection with the preaching work and remarks that on his return (from England) he will give practical effect to them :—

(*a*) A monthly magazine entitled "*Gau raksha*" (cow protection) should be started and distributed among College students and also among those Indians who visit foreign lands. This magazine should contain accounts of cow protection societies and *Gau shalas*.

(*b*) A cow protection *Sadan* or *Bhawan* (house) should be established where preachers should receive training in the duties they are expected to perform. It should contain a small Sanskrit Library and should engage the services of one or two Pandits who should train the preachers. This *Bhawan* should be established at Hardwar.

(*c*) A *Gau raksha parcharak mandli* (cow protection society) should be constituted. The *mandli* should consist of two classes of persons, *viz.*, (1) Sadhus and (2) preachers, who should be householders devoted to the service of the cow. The Sadhus should work *gratis*, but the preachers should receive a small salary so that they may be able to perform their religious (worldly) duties. Those who offer their services to the *mandli* for some time should be included in the list of *Gau Sahayaks* and should work in association with the *parcharak mandli*. It will be the duty of these preachers to inspect various *Gau shalas*, to publish reports respecting the same in the magazine, and to inform the public generally of the progress of the movement. The writer then appeals to Hindus to come forward to devote their lives to the service of the cow and expresses the hope that a few out of the lakhs of Hindu young men reading this article will renounce the pursuit of wealth for the sake of their religion. There are already numerous sects among Hindus and it is desirable to add another to the number entitled *Gau Sewak Sampradaya*.

(*d*) The *Gau shalas* should be established. The management of these institutions should be on a better footing than is the case at present seeing that the present *Gau shalas* are merely hospitals.

(4) It is necessary to make efforts for preventing the spread of Christianity, because every Christian kills a number of cows. It is a pity that some Hindus are trying to make friends with Christians. They should remember that there can be no friendship with a people who shed rivers of cow's blood. Hence all connection with Christians should cease and attempts should be made to work in opposition to the Christian religion because, while the Hindus will take steps to protect cows, the Christian missionaries will make thousands of converts to beef-eaters. Thus those Hindus who help the Christians in any way are striking the axe at the root of their own religion.

(5) Mr. Hira Singh Dat says that men like Lala Lal Chand, Rai Bahadur Pratul Chander Chatterji and others should come forward to help the cow protection movement. The writer is, however, of opinion that Government servants can take no part in the cow protection movement. If Hindus imagine that they care for the cow they are mistaken, because they are the servants of a Government which has declared that the killing of cows for sacrifice or for food shall not be stopped. They have already sold their religion for the sake of lucre and it is now useless to expect them to protect cows. It is an act of blasphemy (*lit.* sin) on the part of the servants of the English to speak on a holy subject like the protection of cows.

(6) It should be borne in mind that cow-protection societies are not sufficient for the protection of cows. The above suggestions have been made to maintain the spirit for protecting cows. The real protection of cows will be ensured by the betterment of the political condition (of Hindus). So long as Hindus are helpless and weak cows also will remain helpless. It is, therefore,

desirable that steps should be taken to improve the politi e al condition of the country so that the people may have the reins of political power and influence in their own hands and do their duty by doing good to themselves and by protecting cows.

## V.—Native Societies and Religious Matters.

Hindus.

20. The *Akash* (Delhi), of the 12th (received on the 26th) November 1908, publishes a communication headed "Renunciation." The writer says that of all the peoples of the world the ancient Hindus alone realised the true relationship between the soul and body. They knew that the soul was immortal and that the body was only the raiment put on by it, which could be changed as it became old and unserviceable. The *Gita* also teaches the same lesson, which has, however, b en forgotten by the present generation of Hindus. The correspondent adds that th: Hindus of olden times used to endure every ha dship and to lay down even their lives for the sake of truth. They could also produce scores of men who renounced the world and underwent the greatest sufferings in search of truth or knowledge, and who could not be deterred from proclaiming the truth even at the certain risk of being grossly oppressed by tyrannical kings. The sole reason for this was that they knew what life and death exactly meant. The Hindus of the present day, however, do not act up to the *Gita's* teaching on the subject. Indeed, but for this they would never have been in their present condition, while they could assuredly better their lot by taking the above lesson to heart. As it is, they do not care for things which should be valued, but run after worthless baubles like fools and children. They submit to the worst of treatment and put up with the most degraded life under the pretext of cultivating the virtues of patience and contentment. Obedience, patience, contentment and peacefulness are undoubtedly praiseworthy virtues, but under the existing circumstances they are proving a source of ruin to "us." The leaders and (other) patriotic natives have been loudly saying that unselfish and self-sacrificing workers are wanted in all parts of the country, but nothing has so far come of this. If even five per cent. of native young men were to dedicate their lives to the service of the country they would assuredly succeed in working out the salvation of their mother land. The writer then calls upon Hindu youths to renounce the world and to make their country free.

Hindus and Muhammadans of Sialbha (?, in the Ambala district.

21. The *Jhang Sial* Jhang), of the 28th November 1908, publishes a communication headed "For the attention of the Punjab Government." The writer one Arjan Ram Sharma, of Sialbha (?) in the Kharar *taksil*, Ambala district, says that, with the exception of a few Moslem house holds, the town of Sialbha (?) is inhabited entirely by Hindus. Of late, he adds, some mischievous Muhammadans of the place have been inflaming their ignorant co-religionists against the Hindu residents. The result is that the Musalmans have decided to build a mosque in a Hindu *mohalla* and have already collected the necessary material. After stating that they have had no place of worship in the town in the past and that the temples of the Hindus also are situated outside the *abadi*, the writer requests the Punjab Government to look into the matter without delay and to prevent the Prophet's followers

from injuring the feelings of their Hindu neighbours He adds that the erection of the mosque will result in a serious riot between the Hindus and Musalmans of the town.

The Arya Samaj.

22. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 24th November 1908, publishes an article headed "What are you thinking of?" in which it says that no religion can make any progress without meeting with opposition. If, however, it gains in strength in spite of this opposition, it begins to be opposed by the Government concerned, because every government, which follows the will of one or more particular persons, is averse to seeing new thoughts produce a change in the life of its subjects. This being so, says the paper, there can be nothing surprising in some short-sighted officers opposing the Arya Samaj of throwing obstacles in the way of its advancement. The Samaj, it adds, first evoked opposition from Hindus, who, however, accepted most of its teachings in the end. But in the meantime, when Christians and Muhammadans discovered that it aimed also at putting down the evils bred by non-Hindu religions and that it would not hesitate to absorb even them, they also began to oppose it. Musalmans felt still further exasperated at the conduct of the Samaj in "purifying" Hindu converts to Islam by admitting them into the Arya fold. They left no stone unturned to oppose it by every means at their command and it is still suffering from the effects of their opposition. It is, however, from Christians that the Arya Samaj has experienced the strongest opposition. Before its birth Christianity had been claiming very large numbers of Hindu converts, but after its appearance on the field very few Hindus could be persuaded to embrace the faith of Christ, while even those who accepted Him as their Saviour were reclaimed by the Samaj. Finding, however, that they could not injure it by their speeches or writings, Christians began to poison the minds of the authorities against it, in which effort they achieved a large measure, of success owing to their being in close touch with the rulers. Again, the Samaj achieved such progress in the mean time that Government could no longer remain ignorant of its great power. After remarking that it exercises sway over all the educated Hindus (*lit.* natives) in the Punjab and that it is the most influential society in this province, the editor says that in view of the Christian Missionaries' opposition to it and the reports submitted against it by Muslim spies, as also of the authorities' personal knowledge of its daily expanding power, only officers of exceptional ability could realise its true position and mission and restrain themselves from opposing it. Indeed, the English, being weak human beings after all, it is but natural that they should try to crush a society in regard to which they have come to believe that its progress is likely to weaken or to put an end to their power. There is, therefore, no reason for surprise in that the authorities throw various obstacles in the way of the progress of the Arya Samaj and keep a strict eye on its doings. They can, however, never persecute the Aryas in the way in which the Babis were persecuted by the Persian Government. There is, consequently, no likelihood of the Aryas being called upon to make sacrifices like those which the Babis had to make, although what happened in Persia may come to pass in this country also. At all events, it cannot be denied that some

Government Officers have been harassing the Arya Sámajists. The editor had been under the impression that the storm raised against the Aryas in 1907 had subsided. He has, however, discovered (recently) that this was a mistake on his part. He has no proof of Government's complicity in the matter beyond the fact that the officers referred to have not been reprimanded. The recent royal message says in so many words that no native is disquieted because of his religious beliefs, and it is, therefore, difficult to say that the Arya Samaj is being persecuted in accordance with the policy of Government. The *Parkash* continuing says that in his latest book entitled "The new spirit in India" Mr. Nevinson states that an Arya member of a certain Sikh regiment was dismissed the service simply on account of his religious convictions. Again, it adds, on the occasion of the Viceroy's recent visit to Jodhpur the local Arya Samaj, the mandir of which is situated on the road by which His Excellency was to pass, was ordered to pull down its sign-board. There can be no denying the fact that in taking this step the State authorities were prompted by the fear lest Lord Minto's discovery of the existence of an Arya Samaj in it should set Government against the State. As to why they come to entertain such a thought it is for Government to find out. Besides, if its attitude towards the Arya Samaj can make the officials of a State act in the above manner why should leading Aryas be blamed for having come to the conclusion that Government is breaking its promise (regarding religious neutrality) by persecuting a religious body like the Samaj? The paper adds that the decision given by the (District) Magistrate (Jhansi), in the case against Pandit Daulat Ram is a disgrace both to that officer and to the British Government; while it helps to show which way the wind belows *i.e.*, indicates Government's attitude towards the Arya Samaj. Scores of instances, it adds, can be found in which people have been persecuted owing simply to their being Arya Samajists. It is, however, unprofitable to refer to these instances in face of Government's unwillingness to enquire in the allegation. The editor there enquires of the Aryas whether they have ever thought about the future of the Samaj He also asked whether the Samaj will succumb to the blows which are being dealt to it. History, he replies, teaches that whenever the followers of a religion have faced persecution bravely their faith has progressed by leaps and bounds. If the Aryas are prepared to make even ordinary sacrifices for the sake of their religion no one can injure the Samaj in the least, while in the other event the Samaj is assuredly doomed. No one can hang or burn them alive in these days: the utmost that can be done to them is to dismiss them from Government service or to throw them into jail. Are there any among the members of the Arya Samaj who can willingly undergo even these ordinary sufferings? If not, the Samaj must cease to exist. A struggle (between Government and the Arya Samaj) seems inevitable, but it rests with the authorities when it shall come. If Government comes to realise the true character of the mission of the Samaj the evil is likely to be averted. In case, however, of its continuing to follow its present mistaken policy the conflict is bound to come and will prove a tough one in very truth. Only those would then remain in the Samajic fold who are prepared to endure every hardship for the sake of their religion. Those, therefore, who hold their lives and property dearer than the Samaj should withdraw themselves from it at once, so that

all Aryas may not be disgraced because of such men. The paper further remarks that the Aryas desire a peaceful revolution and wish to improve the character of the people. They have, therefore, nothing to do with the gun, the sword or the cannon. They are taught to endure every hardship which they may have to suffer for the sake of their religion and to forgive those who involve them in suffering. If they are still considered dangerous rebels they should care nothing for th is and should be prepared to make any sacrifices, if necessary. If the Arya Samaj is really a political body and masquerades under the cloak of religion in order only to gain its (ulterior) end, it will undoubtedly perish (in the coming struggle). On the contrary, if it actually aims at spreading the Vedic religion and at rescuing the whole world from moral, physical and intellectual thraldom, no earthly power can do it the least harm.

## VI.—LEGISLATION.

The proposed Crimes Act.

23. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 27th November 1908, publishes an article headed "The proposed Crimes Act," in which it says that no sensible native can object to the severest measures being adopted to put down the maniacal Bengali anarchists. It will, however, be unwise on the part of Government to trample on justice in a fit of anger and to punish the entire population for the reprehensible doings of a few misguided young man. The editor then condemns the *Englishman's* advice to Gov ernment in the matter and says that that journal should feel ashamed of suggesting the passing of a law calculated to involve even innocent persons in trouble. After quoting the *Amrita Bazar Patrika's* remarks, finding fault with the suggestions made by the *Times*, he expressees the hope that Government will not be led astray by the writings of the Anglo-Indian press and will display the greatest prudence in connection with the passing of the proposed law. The criminal laws already in force in the countryi he adds, are sufficient for dealing with all classes of offenders.

The proposed Crimes Act.

24. The *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 25th November 1908, say that in view of the recent anarchists' doings in Bengal no well-wishers of the country can deny that Government is right in arming itself with more effective weapons for making anarchists desist from their devilish work. The government of Lord Minto, it adds, has felt compelled to pass a new law to put down anarchism in Bengal. Desperate diseases require desperate remedies, and it is necessary that Government should strengthen the hands of its officers to enable them to cope with the situation. The courts should be empowered to punish anarchists in such a swift and sharp manner that others may be prevented from imitating the offenders. Continuing the paper says that if Government displays weakness at the present juncture anarchism will be certain to spread to all parts of the country, to disturb the public peace, to undo the progress achieved by the people during the past 150 years, and to make bloodshed general in the country.

The proposed Crimes Act.

25. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 28th November 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "But this is inevitable", in which it says that Government is about to pass a Crimes Act to lend strength to its policy of re-

pression and to bring seditionists to their senses. If the proposed measure, it adds, is placed on the statute book it will assuredly prove the ruin of the people. The authorities should not, therefore, undertake the projected legislation, especially as it will be certain to still further deepen the prevailing unrest.

Punjab's represetative on the Vicreigal Council.

26. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 27th November 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "The representative of the Punjab on the Viceroy's Council". The paper suggests that as Muhammadans constitute the majority of the population of this province some Musalman of ability and position should be nominated to succeed the Tikka Sahib of Nabha on the Council referred to.

## VII.—General Administration

### (a)—*Judicial.*

Durga Charan and Corporal Cullen.

27. The following is from the *Punjabee* (Lahore), of the 3rd December 1908:—

"In the Bengal Legislative Council, in reply to a question regarding the fate of the numerously signed petition submitted on behalf of Durga Charan Sanyal, the Government replied that it had been decided to keep the prisoner under medical observation in jail for six months. After the expiry of that period the Government will be in a position to pass final orders in the case. Now, it is a generally admitted fact that Durga Charan's mind has gone wrong. He is in fact pronounced to be positively insane. Whatever may have been the state of his mind at the time of the occurrence which has lodged him in jail, there is no doubt about its present condition. Why then should he be kept six months in supervision? Is that length of time necessary to satisfy the doctors? In Corporal Cullen's case a much less exhaustive examination was found sufficient to satisfy Doctor, Jury, and Judge. Indeed, in his case the insanity was taken as a matter of inference, while in the case of Durga Charan, according to the reports, the symptoms are fully declared. And if a Court could give the Corporal the benefit of the doubt, surely the Executive Government is much less restrained in exercising its prerogative of mercy. Is it not enough that the poor old man has been knocked about from pillar to post, and from post to pillar, and should not his relatives be given the opportunity of attending probably to his last days? It is a case of showing not mercy only, but also deference to public opinion. There is really something strange, if not disheartening, that the entire body of public opinion, both Indian and Anglo-Indian, which pleaded for the release of Durga Charan, even before his insanity showed itself, should have been ignored. Does this not throw some light on the unrest?

Invidious distinctions between European and native offenders.

28. In a paragraph headed "Ticket Collector acquitted," the *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 17th November (received on the 1st December) 1908, reports that the travelling ticket-collector John Farry, who recently attempted to outrage a Muhammadan lady has been acquitted. After remarking that the decision will have a very bad effect, the paper says that those who believe that the unrest prevailing in the country is due to political causes alone are labouring under a mistake. Much of the evil is ascribable to the invidious distinctions (which are made between Europeans and natives). Indeed, how can a person believe in British justice after the acquittal of John Farry and the (recent) imprisonment of a sweeper for eight years on the complaint of a Eurasian nurse. The editor

knows that he will not be listened to by the authorities, still he cannot abstain from remarking that the prevailing unrest will disappear only when Government proves by its conduct that even-handed justice is administered between Europeans and natives.

Mr. Shah Din's appointment to the Bench of the Chief Court, Punjab.

29. The *Akash* (Delhi), of the 12th (received on the 26th) November 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "Truth is ever true," in which it deprecates the increasing tendency among the Hindus and Muhammadans of the Punjab to secure rights for their respective communities alone. The evil has come to assume such proportions that several Hindu Sabhas and the Bar Association of Amritsar have protested against the appointment of Mian Shah Din to the Bench of the Chief Court, while the Musalmans of different places have adopted resolutions thanking (congratulating) Government for conferring the honour on the Mian. This is a foolish game and it is absurd to talk of union between the two communities under the existing circumstances. If Hindus and Muhammadans do not turn over a new leaf they will continue fighting now over a judgeship, now over a Municipal Commissioner's post, while they will become mere puppets in the hands of the spectators (? foreigners). Continuing the paper says that it is owing to the existence of disunion among natives that no one listens to them. Were, however, the followers of Islam and Hinduism to make up their differences their voices would assuredly acquire the potency of the voice of God. Some people, adds the editor, demand why the rightful (claimant to the judgeship) has not been given his due. But who are natives, who have no hand in the making of their laws, that they should think of securing for the deserving their dues. Their present helpless condition is due to their making no difference between friends and strangers and having no sympathy with one another.

Libel cases against the Jhang Sial.

30. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 28th November 1908, acknowledges the following subscriptions towards "The fund in aid of Banke Dial".

| | | Rs. | A. | P. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Received through Lala Hari Nand | ... | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Bhai Damrik (? Amrik) Singh of Bombay | ... | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | ... | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Add amount already acknowledged | ... | 409 | 2 | 0 |
| Grand Total | ... | 429 | 2 | 0 |

*(b)—Police.*

The late Mr. Clough, Superintendent of Police.

31. *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 28th November 1908, publishes a communication headed "Murder! Murder! Murder!" Referring to the recent murder of Mr. Clough, Superintendent of Police, Lyallpur, the correspondent says that the deceased was a very wide-awake and just officer. He was also solicitous for the welfare of the people and stamped out bribery and

corruption among the Lyallpur police. He was a terror to corrupt and misbehaved (police) officials, and it is a matter for regret that the people should have been deprived of his protection so soon.

*(d) Education.*

A complaint.

32. The *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 21st November 1908, states that the Arya teachers employed in Government schools do not treat their Muhammadan pupils in a considerate manner. Complaints are being received from different places that Hindu school masters annoy Musalman students of set purpose. They discourage the latter on all occasions, treat them with contempt, and insult Islam and its great men in their hearing, which not infrequently compels Muslim students to relinquish their studies. This conduct on their part is due, among other things, to the fact that they regard their Muhammadan pupils as a hindrance in the way of their imparting to Hindu students the sort of political education which thay favour most. In conclusion, the paper asks the authorities to look into the matter and wishes Hindus to cultivate the virtue of toleration.

*(h)—Miscellaneous.*

The *Akash* news paper.

33. The *Akash* (Delhi), of the 5th (received on the 26th) November 1908, publishes an article written by its proprietor headed "The needs for the publication of *Akash* at Indraprastha." The writer says that although there are several weekly newspapers published at Delhi they are not sufficient to meet the needs of a big city. After dwelling on the great importance of Delhi, the writer regrets that there should not be a single daily newspaper and no good weekly newspaper in such a big city. There is a great dearth of public opinion in Delhi and it is perhaps due to this fact that not a single session of the National Congress or Provincial Cconference has been at Delhi during the past 25 years, which is, in its turn, probably due to there being no good newspaper in the city. There is one daily newspaper at Delhi, *viz.*, the *Morning Post*, but it is an Anglo-Indian paper and hence cannot realise, and will not give expression to, all the needs, conditions, troubles and grievances of the people of the city. There are also several Urdu weekly newspapers published in the city, but they do not discuss political affairs in a free and fearless manner, nor are they the true representatives of the daily-increasing educated community. The Government may or may not allow seats to the representatives of the educated community in its Advisory or other councils and it may or may not consider them to be the true representatives of the people, yet there can be no manner of doubt that it is more from the educated community than from Rajas, Nawabs, *raises* and rich persons that the Government can learn the true state of the troubles and sufferings of the people and their real feelings and sentiments. Moreover, the educated community alone has or can have the courage to give expression to the feelings of the people. The educated community may be a microscopic minority as Lord Dufferin styled them, the very fact that but they are educated shews that they are powerful and influential. If it is true that knowledge is power, does it not follow that an educated person wields greater influence than ignorant and illiterate rich men, in spite of the fact that wealthy persons in these days are held in greater esteem than educated or good persons?

The educated community bring not only their own grievances to the notice of Government but are the real exponents of public opinion in India. They have the courage to speak the truth regardless of the frowns of the authorities. It is the educated classes generally who have done this kind of work in all countries and in all ages, and not the servants of Government or the *raises*. If there are some officers of Government or some zemindars or *raises* who are popular and are trusted by the people they are the exceptions and not the rule It will, therefore, be the duty of *Akash* to fearlessly describe the true condition of the educated community and of the public and to always represent the difficulties and the troubles of the people to the authorities with a view to their being redressed; and if the authorities afford it an opportunity it will try to remove all misconceptions from the minds of the people regarding the policy, the intentions and the purposes of Government. If it is true that in the happiness and prosperity of the people lies the strength of the Government; if it is true that Government exists for the good of its subjects and no government can succeed which cannot keep its subjects in a state of prosperity; if it is true that no civilised people can govern for an indefinite period another civilised people which has a spark of life left in it with swords and cannons; if the British Government claims, and the English nation consider it their mission, that England should rule India for the latter's good and if the rulers are really happy when the relations between the rulers and the ruled are cordial,—then it is the first duty of the British Government to know the real and the true condition of the people like the governments of olden days. One of the sources from which Government receives this kind of information is the press, and hence a free press is useful not only to the people but to Government also. It is, therefore, one of the objects of this paper to leave no stone unturned to bring the true condition of the people to the notice of Government. Its other object is to direct the attention of the people to the desirability of working for their own advancement, because their well-being largely depends on their own exertions. There are at present two kinds of people in the country who entertain opposite views. Some believe that their progress depends on leaving everything to Government and that they are so helpless that they cannot do anything for their betterment. These people are entirely dependent for social reform, for the advancement of agriculture, arts and industries, for the success of sanitary administration and for the spread of education on Government and its laws or on some invisible power. There are, on the other hand, others who assert that India does not stand in need of help from foreigners or from Government because Indians have now become efficient and can do everything themselves, and that they do not care if the British people withdraw from India. The writer is opposed to both the views, inasmuch as he believes that both the help and protection of the existing Government and the exertions of the people for their own betterment are absolutely necessary for the welfare of the country, but of these the latter is the most essential. There are hundreds of reforms which can be effected by the people but in which Government cannot interfere. It is, however, a pity that the educated people generally turn their attention very little towards these matters and consider that their progress entirely depends on captious criticisms of Government measures and finding faults with the administration. The special object of this paper will be to criticise the policy, proposals and laws of Government

in a free, just and reasonable manner, to expose the improper and irregular doings of Government as well as its oppressions and injustices, and also to draw the attention of the Indian people towards those reforms which can be carried into effect by them alone, as, for instance, social reforms, moral and physical progress, sanitary matters, female education, education and training of children, agriculture, arts, ind ustries and trade. Again, in a trading city like Delhi, there is not a single newspaper which deals with commercial matters and which keeps the people informed of all matters relating to trade. The *Akash* will, therefore, supply this defect. It will also take care to compare the civilisations of East and West ; to teach the people what is true and real happiness ; to point out to them the real road to progress and success ; to rectify the mistakes of those who entertain false or mistaken notions ; and to strengthen those who entertain correct views, but who are weak in heart. As it will be published at Delhi it will give due prominence to the needs of Delhi and its affairs. There are many people who do not think it desirable that a newspaper should be started in these days, when newspapers are being daily prosecuted and dragged into the courts. The very consideration of this fact, however, convinces the proprietor that there is not only room but there is a positive necessity for a new newspaper. It is a pity that while some of the methods pursued by Government have been disliked by the people there is profound silence and helplessness in the Punjab, and all kinds of meetings, whether social, moral, religious, *swadeshi*, temperance, &c., have been stopped. If it is, in these days, dangerous for the people to take part in the political affairs of their country and the people are not ready to face the danger, there are other works and movements to which they can safely devote their energies. Those who are courageous can do political work, but others can devote themselves to educational, moral, economical and other matters. It is disgraceful that the people of the Punjab and the United Provinces should at the present juncture remain silent and helpless and thereby show that they are cowards. There can be no denying the fact that the present is the most critical time in the history of this country and everybody, whether engaged in religious or temperance reforms, &c., feels that he has to face some trouble. There is no one in these days who is not suspected by the authorities and who is not watched by the secret police. Should they then give up their work and pass their days in idleness ? Babu Surendro Nath Banerjee said in one of his recent speeches that the present is a critical time. Should the people then give up serving their country ? The writer cannot consider it desirable that the people should give up taking part in the affairs of their country for which some of them have consecrated their lives. They should, on the other hand remain firm and should not hesitate to serve their beloved country. But they must not, however, be so carried away by enthusiasm as to adopt wrong methods. The paper will, therefore, try to rouse the people of the Punjab from their lethargy, to remind the different leaders of the Punjab to consider the desirability of doing a continuous work and to infuse enthusiasm in the minds of the people in every city.

G. A. COCKS,

*Asst. to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*

*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

LAHORE:

*The 5th December* 1908.

Punjab Government Press, Lahore—12-12-08—6087—97—H. L. S.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 50. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

Received up to 12th December 1908.

---

## CONTENTS.


I.—Politics.

Page.

(a)—Foreign—

1. The materialistic Europe (*Inqilab*) ... ... 753
2. The coming supremacy of the labouring classes (*Sadhu*) ... ... ... ... 754
3. The awakening of China (*Akhbar i-Am*)... ... *ib.*

(b)—Home—

4. The King Emperor's Message (*Zamindar*) ... 755
5. The King Emperor's Message (*Civil and Military Organ*) ... ... ... ... 756
6. Rulers and the ruled *(Inqilab)* ... ... 757
7. Rulers and the ruled *(Inqilab)* ... ... *ib.*
8. Rulers and the ruled (*Inqilab*) ... ... *ib.*
9. Rulers and the ruled (*Inqilab*) ... ... 758
10. Evils of foreign rules (*Inqilab*) ... ... *ib.*
11. *Swaraj* (*Inqilab*) ... ... ... ... 760
12. *Swaraj* (*Inqilab*) ... ... ... ... *ib.*
13. India's fight for liberty (*Inqilab*) ... ... 761
14. How India can become great (*Inqilab*) ... ... *ib.*
15. The situation in India (*Rajbir Patrika*)... ... *ib.*
16. Bengali anarchists (*Civil and Military Organ*) ... 762
17. Politics and religion (*Inqilab*) ... ... 763
18. The Hindu political propaganda (*Watan*) ... *ib.*
19. Boycott (*Civil and Military News*) ... ... 764
20. Political liberty in England and in India (*Punjabee*) *ib.*

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

21. Tribal raids into British territory (*Parkash*) ... 765

III.—Native States.

*Nil.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

22. A complaint (*Parkash*) ... ... ... 765

Page.

V.—Native Societies and Religious Matters.

23. The Arya Samaj (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... 765
24. The Arya Samaj (*Parkash*) ... ... ... 766
25. The Arya Samaj (*Inqilab*) ... ... ... 767

VI.—Legislation.

26. The proposed Crimes Act (*Vakil*) ... ... 768
27. The proposed Crimes Act (*Civil and Military News*) *ib.*

VII.—General Administration.

(a)—Judicial—

28. Invidious distinctions between European and native offenders (*Rajput Gazette*) ... ... 768
29. The Courts and litigation (*Parkash*) ... 769

(b)—Police—

30. The murder of Mr. Clough, Superintendent of Police (*Sada-i-Hind*) ... ... ... ... 769

(c)—Municipal and Cantonment affairs—

*Nil.*

(d)—Education—

*Nil.*

(e)—Agriculture and questions affecting the land—

*Nil.*

(f)—Railways and Communications—

31. The Mustafabad Collision (*Civil and Military News*)... 770
32. The Mustafabad Collision (*Parkash*) ... ... *ib.*
33. The Delhi Tramway (*Akash*)... ... ... *ib.*

(g)—Postal matters—

*Nil.*

(h)—Miscellaneous—

34. Paucity of Muhammadans in the Irrigation Department, Punjab (*Vakil*) ... ... ... 770
35. A complaint (*Hindustan*) ... ... ... 771
36. A suggestion to make the 2nd January next a public holiday (*Watan*) ... ... ... *ib.*

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 50. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

**Received up to 12th December 1908.**

---

### I.—POLITICS.

#### (a)—*Foreign.*

Materialistic Europe.

1. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 5th December 1908, publishes an article headed "God is the storehouse of all glory." It begins by saying that there are two classes of men in the world,—(1) those who seek after God and (2) those who hanker after material things. The latter's love for these objects, it says, so increases with the lapse of time that they feel no scruples in seizing the country of a weak people and in depriving the latter of their wealth, grain and other necessaries of life. After remarking that Europe is behaving towards other parts of the world in the above manner, the paper says that in the end materialists become so selfish and avaricious that they cannot bear to see even their own countrymen in affluent circumstances, and that when they cannot get a good share of the booty from other countries they begin to suck the life-blood of persons of their own nationality. Indeed, when a person lowers himself to the level of a beast and makes it his second nature to live on blood he sucks, the life-blood of others, and when that cannot be obtained he attacks his own countrymen and children of a certainty. The present condition of Europe and America bears witness to this; the socialists and the labouring classes there thirst for the blood of millionaires, who also do not scruple to suck the life-blood of their fellow-countrymen. Continuing the paper attributes the Nihilist propaganda in Russia to the above selfish state of affairs and says that the goal of Europe consists in securing the good things of the world. The result is that it lives on friendly terms with those who help it in getting these things, but becomes hostile to peoples who do not render it that help or who try to safeguard their rights (against it). The Editor predicts that if the Americans, the English and (other) Europeans,—whether labourers, socialists or rich men,—allow their feelings of avarice to grow at the present pace they will devour themselves in the course of fifty years. There are two reasons for this,—(1) the awakening in the East, which will soon put an end to the loot of Asia by Europe, and (2) the daily increasing fondness of Europeans for sensual enjoyments. After condemning the materialism of the West the paper remarks that by the grace of God India will obtain *Swaraj* in a short time when she will throw open her boundless treasures of spirituality to Europeans and will teach them to renounce materialism and to try to

establish the kingdom not of Satan but of God in the world. There will then come a change over them : they will begin to worship God instead of materialism, while their bestial, cruel and blood-thirsty instincts will fall away from them. The Editor next denounces religious persecution and goes on to say that God, who is merciful, can never tolerate coersion, oppression and high-handedness. If a ruler is tyrannical God wrests the sword from his hand and makes it over to the oppressed, which is amply borne out by history. Again, if one people oppress another and thereby break a law of God they are swept off the face of the earth, although they may constitute the greatest political power in the world and may possess a great variety of the newest weapons of war. In conclusion, the Editor urges Hindus and Muhammadans to live in peace and amity. He also prays that the rulers and the ruled may know their respective duties and that both may renounce materialisin, which is at the bottom of the discord and unrest now prevalent in the country.

The coming supermacy of the labouring classes.

2. Writing under the heading "The *Shudra* rule," the *Sadhu* (Lahore), for October and November 1908, tries to make out the *Shudras* to be the next rulers of the world, publishing remarks identical with those made by the *Army News* on the subject (*vide* paragraph 1 of Selections No. 49.)

The awakening in China.

3. The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 4th December 1908, publishes a communication from one Salamat Rai headed "The awakening of the Chinese leviathan". The writer begins by saying that the awakening in China dates back from the plunder of Lhassa by the expedition despatched by Lord Curzon against Thibet in pursuance of a childish policy. But for the utter weakness of the celestial Empire at the time, he adds, England would have paid heavily for the foolishness displayed by the ex-Viceroy in fighting Thibet. After referring to the progress which China has already made and after remarking that she is likely to occupy a very high position in the world at no distant date, he observes that while all other Eastern countries are moving onwards, things in India have gone from bad to worse. Some mischievous natives have brought discredit on the entire population, while some others are trying to obtain rights by making Government regard the people with suspicion! If Indians, adds the writer, fit themselves for the highest posts they will assuredly be appointed to the same. After deprecating their selfishness, as also the conduct of different communities in charging one another with disloyalty, he says that in political matters natives of all classes should treat one another as brothers. They should also always think how they can promote the welfare of the country and should make it a point to put their thoughts into practice If then they make any legitimate demand on Government it will be impossible for the latter not to listen to them. As it is, however, if Government were to repeal the Arms Act to-day the people would hasten to shed one another's blood and would bring certain ruin on the country. If the people educate themselves highly and resolve to promote the country's prosperity they will undoubtedly be able to achieve a great deal. On the contrary, if they put themselves against their teachers (? the English), their education will remain incomplete and they will not be able to better the lot of India. If all Indians, irrespective of their sect and religion, says the correspondent, were to gird up their loins to improve the

position of their country they would become their own masters even under British rule. Their ignorance, however, stands in their way, while the few anarchists among them are bringing discredit on the entire population. After remarking that Government still believes in the loyalty of the people, the writer calls upon the anarchists to mend their ways.

(*b*)—*Home.*

The King Emperor's Message.

4. Writing under the heading "The Royal Message," the *Zamindar* (Karmabad), of the 24th November 1908, says that the Proclamation of of 1858, which emanated from a good-hearted, generous and pure-minded Queen, deserved to be written in letters of gold and will continue to be regarded with feelings of reverence for all time. After quoting from it extracts promising equality and justice between the rulers and the ruled, the paper says that the King Emperor's recent Message passes under review the past fifty years of British rule in India. There is, it adds, a world of difference between the two documents. The Proclamation was an emanation from the noble mind and sympathetic heart of the late Queen Empress, while the latter is the work of ministers and concerns itself more with appreciation of the authorities' doings than with showing favours to the people. Continuing the Editor says that in the fifth paragraph of the Message His Majesty speaks of unique efforts having been made to redeem his august mother's promises to natives. It will be rank ingratitude not to admit that during the last 50 years the country has achieved progress in education, civilisation, trade, &c., under the ægis of the British Government. It is, however, equally true that anarchy (*bad-amni*), unrest and distrust between the rulers and the ruled are now general in the country, which situation is far more dangerous than the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. This state of affairs can be due either to remissness in keeping the late Queen Empress' promises or to inherent ingratitude in natives. If the former is the case the blame rests with the authorities, who have never cared to act up to the Proclamation of 1858, regarding it as an ordinary document intended to serve as eye-wash. The anarchy, unrest and distrust referred to are the handiwork of officers like the late Sir James Fitz James Stephen, who attached no special importance to the Proclamation and who looked upon it as merely a diplomatic document. After remarking that Lord Curzon even went the length of putting these views into practice, the paper says that it remains to be seen what value will be placed on the Royal Message by the authorities, whose doings have been highly praised in it. After reproducing the resolution issued by the Government of India on the subject of the release of prisoners in honour of the jubilee of the Proclamation of 1858, it says that on the occasion of the promulgation of the said document even rebels, who deserved to be blown away from the cannon's mouth, were pardoned and lakhs of confiscated estates were released. There is, however, no likelihood of political prisoners like Mr. Tilak and Fazl-ul-Hasan being set free; and if the sentences of six and two years' imprisonments respectively passed on these two men are reduced by six and two months, the reduction will be very little appreciated either by the prisoners or by their friends.

In the third paragraph of the Message His Majesty is pleased to say that no secret of Empire can avert the scourge of drought and plague,

There can be no doubt that the Government of a country, where agricultural produce is largely dependent on timely rains, has to encounter great difficulties and hardships. Nevertheless, if the Old Testament is to be believed Joseph told Pharoah how to avert a famine which was apprehended seven years ahead. The suggested measures were adopted 3,623 years ago by a king in a dark age to save his subjects the sufferings entailed by a famine. The present is the age of civilisation and enlightenment, and much more effective steps can now be taken to achieve that result provided any one takes the trouble of doing so. His Majesty should impress on the agents of his Government that they must devise means to banish famines from the country. So far from this being done, however, crores of maunds of food grains are exported to Europe every year, with the result that lakhs of natives have been dying from starvation. There can be no denying the fact that the authorities spend large sums of money to save life during the prevalence of a famine, but it would be much better if they adopted preventive measures instead and put a stop to the export of grain during cheap years. After remarking that epidemic diseases are bred by famines and will disappear with the banishment of the latter, the paper says that the Message also speaks of India having advanced industrially during the past fifty years. As a matter of fact, however, the import of European manufactures into the country has greatly injured, nay, has completely destroyed, indigenous industries. The Editor is strongly opposed to the form of *Swadeshism* which preaches boycott, but he equally disapproves of the efforts of the authorities to suppress the *Swadeshi* movements. He then expresses gratitude for the King Emperor's promise to increase the pay of native troops, and suggests that posts above Risaldarship and Subedarship should also be thrown open to educated and well-connected Indians. Again, if there exists no political objection, either a Military College should be established in India or the doors of similar institutions in England should be thrown open to Indians, who should also be appointed to posts of command in the army. Continuing the paper disagrees with the assertion in the Message that the law in India has been simplified in form, and says that if this had been a fact judicial officers from Munsif upwards would not have stood in need of advice from lawyers. Nor would the litigating public have felt obliged to employ legal practitioners to conduct their cases. All this, says the Editor, has not only rendered justice very expensive, but has also made it difficult for the people to obtain it. In conclusion, he concedes that Indians neither make good officers nor can they remain good subjects. May God, he prays, have mercy on them and enable them to achieve peaceful progress under British rule!

The King Emperor's Message.

5. In a paragraph headed "Loyalty to the Crown, a soldier's bounden duty," the *Civil and Military Organ* (Ludhiana), of the 3rd December 1908, says that the soldier renders the most valuable services to his country and Government. It adds that native soldiers are regarded as brothers or children by their officers and have secured numerous benefits from Government. The paper then expresses satisfaction that they have been given an increase of pay from the beginning of next year. They will assuredly be pleased at the news, because living has become so dear that they can save nothing out of their present salaries. In future, however, they will be able to lay by something.

6. Writing under the heading "What does god Buddha say?" the *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 5th December 1908, remarks that the founder of Budhism has said that hatred can be conquered, not by its like, but by love. The Bengalis, it adds, who used to voice popular grievances, were sought to be crushed by Lord Curzon. Besides, as all of these agitators were men of education, which enables one to realise one's rights as well as a government's duties towards its subjects, the Universities Act was passed to put down education in the country. This led to the establishment of national schools in Bengal, and when the number of such institutions began to multiply the ex-Viceroy partitioned Bengal in order to break the power of its inhabitants. The Bengalis did their utmost and submitted thousands of petitions to have the measure reversed, but Lord Morley always put them off with the reply that the partition is "a settled fact." After remarking that all statesmen are unanimous in holding that the partition has become the foundation-stone of a revolution, the paper refers to the different phases of the anti-partition agitation and says that boycott and *Swadeshism* caused the authorities serious trouble. The movements were sought to be crushed with the aid of savage methods and the police and Gurkha soldiers practised the grossest oppression on unoffending Bengalis. Hatred and opposition, however, were replied to with similar feelings. The ideas of *Swaraj*, *Swadeshism*, and national education acquired the greatest strength in Eastern Bengal, which was oppressed most. After remarking that like always begets like and that a man reaps only what he sows, the *Inqilab* says that it is more to the interest of the English than of Indians that the former should treat the latter with love. Similarly if they oppress natives they will injure themselves more than the objects of their oppression.

Rulers and the ruled.

7. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 5th December 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "What right can one nation have to rule over another?" The Editor states that a friend of his asked him the other day what moral right the British Government had to rule over India. He replied that it had as much moral right to do so as a strong man had to seize a weak person's property for his own gain. He adds that it was in the right in being in India if, as had been remarked by Lord Macaulay and Mr. Ranade, it had been looking upon itself as the guardian of a minor, and if it would go away now that the minor had reached the age of majority. In the event, however, of its proving false to its trust it had no moral right to rule over the country. Continuing the Editor says that Lord Morley's speeches show that the English do not wish to leave India, although what God desires will assuredly come to pass, *viz.*, this country will succeed in obtaining *Swaraj*. Natives are, however, thankful to Government owing to its peaceful rule having fitted them for the onerous work (of ruling themselves).

Rules and the ruled.

8. Writing under the heading "How to make Indians loyal," the *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 5th December 1908, says that according to Dr. Murdoch, the Kaiser's popularity with his subjects is due to His Majesty regarding it as the mission of his life to promote the well-being of the inhabitants of the Fatherland. He spends all his time and revenues in educating

them, in improving their industrial condition and in increasing their military power. On the contrary, the Czar keeps his subjects in ignorance in order to preserve his despotic power and is hated in consequence by the people committed to his care. His selfishness and oppression will result in his being stripped off his power one day and being thrown into the hell to which Louis (XVI) of France and Charles (I) of England were despatched by their subjects. Continuing the paper says that if England repents of having educated Indians and thinks that if they had been kept ignorant there would have appeared no unrest in the country and they would not have struggled for *Swaraj*, she is labouring under a mistake. God does not wish that thirty crores of human beings should be trampled upon by as many lakhs of their fellows, *i.e.*, one Englishman should crush one thousand Indians under his heels. This is not the time for British Statesmen to repent (of the past). They should remember that if they follow the Czar's policy in India the country will assuredly be converted into a second Russia. On the contrary, if they imitate the Kaiser's example, India will become the most powerful country in the world. If England is not so selfish to treat India in the manner in which George (III) treated America, the present estrangement (between the rulers and the ruled) will give place to love and affection. After remarking that natives have come to distinguish between slavery and freedom, the paper suggests that they should be made free or that at least no such obstacles should be placed in their way (of obtaining *Swaraj*) as may strain the relations between them and their rulers. The abolition of education cannot now turn them into the heavy clods which they once were. Government should follow in the footsteps of the German Emperor, so that both the rulers and the ruled may pass their days in peace and happiness.

Rules and the ruled.

9. Writing under the heading "This is the principle," the *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 28th November 1908, says that the condition of a subject people is always pitiable in the extreme. They prove instrumental in spoiling the morals of the world and bring untold troubles on themselves. After remarking that a master dare not ill-treat even a strong horse or dog owned by him, the Editor addresses natives as follows :—"Friends, if you are a weak and subject people you commit the sin of making your rulers cruel and tyrannical. You had better break this unholy tie, so that the latter may not continue to be tyrants, while you may not be oppressed and may be saved from committing the above sin. Remember that in order to make your rulers keep their stand on the plane (*lit.*, ladder) of wisdom, civilisation, morality and sympathy, it is essential that you should be strong, so that they may not come down from that plane for fear of you."

Evils of foreign rules.

10. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 5th December 1908, publishes an article headed "*Swaraj*, Boycott, and National Education," in which it says that slaves always prove very shortlived, and that if natives continue in their (present) state of slavery they also will disappear in a short time. Another reason why Indians should try to obtain *Swaraj* is that it is a law of nature that the physical and mental development of a person bears a constant relation to the sphere of life in which he has to work. For instance, if all the Purbias were employed to work as syces they would never produce a Kitchener or a

Morley. Similarly, a Purbia syce cannot know statecraft and understand the lines on which a Minto or a Fraser works. As a conquered people can serve only as hewers of wood and drawers of water to their conquerors they soon begin to produce, not *men*, but flatterers and cowards. After remarking that their martial spirit is also destroyed, the paper says that under the existing circumstances, when a raw (English) youth can lord it over an old and experienced native officer, who may have seen ten compaigns before the birth of his youthful superior, and when natives are not admitted into military colleges of set purpose, the country cannot hope to produce warriors like Partap, Durga Das and Rana Sanga. Hindu and Muslim generals of the calibre of Sher Singh and Hari Singh can never appear under foreign rule, for the reason that it is considered dangerous to the British Government to bring them into existence. Statesmen like Todar Mal, Birbal, Abul Fazal, Man Singh, Behari Lal and Bhagwan Das have also ceased to be produced for the same reason. The good Emperor Akbar did not try to dwarf the intellect of Hindus and used to appoint them to posts of trust and responsibility. To-day, however, not a single province is under a Hindu Governor, although there is no dearth of able men among the followers of Hinduism. Continuing the paper says that only a few years back Indians were under the impression (which, however, does not exist now) that the physical and mental capacities of the English were far superior to their own. This was the result of the education imparted at Government schools, the pupils of which were taught that a handful of Englishmen could put hordes of Hindus and Musalmans to flight. After remarking that the English obtained India with the help chiefly of native soldiers and by making different classes of natives fight one another, the Editor says that the *History of India* by Lethbridge was prepared with the object of turning native youths into cowards, making them look upon their ancestors as savages and sowing the seed of disunion (between Hindus and Muhammadans). He adds that mental and physical faculties can be developed by exercise alone, but that natives are employed only as grass-cuts, low-paid soldiers and petty clerks. They have become a nation of *shudras*, which is due solely to their being in the chains of slavery. These are the days not of men like the late Maharaja Ranbir Singh of Kashmir, but of heroes (the expression is ironical) of the stamp of the present occupant of the *gaddi* of the Happy Valley. The real reason why the latter was deposed has been fully exposed by Mr. Digby in his book entitled "Condemned unheard," which publication should not be without interest to the students of British policy (in India). The paper then says:—"Cursed be the child which cannot distinguish between its mother and a prostitute, as also the education which does not fit it to make the distinction. Is such education wholesome for your children? will it not exterminate you in a few days? It may be called teaching (the people) to be the slaves of foreigners. How can you have the heart to hear your children say that this country belongs to the English whereas it is ours? Those children (*lit.* child) or people who are so foolish and shameless that they can make no distinc tion between indigenous and foreign manufactures always fall victims to slavery and deserve the punishment which we are undergoing. If our uneducated men of the old school (*sanatani*) come to know that foreign-made sugar is refined with the blood of kine and the bones of pigs they do not so much as touch it. Educated and enlightened natives (*lit.* people), however, who have been nurtured in the lap of Western education,

care absolutely nothing for this in spite of hearing it repeatedly. They know that the use of the above sugar spoils (only) their religion, about which they do not concern themselves in the least. Do they not, however, know that it injures us financially also?" After remarking that it is due to the people being the slaves of foreigners that exhortations to them to leave imported goods alone fall on deaf ears, the Editor say :—"Friends, in order to end all this degradation and national disgrace it is highly necessary that we should teach the masses what disadvantages attend foreign rule, how it has stripped us of all our virtues by degrees and how it has divested us of bravery and perseverance, replacing them by cowardice and unmanliness. May God give us strength (and) may He give us knowledge, so that, after realising the numberless disadvantages of foreign rule, we may banish it from the country with diligence and courage. *Amen* !"

*Swaraj.*

11. In a paragraph headed "What is the secret of power?" the *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 5th December 1908, says that Indians are ignorant of their power and that this is why they are the slaves of foreigners. A shepherd can control only about one hundred sheep, but each member of the English nation drives about 1,500 natives before him, which shows that the last named are worse than even sheep. Continuing, the Editor calls upon the people to disseminate education in the country and to cut their chains of slavery with its aid. After remarking that Hindus consider it the highest form of religion to injure no one, he writes :—"On the one hand, we wish to remain an inoffensive people. On the other, however, we do not wish to suffer oppression. We do not wish that other nations should take advantage of our harmlessness to do us injury (*lit.* to stab us). There seems no reason why we should continue the slaves of others? Friends, know that you are not weak. You possess power and no one can keep you in a state of slavery. Trust in God. Try hard daily that physical pain and sufferings may not make you others' slaves. Life is liberty." The Editor further remarks that, whoever, be he a Hindu, Christian or Muhammadan, lays down even his life to preserve the independence of his nation, is a noble being indeed. It is to be wished, he adds, that the English, whose children sing of liberty in their very infancy, would allow natives also to sing of a free India. After remarking that the highest ideal for a person consists in sacrificing his life for his nation and country, he prays that every Indian may be inspired by the same ideal and may devote his heart and soul to its realisation.

*Swaraj.*

12. Writing under the heading "One cannot make sacrifices without possessing a pure character," the *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 5th December 1908, says that *Swaraj* cannot be attained with the aid of speeches and writings. The sacrifice of great souls is required for the purpose, *i.e.*, men of pure character should raise the banner and preach the gospel of *Swaraj*. They should not abandon their principles for fear of any earthly power and should stick to them even at the risk of certain death. The national growth of the people, adds the Editor, depends on their obtaining *Swaraj*, without which it is almost impossible to remove the evils obtaining in the country. If Indians were a self-governing people they could make education compulsory and put

down drinking by force. Those who seek after *Swaraj* should lead a pure life and practise self-sacrifice. They should begin work forthwith and should not wait for others to join them. Their example will bring others to their side, the strong arm of Government proving powerless to stem the tide. The people may rest assured that if they act up to the above advice they will be certain to obtain *Swaraj*.

India's fight for liberty.

13. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 5th December 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "War between freedom and slavery," in which it says that as the interest of the rulers and the ruled are nowhere identical the relations between the two parties in all quarters of the globe are usually the reverse of pleasant. This is especially the case where the authorities and the governed belong to two different races or countries. Continuing, the paper says that history makes it thoroughly clear that whenever there is a war between freedom and slavery the combatants are always represented by the oppressed and their oppressors, respectively. The history of every country, it adds, teaches that if Indians wish to obtain liberty they should sacrifice themselves for the sake of their country. They should face hardships bravely and stick to their principles at the risk even of life. Their *dharma* now consists in doing their utmost to obtain *Swaraj*, to spread national education and to help forward the *Swadeshi* movement. They should not hesitate to lay down even their lives in the fulfilment of this holy mission, by accomplishing which they will assuredly regain their liberty. Freedom and slavery are always represented by God and Satan respectively, and consequently the former invariably comes out victorious in a war between the two. This has been the case in America, in France, in Italy, in England, and in every other (free) country. It is now India's turn to witness the struggle and she will assuredly win the day, provided her children are ready to make all sorts of sacrifice.

How Ipdia can become great.

14. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 28th November 1908, publishes a communication from one Devi Singh headed "A few short pieces of advice." Among other things the writer says that if India were to follow the religion of truth she would again secure the sovereignty of the whole world. After asking (native) newspapers to carry his message far and wide, he says that while the truthful will reign devilish human beings will be overtaken by ruin. His countrymen should act up to his advice on pain of being thrown into hell. He has said only what he has been commanded by God to say.

The situation in India.

15. The *Raghbir Patrika* (Jhang), for November 1908, publishes a few verses in Panjabi from the pen of "Khusta". The poet calls upon India to awake and says that foreigners have taken advantage of her sleep to rob her of everything.

One Sheo Lal, of Sargodha, also contributes some verses, in which he remarks that although India has been slapped by many, she has not shaken off her sleep as yet. Her comrades (other Asiatic countries) have risen high (*lit.* have crossed to the far bank), but she is still grovelling in the dust (*lit.* sleeps on this bank).

"Diwan," of Samundri, enquires what natives should do to rouse India from her sleep. To whom, he asks further, should they cry (for help) when even their sovereign is indifferent to them (*lit.* is asleep at his home)? Since the awakening among them the authorities have been treating them with repression, for it is to the latter's interest India should remain asleep. Continuing, the writer urges the King Emperor to interest himself in the welfare of his native subjects and to tell the authorities, who are drunk with power, that it is wrong to wage war on weak slaves.

"Mustwar," of Multan, says that even kicks from foreigners have failed to wake India. He also charges the authorities with oppressing the people and ascribes the oppression to the King Emperor's indifference to Indians.

The Editor also contributes some verses, in which he says that those who love sleep are invariably overtaken by death. He adds that India can acquire power with the aid of boycott and *Swadeshism* alone and that she will awake when education spreads to every native home. The present system of education is powerless to rouse her from her sleep. Education imparted on national lines can alone bring about the desired result.

Bengali anarchists.

16. The *Civil and Military Organ* (Ludhiana), of the 3rd December 1908, publishes an article headed "Have Bengalis become a brave people?" After reproducing a paragraph from *Hindustan* in which that paper answers the above question in the affirmative, the Editor enquires whether the cowards who murder innocent persons in a stealthy manner and on being arrested spare no pains to save their lives, can be called brave men. After condemning Khudi Ram Bose, Kanai Lal Dutt and Satyendra Nath Bose for their doings he regrets that native young men should be taught to regard cowardly and deceitful people as valiant heroes. Failures in other walks of life, he adds, assume the rôle of national leaders and befool the people out of their earnings. They also mislead the country's youth by preaching the gospel of *Swaraj* and have been urging the latter to turn the English out of India. It is a pity that some of the Indian members of the fourth estate, which wields very great power in these days, should create unrest in the country by calling upon the people to sacrifice themselves (for their mother-land). The Editor tells his countrymen that self-sacrifice does not consist in murdering others and suffering death for the offence, but that it means that one should devote one's life and property to the service of his nation. The Bengali anarchists, however, have adopted a contrary policy and have been making a wrong use of their bravery, if they can really boast of it. After remarking that the Bengalis are the most advanced people in India and that they have received many favours at the hands of the English, the Editor says that if the atrocities recently perpetrated in Bengal had been committed in olden times the Bengalis would assuredly have been shot by the hundred. It is a matter for satisfaction that there still exist among them sober-headed leaders like Surrendra Nath Bannerji and A. Chowdhary, who may be relied upon to try to bring them into the right path. Parents also should acquaint their young children with the pernicious effects of anarchism and should prevent the latter from reading journals which help to spread feelings of discontent in the

country. In conclusion, the Editor refers to the proposed law for stamping out anarchism and says that those national schools and colleges which sympathise with the anarchist propaganda should be closed.

Politics and religion.

17. Writing under the heading " Religion and politics," the *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 28th November 1908, says that some people are of opinion that it the paper should have nothing to do with religious matters. The Editor cannot agree with them and says that there can be no purity where religion does not exist. To divorce politics from religion is to reduce one's self to the level of a beast of prey, which does not scruple to kill others for the sake of food. A people who throw religion overboard must consider themselves doomed even if they be matchless in military power, may own an empire over which the sun may never set, and may have the monopoly of the largest part of the world's trade. After remarking that the fall of Rome was due to her children having become irreligious, the Editor says that the present condition of the British is similar to that of the ancient Romans. He next mentions the names of some philanthropic Englishmen of the past and asks why Indians,—and for the matter of that other people also,—revere the memory of those Englishmen, but look upon their descendants of the present day with contempt. This is so, because the Englishmen of to-day decide all matters concerning India on the principle that she should remain England's slave for ever. It would not have been a matter for regret if this opinion had been held only by selfish brutes like Mr. Rees. The pity of it is, however, that the view is favoured even by Lord Morley, the moral guide of the whole world and the biographer of Burke, Bright and Gladstone. England should remember that all her power depends on her following the laws of God and that it will be suicidal on her part not to treat India in accordance with the dictates of religion. Continuing, the paper says that Lord Curzon, who tried to place British rule in India on everlasting foundations, was a mere tool in the hands of God in planting the tree of *Swaraj* in the country, and that by resorting to coercion and repression his Lordship only watered this tree. It adds that God always protects the oppressed, for otherwise they would be swept off the earth's surface in a few days. After referring to the recent refractory doings of the unemployed, it says that these pampered children of England used to be fed on the blood of Indians, but that the *Swadeshi* movement has taken the bread out of their mouths. Five crores of Indians suffer from the pangs of hunger daily, but this seems to be of no concern of the authorities. Two or three lakhs of hungry people in England are, however, causing the Government serious anxiety, which is the fruit of the sin committed by the British Government in treating Indians with injustice and in pampering persons of its own nationality. In conclusion, the *Inqilab* exhorts natives to stick to religion under all circumstances and not to divorce it from politics.

The Hindu politicul propaganda.

18. Writing under the heading " Hindu political teachings and their able teacher," the *Watan* (Lahore), of the 4th December 1908, quotes extracts from an article entitled " Public life in England and India " recently contributed (to the *Panjabee*) by Lala Lajpat Rai. The writer, adds the paper, has displayed great tact and ability in trying to inoculate others with his views. He has done

his utmost to make his political sermon effective, which, indeed, a certain section of Hindus always does in the dissemination of its pernicious teachings. An examination of these teachings from the Muhammadan standpoint, however, makes it quite clear that the professed anxiety of Hindus to promote the country's welfare is not genuine. They neither include Musalmans among Indians nor do they wish to concede any political rights to the latter.

Boycott.

19. The *Civil and Military News* (Ludhiana), of the 23rd November 1908, publishes an article headed "Can a country become rich by resorting to boycott and can it cut itself off from trading with other countries?" It is a pitiable mistake on the part of the Bengalis to think, says the paper, that they can secure commercial freedom by boycotting foreign-made articles. History shows that the rich and powerful nations of the day have always traded with foreign peoples. After quoting the instances of England and France in support of his assertion, the Editor says that his countrymen can derive no benefit from stopping the export of grain from India. He adds that the tea industry puts considerable money into the pockets of a large number of coolies, and that if it were in the hands of natives they could drain into their country large sums of money from abroad. India's greatest need at the present moment is that her sons should utilize their capital for manufacturing different articles in such large quantities that they may be able, not only to supply their own needs, but also to obtain in exchange for their manufactures the commodities not produced in the country. It is also highly necessary that efforts should be made to establish friendly relations between native capitalists and English engineers and manufacturers. If the Bengalis, who are a very rich people, were to evince in the matter even half the interest displayed by them in politics, the social and industrial condition of India would be immensely improved in a short time. The chief cause of the prevailing unrest is that the people have come to believe that the country is abjectly poor and that this poverty is ascribable to foreign rule. As a matter of fact, however, the Briti sh Government has raised India to the level of other commercial countries of the world. Natives should establish different factories and export large quantities of raw and manufactured articles to other countries, so that money may be obtained in exchange and poverty may be banished from the country.

Political liberty in England and in India.

20. The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 10th December 1908:—

"Political agitators in England must thank their stars that they were not born in India. On the evidence of a fellow-passenger an Indian has just been sentenced to five years' transportation for talking sedition in a Railway carriage. Yet a single speech of a political agitator in England often contains enough of sedition and incitement to violence to make up, as we said on a recent occasion, a whole shipload of convicts from India to the Andamans. Here is a luminous extract from a speech of Mr. John Burns made on a memorable occasion (in 1887) when he was not a Cabinet Minister:—

"'Mr. Burns in moving the resolution remarked that Mr. Joseph Chamberlain had said that Home Rule meant the disintegration of the Empire. Suppose it did. What was there in this Empire which any man in the audience before him was sufficiently interested in to fight for? He would fight for his own, but he would see them hanged before he would fight for the mansions, the

broad acres, and the privileges of the titled few. (A voice: "Three acres and a cow.") Chamberlain would not get the cow but the "ball," and the amount of ground necessary for him to own would be about six feet by two. (Laughter). Hence forth they would mete out to traitors that punishment which their treachery justified. Great sorrow was evinced at the attempt to rid the earth of the Czar. He was sorry too—(Oh Oh!)—very sorry that they did not succeed. (Cheers and laughter.) He asked those present if they deprecated force and extreme measures, if some of them did not like the idea of Joseph Chamberlain following the Czar and Lord Salisbury to Heaven by means of a "chemical parcel post".

"The above direct incitement to violence and murder, aye, the open invitation to 'those present' to blow up certain prominent members of Government with bombs, was followed in other speeches by unambiguous threats to 'lead the people to sack the shops and send the bill *into* the local authorities,' and to 'invoke'—in the event of constitutional methods of agitation failing altogether—'that dread arbiter of the destiny of all nations—*force, force, force!*' Yet John Burns was not even prosecuted, while Tilak got five years' transportation for saying things which would have been considered almost too flat in England for a political situation of an exceptional character."

## II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

Tribal raids into British territory.

21. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 1st December 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "Mohmand *Ghasis* on the war-path," in which it remarks that the frontier tribes are averse to keeping quiet and prefer brigandage to agriculture and other peaceful occupations. They find easy victims in the British subjects on the frontier, who are unarmed and can offer them no resistance. Tribal dacoits come and sweep away everything from the houses of Hindus on the frontier. Nor is this all. The tribes named do not hesitate even to fight with Government (forces), because, although they may lose some men in the encounter, they can invariably obtain money from Government. The victorious English always escape from the vanquished tribesmen only by paying the latter some money. Continuing the paper enquires whether the "tiger qualities" of the British are meant only for rendering the people helpless. It requests the *Pioneer* to ask Government to employ these qualities against the frontier tribes, so that Government may be saved its present anxiety and the troubles of the Hindus on the frontier may also come to an end.

## IV.—Kine-Killing.

A complaint.

22. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 8th December 1908, reports that a Muhammadan, named Rahmat Beg, residing at Jalalpur Jattan, Gujrat district (recently) killed a cow and sold the beef at his house in the town. This gave the Hindus deep offence and they submitted a petition to the Deputy Commissioner on the subject. The Editor feels confident that the officer named will look into the matter at once and will try to undo the mischief.

## V.—Native Societies and Religious Matters.

The Arya Samaj.

23. Writing under the heading "The 31st anniversary of the Arya Samaj," the *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 4th December 1908, says that an important society like the Arya Samaj should know and always keep in view its duties to both the country and Government. Its members should not, in

their speeches and at *Nagarkirtans*, abuse the founders of Islam and of other (non-Aryan) religions, which is a grossly mean proceeding and helps to widen the gulf between different native communities. After remarking that "Arya" and "bigotry" are convertible terms, the Editor says that the liberties taken by the Aryas with non-Vedic faiths have exercised an undesirable influence on the general public and that the impression, mistaken or well-founded, has gone abroad that the Aryas look upon all others, including the present rulers of the country, as *mlechhas*. The Samaj, he adds, should prevent its preachers and speakers from opening their lips against Government and non-Aryan religions. He also finds fault with the Aryas for their opposition to the Urdu language.

The Arya Samaj.

24. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 1st December 1908, publishes "An open letter from Shanti Shambhu to Lord Morley, Secretary of State for India." The writer tells the addressee that although the latter is master of the lives and property of Indians he does not rule their intellects, which are as free as air. After remarking that in speaking out the truth he cares neither for the anger of the people nor for the frowns of the authorities, he tells Lord Morley that the Arya Samaj is being persecuted by some short-sighted Anglo-Indian officers. The Aryas in Government service are harassed in different ways and are transferred to very distant places, while not a few have been dismissed simply because of their religious beliefs. One Arya preacher (Pundit Daulat Ram) has been sentenced to undergo one year's rigorous imprisonment for the offence of importing education *gratis*. Again, Arya preachers are shadowed everywhere by the hounds of the law, *viz.* (Government) spies, as if they were criminals of the worst description. In short, all the civilised methods of harassing a body of human beings are being employed against the Arya Samaj. After remarking that, in India, only that society can be called political the objects of which consist in criticising the legislative and administrative doings of Government, the writer says that a perusal of its principles and literature will show that the Arya Samaj was not founded to pass such criticisms on Government. All the fights in which it has had to engage have been not with Government but with Hindu "popes" (orthodox Brahmins), Muhammadan Moulvies and Christian Missionaries. Its object consists in spreading the Vedic religion in all the countries of the world and it cannot, therefore, be called a political body. Nay, it will be no exaggeration to say that the Arya Samaj is at war with all political societies in the country. Political leaders wish to unite all section of natives in opposing Government and consequently they take care to avoid all mention of the social and religious evils to be found in any community. The Samaj, on the contrary, considers it a duty to eradicate these evils, its object in doing so being to improve the physical, moral and intellectual condition of Indians. And if Government really wishes the people well, as is evident, from the late Queen Empress' Proclamation of 1858 and the recent message from the King Emperor, it should render special help to the Arya Samaj. Some short-sighted and narrow-minded Anglo-Indian officers, however, who have been eating the salt of India all their lives, have come to believe that if natives improve themselves morally, physically and intellectually His Majesty will transfer all power from the authorities to the children of the soil. The natural

result is that they cannot tolerate the advancement of any society which is likely to lead to the above event even indirectly. Continuing the writer says that national progress means advancement in all directions, and that a society, engaged in improving the condition of a country also helps forward the political and national advancement of the people concerned. If the preachings of the disciples of Wycliffe resulted in the establishment of a free Parliament (in England) and if the Reformation and Renaissance proved instrumental in several European countries obtaining their liberty, there is no reason why the activities of the Samaj should not lead to the inhabitants of the countries (?) under its influence so improving themselves morally, physically and intellectually that they may become fit for *Swaraj*. Lord Morley, who is a disciple of Mill and a devotee of Burke and Macaulay, should remember that the persecution of a society, owing simply to its preaching the principles of religion and morality, will constitute a foul blot on his fame. It is to be hoped that his biographer will not have to record that while, in his *Compromise*, his Lordship advocated in strong language that no person should be prevented from preaching his creed, as Secretary of State for India he permitted the imprisonment of preachers for proclaiming historical and theistic truths. The writer then goes on to say that just as some Anglo-Indian officers have been frightened at the increasing power of the Arya Samaj and wish to crush that society, Christians also were persecuted by the Roman authorities for the same reason. After remarking that the result of the latter persecution was the conversion of the Romans to the faith of Christ, he says that the laws of God are immutable and that kingdoms not based on truth and justice are as nothing in his eyes. In order, he adds, to strengthen the foundations of the British Empire (in India) it is necessary to place it on the strong rock of truth and justice. He further remarks that brute force cannot suppress truth for long. The Vedic religion represents truth and it is, therefore, impossible to suppress it. It could not be put down even by the Islamic sword, and there is no fear of its faring worse in the civilised twentieth century. The writer's only fear is lest (in their treatment of it) the British people and the learned Lord Morley should commit such a mistake that the future historian may have to speak of them in contemptuous terms. Continuing he says that the Arya Samaj has particular love for British rule, which has established peace in the country, has conferred religious liberty on natives, and has consequently facilitated the preaching of the Vedic religion. It is their gratitude for this which has so far kept the Aryas loyal as a community in spite of the high-handed treatment of them by the authorities, some of whom have so persecuted the former that there will be nothing surprising in the Aryas coming to regard the British Government with feelings of hatred. The writer concludes by calling upon Lord Morley to look into the matter.

The Arya Samaj.

25. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 28th November 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "Another complaint," in which it says that generally speaking the authorities are prejudiced against the Arya Samaj. An incontrovertible proof of this, it adds, is that even native states have come to realise the situation. They, however, show their false loyalty in such a way as to produce the impression that they are utter strangers to all sense

of national self-respect. If the Jodhpur State (*lit.* these States) really dislikes the Arya Samaj why did it not from the very first order the Samaj at its capital to take down its signboard, as also that of the girls' school maintained by that body? Why did it issue the above orders only on the day on which His Excellency Lord Minto was to visit Jodhpur? The incident shows that either Government exercises undue influence over the State subjects or that they have not the least spark of manliness left in them. Do they not know the King Emperor (*lit.* the Viceroy) himself has said that no one among his subjects is favoured or disquieted because of religious belief?

## VI.—LEGISLATION.

The proposed Crimes Act.

26. The *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 28th November 1908, says that there is very little likelihood of the public being given sufficient time to discuss the provisions of the coming Crimes Act. The rapidity with which the blood-thirsty anarchist propaganda is spreading in the country renders it necessary for Government to pass the proposed law as early as it can. All that the people can, therefore, do is to repose faith in Lords Minto and Morley, and to hope that the law in contemplation will not only prove effective in putting a stop to anarchism but will also respect the principles of justice and will not deprive innocent persons of their right of proving their innocence.

The proposed Crimes Act.

27. The *Civil and Military News* (Ludhiana), of the 23rd November 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "A stringent law for anarchists." The Bengali anarchists, it says, think that they are engaged in patriotic work. As a matter of fact, however, they have proved enemies of their country. Their doings have compelled Government to curtail the liberty of speech and writing and to deprive the people of some of their rights for a time. After referring to the attempt on Sir Andrew Fraser's life, the paper says that a special law is to be passed shortly to deal with anarchists.

## VII.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

### (*a*)—*Judicial.*

Invidious distinctions between European and native offenders.

28. Writing under the heading "The murder of an Indian", the *Rajput Gazette* (Lahore), of the 24th November 1908, reports that the case in which two Europeans of Darjeeling stood charged with having killed a native while out shooting has come to a close. The jury empanelled in the case brought in the verdict that although the deceased had met his death at the hands of the accused they were in no way to blame for the occurrence. The finding, says the Editor, is calculated to bring a smile to the lips even of children. It would have been better if the jury had acquitted the accused on the ground of their being white-complexioned *sahibs*. Is it just that a native guilty of even the lightest offence against a European should be visited with the severest punishment, but that a white person killing a native should be let off on lame excuses such as "He was in no way to blame for the occurrence", "He was temporarily insane at the time (of the murder)," "The deceased died from a rupture of the spleen". The Editor has never heard of a native who was lucky enough to escape punishment

(for murder) on the ground of temporary insanity. He regrets that European juries and judges should murder justice in utter disregard of the fact that it is its sense of justice which distinguishes the British above all other Governments of the world. It is, however, a matter for deeper regret, it adds, that Government should tolerate this state of affairs.

The Courts and litigation.

29. The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 1st December 1908, publishes a communication headed "What arms do we require in political warfare?" In continuation of his previous remarks (*vide* paragraph 5 of Selections No. 49), the writer says that the ancient Hindus were not so much given to lying and dishonesty as their descendants of to-day. Nor did they fight among themselves like cocks, but regarded one another with feelings of love, respect and sympathy. Disputes were very rare among them and those which did occur were settled by *panchayats*, the verdicts of which were respected by all and which had nothing to do with bribery, dishonesty and trickery. Nor had the people to pay for justice, the result of all this being that the evils which litigation has now bred in the country were unknown in the olden times. It is a matter for regret that the Hindus of the present generation should not only contract different evils but should regard the same as the means of obtaining success. Indeed, it is quite natural for them to do so, seeing that one well-versed in such evil ways escapes scot-free even after committing a most serious crime. A dacoit, greasing the palms of some particular person, can keep his ill-gotten gains with impunity. It is no exaggeration to say that a person in the right can never feel confident of obtaining justice in the existing courts of India. Even those who may have never resorted to deception have to do so on going to law. In short, there is no lie which litigants have not told and no act of dishonesty which they have not perpetrated. All this makes it thoroughly clear that litigation, not only helps in the draining away of the country's wealth, but has also irretrievably injured the morals of the people. After condemning the efforts of those natives who are trying to obtain *Swaraj* under the existing circumstances, the writer calls upon patriotic native young men to visit every town and village and to tell the residents to avoid litigation, which is wasting the latter's money and ruining their religion and *izzat*. The people should be advised to have their disputes settled by *panchayats* and to consider it an act of derogation to resort to the courts. The putting down of litigation will not only fit Indians for *Swaraj*, but will also put an end to the existence of lawyers, who have proved a curse to the country. Government is not likely to resent the establishment of *panchayats*, but if it does so the utmost that it can do will be to exclude Indians from higher appointments. This is, however, being already done, and it will not only free Indians from a slave's spirit but will also place them in a position to make an independent living. No stone should, therefore, be left unturned to revive the *panchayat* system and to awaken the masses without whose co-operation the educated can achieve nothing.

(b)—*Police.*

The murder of Mr. Clough, Superintendent of Police, Lyallpur.

30. Writing under the heading "Mr. Clough's murder in the Lyallpur district," the *Sada-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 5th December 1908, remarks that the *Civil and Military Gazette* speaks of the murderer as a Sayad and

that its object in doing so is to insinuate that as he belongs to a high caste he could not put up with abuse and committed the murder in retaliation. The inference sought to be suggested is that Sayads should not be appointed to posts like the one held by Sher Ali. The *Observer* has been thoughtless enough to reprint the *Civil and Military Gazette's* note, although according to his own statement the murderer is an Awan and not a Sayad. The deplorable murder of Mr. Clough should teach the lesson that even highly-placed officers should avoid abusing their subordinates. The Editor feels for the murdered men, but he thinks it necessary to ask Government officers to mend their ways in order to prevent a repetition of occurrences like the one in question.

*(f)—Railways and Communications.*

The Mustafabad collision.

31. In a paragraph headed "Railway Collisions," the *Civil and Military News* (Ludhiana), of the 7th December 1908, refer to the Mustafabad accident and says that the frequency of collisions on the North-Western Railway this past year has brought the line into very bad odour. The people now fear to travel by rail and it has become imperative to take more effective steps to ensure the safety of passengers. The authorities should lose no time in finding out and removing the real cause of repeated collisions on the above railway.

The Mustafabad collision.

32. Writing under the heading "Collision between two railway trains," the *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 8th December 1908, makes similar remarks and adds that in all probability the official reports about the Mustafabad accident greatly understate the number of deaths.

The Delhi Tramway.

33. The *Akash* (Delhi), of the 19th November (received on the 8th December 1908), publishes a paragraph headed "A Tramway in Delhi." The construction of the tramway, it says, had the effect of evoking feelings of opposition among the residents of the city. The well-known public worker Lala Amir Chand, tried to impress upon his fellow-townsmen at several public meetings that the tramway would injure them in both pocket and body. Sayad Haider Raza also spoke in the same strain and exhorted them to boycott the tramway. (On one occasion) he was not allowed to speak at the Victoria Gardens, but he went and delivered a forcible speech on the far bank of the Jumna. It is, however, a matter for regret that all this should have ended in smoke and that the residents of Delhi should not have worked the least injury to the Tramway Company. They continue using the tramway and putting their money into the pockets of foreigners. In conclusion, the Editor urges them, especially their leaders, to look into the matter and to boycott the tramway as far as they can.

*(h)—Miscellaneous.*

Paucity of Muhammadans in the Irrigation Department, Punjab.

34. The *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 2nd December 1908, publishes a communication headed "Paucity of Muhammadans in the Irrigation Department," in which the writer complains of the evil indicated in the heading and thanks Mr. W. J. Gordon, for

having recently confirmed 14 Muhammadan clerks in their posts. He adds that the reason why very few Muhammadan candidates are taken on in the department consists in the fact that there are only two Muslim Head Clerks in the Irrigation Circle offices in the Punjab. This prevents the Prophet's followers from obtaining their legitimate share of posts in the Irrigation Department, and the only way to remedy the evil is to take in a sufficient number of Muhammadan graduates and to promote them to the posts of second and Head Clerks in the course of time. The writer also suggests that the establishment branch should be placed in the hands of a European Superintendent, who should be assisted by two Head Clerks, one a Hindu and the other a Muhammadan. After accusing Hindu Government servants of missing no opportunity of injuring the followers of Islam, he complains that transfer orders issued from the office of the Chief Engineer are such that the Hindu officials affected by them are generally transferred to their homes or to adjacent places, while their Muhammadan *confrères* are always sent still further away from their native places.

A complaint.

35. *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 4th December 1908, publishes a communication headed "Coins" from one Bawa Narain Singh, a pleader of Amritsar. The writer complains that the public are subjected to considerable loss and inconvenience owing to the railway, treasury and other officials not accepting coins on the ground of their being smooth-worn and the like. After remarking that on being "tipped" they accept the very coins refused by them a few minutes earlier and that they have made it a point of extorting such "tips," he says that as the intrinsic value of the coins issued by Government comes only to half their face value they should not be refused for being smooth-worn, &c. Besides, as Government makes crores of rupees by minting them, it and not the public should suffer for shortage in their weight consequent on wear and tear. The authorities should, therefore, take prompt steps to put an end to the inconvenience suffered by the public, passing a law, if necessary, to remedy the evil.

A suggestion to make the 2nd January next a public holiday.

36. The *Watan* (Lahore), of the 11th December 1908, writing under the heading "I'd," says that the Bakra-Id holiday takes place next year only one day after the expiration of Christmas week and New Years day. But as a large number of Musalman employés and officials of the Government usually avail themselves of this occasion to visit their homes it would be very disappointing to them to return to their duties at a time when only one day would be left of the I'd holiday. The paper therefore suggests that Government would earn the gratitude of its Musalman population if it were to declare Saturday, the 2nd January 1909, also as a public holiday.

G. A. COCKS,

*Asst. to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*

*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

LAHORE:

*The 12th December* 1908.

Punjab Government Press, Lahore—19-12-08—7091—97—H. L. L.

RECEIVED
a.m.
JAN. 1909
INDIA OFFICE.

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 51. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

Received up to 19th December 1908.

---

## CONTENTS.


Page.

I.—Politics.

(a)—*Foreign*—

1. Turkish boycott of Austrian goods (*Jhang Sial*) ... 773
2. Affairs in the Near East (*Zamindar*) ... ... *ib.*

(b)—*Home*—

3. Rulers and the ruled (*Asad*) ... ... ... 774
4. Rulers and the ruled (*Zamindar*) ... ... 775
5. Government and the people (*Inqilab*) ... ... 776
6. Government's repressive policy (*Jhang Sial*) ... *ib.*
7. The authorities and the prevailing unrest (*Jhang Sial*) 777
8. The situation in India (*Asad*) ... ... ... *ib.*
9. *Swaraj* (*Inqilab*) ... ... ... ... 778
10. *Swaraj* (*Inqilab*) ... ... ... ... 779
11. Anarchism in India (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... *ib.*
12. Anarchism and political prosecutions (*Asad*) ... 780
13. How to put down anarchism (*Zamindar*) ... ... *ib.*
14. The situation in Bengal (*Inqilab*) ... ... *ib.*
15. The situation in Bengal (*Panjabee*) ... ... 781
16. Recent deportations in Bengal (*Tribune*) ... 782
17. An appeal to the Indian nation (*Inqilab*) ... ... 783
18. An appeal to natives to serve their country (*Asad*) ... 784
19. How to reply to oppression (*Inqilab*) ... ... 785
20. The *Swadeshi* movement (*Asad*) ... ... *ib.*
21. The National Congress (*Inqilab*) ... ... 786
22. Pandit Rambhaj Dat (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... *ib.*
23. Ajit Singh and Sufi Amba Pershad (*Jhang Sial*) ... *ib.*

II.—Afghanistan and Trans-Frontier.

*Nil.*

III.—Native States.

*Nil.*

IV.—Kine-Killing.

*Nil.*

Page.

V.—Native Societies and Religious Matters.

24. Hindus and Muhammadans (*Inqilab*) ... ... 789
25. The Aligarh Vedic Ashram (*Jhang Sial*) ... *ib.*

VI.—Legislation.

26. The Criminal Law Amendment Act (*Panjabee*) ... 789
27. The Criminal Law Amendment Act (*Tribune*) ... 791
28. The *Anand* Marriage Bill (*Vakil*) ... ... *ib.*
29. The *Anand* Marriage Bill (*Watan*) ... ... 792
30. The *Anand* Marriage Bill (*Zamindar*) ... ... *ib.*
31. Muhammadans and the Viceregal and the Punjab Legislative Councils (*Sada-i-Hind*) ... ... *ib.*

VII.—General Administration.

(a)—*Judicial*—

32. The *Jhang Sial* libel cases (*Jhang Sial*) ... 793

(b)—*Police*—

*Nil.*

(c)—*Municipal and Cantonment affairs*—

*Nil.*

(d)—*Education*—

33. Primary education (*Paisa Akhbar*) ... ... 793
34. Muhammadans and Indian University (*Watan*) ... *ib.*

(e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land*—

35. A suggestion (*Zamindar*) ... ... ... 794
36. Money-lenders and agriculturists (*Zamindar*) ... ... *ib.*

(f)—*Railways and Communications*—

37. Mustafabad collision (*Haq Pasand*) ... ... 794
38. Mustafabad collision (*Civil and Military Organ*) ... 795

(g)—*Postal matters*—

*Nil.*

(h)—*Miscellaneous*—

39. The *Inqilab* newspaper (*Inqilab*) ... ... 795

[ Confidential. ]

[ Vol. XXI. ] [ No. 51. ]

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

## PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB.

**Received up to 19th December 1908.**

---

### I.—POLITICS.

#### (a)—*Foreign.*

Turkish boycott of Austrian goods.

1. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 12th December 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "Brought to her senses," in which it says that Austria has been hard hit by the Turkish boycott of her goods. Her representative at Constantinople has been entreating the Porte to end the boycott, but the Turks are now wholly unwilling to do so, seeing that the step has benefited them not only politically but economically. The event should teach Indians that boycott humbles the proud and brings them to their senses in no time. They should, therefore, continue to wield this weapon, and to deal effective blows with it.

Affairs in the Near East.

2. The *Zamindar* (Karamabad), of the 8th December 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "The Christian sheep of Crete," in which it says that although Christian powers are never tired of making professions of peace and religious neutrality, still, with the exception of England, they do not care to put their words into practice. After referring to the atrocities said to have been committed on Jews, Muhammadans and Roman Catholics in Russia not long ago, as also to the alleged mal-treatment of the Prophets' followers by Christians of Bulgaria, the Editor says that the recent happenings in the Near East are likely to lead to a universal war in Europe. He next finds fault with Germany and Greece for deserting Turkey in her hour of need and for espousing the cause of Austria and Bulgaria. He relates a story in which Muhammadan worshippers in a Cretan mosque are alleged to have been set upon and beaten by a Christian mob on the day on which Greece proclaimed the annexation of Crete. He regrets that the incident should have occurred while the island of Crete was under the protection of European Powers. The Cretan Muhammadans would like to be placed under England in order to save themselves from being oppressed by their Christian neighbours. After remarking that it has been decided that Greece cannot annex Crete, the Editor expresses the hope that justice-loving England and other European Powers will do their utmost to maintain peace in Crete and to afford protection to its Muhammadan inhabitants.

(*b*)—*Home.*

3. The *Asad* (Lahore), for July (received on the 15th December) 1908, publises an article headed " Pangs of separation," in which it asks why Government which at the time considered it a source of pride to confer rights on Indians should conduct itself in a different manner now. There can be only two reasons for this, *viz.*, (1) that either Indians are not fit for the rights they demand from Government, (2) or that the latter's promise to confer rights on them was merely a pious fraud. If the former is the case, one is driven to the conclusion that Government's entire efforts to educate and enlighten the people have proved abortive. It must be a matter for shame if, after having remained so long under the influence of British education and civilization, Indians have not learnt to distinguish between good and evil and are still so many sheep requiring guidance from others. If this is really so, they should sever all connection with existing schools and colleges. This is not, however, the case. The system of education in vogue in the country may be defective, but it would be sheer ingratitude to shut one's eyes to the benefits which the people have derived from it. Continuing, the Editors says that to aver that Government's promises to the people were intended only to serve as eyewash is to charge the rulers with falsehood. He believes in the sincerity of every word contained in the Proclamation issued by the late Queen Empress in 1858. He cannot accuse Government of falsehood, although he admits that those entrusted with fulfilling the royal promises seem averse to discharging their trust in a faithful manner. Besides, Government being human after all, it is pardonable on its part to hesitate to make over to the people things possessed by it. It does not, however, admit its weakness, and says that it is willing to give the people their rights, but that it is premature to do so just now. It is, therefore, obvious that neither the people are unfit for the rights demanded by them nor were Government's promises to them mere empty words. The journal then condemns the conduct of the (Bengali) anarchists in committing murders, and remarks that anarchist methods of demanding rights are as reprehensible as Government's conduct in sending nationalist leaders to jail instead of trying to find out the true causes of the prevailing unrest. Too much indignation, it adds, cannot be expressed at the punishment inflicted on Mr. Tilak, although every educated native abhors the unlawful manner in which some ignorant persons at Bombay gave vent to their feelings in the matter. After remarking that the people's desire to move onwards and to shake off their chains of slavery is perfectly legimate, the Editor says that those who prevent from them realising this desire wish to break a law of nature. The savage doings of some ignorant persons are due partly to those among the authorities who take no notice of mistakes committed by their white countrymen. If a native is kicked to death (by a European) and the accused is acquitted on the plea that the death was due to the rupture of the spleen, it is but natural that the peole should lose faith in British justice. Even the failure of justice between natives and Europeans, however, has not stripped the people of all fellow-feeling, and they have held meetings to condemn the brutal doings of anarchists, although Anglo-Indians have never met together to condemn the conduct of their fellow-countrymen in murdering natives. Continuing the journal says that formerly Indians used to fear their British rulers as a bugbear, but fortunately that feeling has died out of late. Some members of the ruling

Rulers and the ruled.

race, who like to see the people abjectly submissive, may not like the change, but it is necessary for the latter to learn self-respect in order to achieve progress and advance in civilisation. Those among the rulers who wish to keep the hearts of the ruled in their hands with the aid of fear are labouring under a mistake. The change in the latter's attitude towards the former is thoroughly in accord with the spirit of the age, and if the authorities also had moved with the times, no unrest would have appeared in the country. Again, Lord Morley and the *Times* are wrong in saying that India is in a more critical condition now than it was in 1857, while it is a fact that Government has become more irresponsible than it used to be. In the days of the East Indian Company Clive and Warren Hastings were called to account for the oppression practised by them in India, because Parliament could not tolerate the doings of the Company's officers bringing British justice into discredit. The times have, however, totally changed, and impeachments like those of the first Governor-General of India have become a thing of the past. The Editor further remarks that at one time Government really wished to make the people fit for self-Government, but that now, when the time for conferring *Swaraj* on them has arrived, it has been so misled by selfish officials that instead of granting *Swaraj* it has thought fit to transport some (patriotic) Indians from the country. It is, however, to be hoped that it will realise its mistake, and will continue to consider it a matter of pride that Indians should demand their rights. The people also should face hardship manfully and should rest assured that they will get their rights one day.

Rulers and the ruled.

4. The *Zamindar* (Karamabad), of the 1st (received on the 12th) December 1908, publishes an article headed "The old bride with a thousand bridegrooms." The Editor likens India to an old woman, who is made to say that although her children by her former husbands are ignorant, imprudent and disunited, she cannot absolve the offspring of her co-wife (England) of all blame for her present misfortunes. She adds that the transference by her present husband of the entire management of her household to her co-wife was resented by many of her self-respecting sons, and that it led to several of them and of the sons of her co-wife being killed in her house at which she was deeply grieved. After referring to what the children of her rival have done for her own offspring, she strongly condemns the latter's conduct in raising the Mutiny of 1857 and in committing the brutalities perpetrated by them during the disturbance. She also finds fault with the former for having made no distinction between the guilty and innocent on regaining possession of her house and for having treated indigenous princes in a most reprehensible manner. Her own children being an ignorant and uncivilised lot, there was nothing to be surprised at in the way in which they conducted themselves on the occasion. The behaviour, however, of the educated and civilised offspring of her co-wife will constitute an ugly blot on their fame for ever. Continuing she says that when her husband heard of the misbehaviour of the children of her co-wife he was greatly moved, took the management of her household in his own hands, and issued a proclamation granting an amnesty to her offspring.

Reverting to the subject in its issue of the 8th December 1908, the paper makes old India say that on taking the management of the country into his own hands her husband announced that he would make no distinction

between white and black men. He also made laws which benefited all without distinction of race or colour and sent out scions of noble families to govern the country. With the exception of passing the Arms Act, all the measures adopted by his agents were calculated to remove the defects which characterised the previous administration. They established peace, opened colleges, constructed canals, made the press free, and adopted other beneficent measures with a view to promoting the happiness and well-being of her children. In spite of all this, however, she is still in the grip of misfortunes which are attributable to two causes, *viz.*, to Indians being wanting in moderation and peacefulness and to the rulers holding themselves aloof from the ruled. Continuing old India says that the education of her children on Western lines, their knowledge of the doings of Christian Powers in the Near East, their ill-treatment in the Transvaal, and the struggle for constitutional Government in Russia, Persia and Turkey have created new aspirations in their hearts. The birth of these aspirations has, however, synchronised with the children of her co-wife taking to despotic ways, unpalatable to her offspring. They have enacted laws clashing with the terms of the Proclamation of 1858 and favouring racial distinctions. They have placed obstacles in the path of education and have restricted the liberty of speech and writing. To cap all, they have begun to rip open old sores by raising a Black Hole memorial, by holding Mutiny celebrations, and by erecting statues to men like Lord Clive, which proceedings have had the effect of throwing her children off their balance. (*To be continued*).

Government and the people.

5. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 12th December 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "Hindu Shastras and Government," in which it says that Hindus love their kings as a good child does its mother and the Shastras referred to speak of a Government as a mother of its subjects. On the other hand, its adds, the Hindu Rajas of old used to consider it a sacred duty to promote the welfare and prosperity of their subjects, whom they regarded in the light of their childern. After remarking that a child never suspects its mother of poisoning its food, the paper says that such a suspicion is natural in the case of a step-mother who feels pleasure even in starving her step-childern in order to bring up her own offspring in luxury. Continuing it writes:—"What is our present condition? We pray to God from the very bottom of our heart that we may soon get rid of this step-mother (Government*). The kind protection of this mother has dried up our blood in our veins. We cannot even obtain our food. Let alone the necessaries of life, we get fever and pneumonia from (exposure to) cold. We cannot get even hovels to live in. We cannot take even leaves from trees to keep off the cold. On the contrary, like the Roman nobles, our step-brothers 'eat to vomit and vomit to eat.' In these circumstances, it is but natural that the poor and peaceable Indians should try to rescue themselves from the clutches of (their) present step-mother (Government*), and this effort on their part is is holy and sacred."

Government's repressive policy.

6. Writing under the heading "A few unpleasant occurrences," the *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 12th December 1908, says that the end of the National Congress in the closing days of 1907 will long continue to grieve

*The brackets are the papers own.

the people. After referring to the happenings at Surat in December last, it observes that the same were sufficient to show that Indians had not as yet learnt to work in unison. It adds that the existence of disunion in their ranks and the wicked doings of some fanatical native youths had the effect of prompting the authorities to gird up their loins to crush the entire population. They began to scent sedition everywhere and, in spite of advice from the leaders and the native press, adopted measures to stamp out an imaginary evil. They wholly forgot themselves in their anger and did things which they should have never done. They deeply wounded the people's hearts by transporting Mr. Tilak and some other patriots and by passing two new Acts (*viz.*, the Explosives and the Newspapers Acts). After remarking that the authorities can undo the mischief by following a policy, not of repression, but of conciliation, the paper says that, far from adopting the suggested course, they confuse leniency with weakness and seem determined to work the ruin of His Majesty's native subjects.

The authorities and the prevailing unrest.

7. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 12th December 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "What is the reality," in which it says that it is the devilish and oppressive doings of some self-willed (Anglo-Indian) officers which have alienated the people from the authorities, have laid some fanatical youths open to the charge of rebellion, and have prompted them to attack highly placed officers at the risk even of their own lives. While, however, the officers referred to, who have made life a burden to both the rulers and the ruled, continue to taste of the sweets of power, Government is busy punishing editors and speakers over mere trifles. After remarking that in the end this will lead to the only result which, according to history, it can bring about, the paper says that the prevailing unrest is the work entirely of the authorities, but that the punishment has to be suffered by innocent natives. Speeches and writings, it adds, do not move the people so much as the oppression practised by the authorities. It is absolutely wrong to say that (native) newspapers incite (the people) to murder and bloodshed, or that speakers disseminate feelings of sedition in the country. On the contrary, it is the suffering which the authorities entail on editors and speakers which sows the seed of sedition in the land. The *Jhang Sial* concludes by asking Government to allay the prevailing unrest by following a policy of conciliation.

The situation in India.

8. The *Azad* (Lahore), for July (received on the 15th December) 1908, publishes an article headed "True Sacrifice" from the pen of one Pandit Kishen Prasad Kaul, B.A. The writer remarks that in these days of troubles and disappointments it may reasonably be asked whether there is any hope for the country, and if so, how the people should realise it. However unsatisfactory, he adds, the present political condition of the country may be, there exist some things in the land which fill one's heart with hope and courage. One of these things is the *Swadeshi* movement which has spread even to the masses and has infused new life into the people in a very short time. It is also satisfactory that there have risen some men, both young and old, willing to sacrifice their personal interests for the good of the country. After

remarking that this state of affairs is ascribable to the work which national educational institutions like the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College (Lahore), the Fergusson College (Poona), and the National College (Calcutta), and political leaders like Mr. Naoroji and Mr. Gokhale have been doing, the writer says that examples of self-sacrifice in the field of politics are multiplying daily in the country, and that different societies have been established to teach politics and a patriotism calculated to bring about the salvation of the people. He adds that a great change has also come over the national character of Indians. For instance, Hindus, who used to be spoken of as a mild people and used to pride themselves on their mildness, have bid good-bye to this trait in their character. The anti-partition agitation, indignation meetings *anent* Lord Curzon's notorious (convocation) speech, the warm welcome accorded to Lala Lajpat Rai on his return from Burma, and the Rawalpindi and Coconada riots bear witness to this change. Hindus will no longer tolerate without protest what they consider to be a piece of oppression, although it may have been sanctioned by royalty itself. The writer does not mean to suggest that it is proper on the part of the people to overstep the bounds of law or to cause breaches of the peace. He merely says that feelings of opposition exist in every human breast, and that an expression of these feelings within the bounds of law should be welcome. He has used the word 'welcome' from the thought that the change is calculated to remove the stigma of 'mildness' and 'cowardice' from the Hindu character. Continuing he deprecates the murder of Mrs. and Miss Kennedy by anarchists, and says that those who assert that constitutional agitation has proved a failure in India, and that consequently the people should adopt some other methods to obtain their rights are in the wrong. He concludes, however, that the policy which Government has been following of late is calculated to strengthen the above mistaken impression. It will be an evil day for the country, he adds, when the people take to manufacturing bombs and killing innocent persons instead of devoting themselves to the spreading of the *Swadeshi* movement, disseminating education among the masses, introducing social reform, and carrying on constitutional political agitation. There can be no doubt that the blood of martyrs constitutes the foundation of national edifice. But do shedders of innocent blood deserve to be called martyrs? It is true that if the Police had not shed the blood of innocent children at Barisal on the 14th April 1906, the *Swadeshi* movement in Bengal would not have been the success which it has proved to be. The murder, however, of two innocent ladies by Khudi Ram Bose will remain an indelible blot on the sacred nationalist movement in India. After condemning rioting also, the writer advises his fellow countrymen to avoid the paths of sin and crime and to set an example of true sacrifice. If they really love the country, they should not hesitate to lay down their lives for their nation and should learn patriotism from leaders like Messrs. Naoroji, Gokhale, Tilak and Lajpat Rai.

*Swaraj.*

9. In an article headed "*Swaraj*, boycott and national education," the *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 12th December 1908, says that India is a poor country, but that her poverty cannot be removed by simply writing and speaking about it. The evil can be remedied only by obtaining *Swaraj*. Foreigners have looted the country with the aid of the law, which fact is borne out by the land

revenue returns for the last 40 years. After remarking that India's enormous wealth and natural resources have been attracting foreign invaders for centuries past, and that owing to dissensions among its inhabitants it eventually fell into the hands of Europeans who rendered it abjectly poor, the Editor contrasts the prosperous condition of the country under its indigenous rulers with its present impoverished state. He next advises his countrymen not to throw away their wealth in order to protect themselves against the oppression and tyranny of foreigners. Foreign rule and not their wealth, it adds, is at the bottom of their misfortunes. Continuing he says that all the sources of earning wealth in India being in the hands of foreigners, the latter have become a rich people. The evil is due to ignorance and indifference on the part of Indians. They should spread the *Swadeshi* movement, preach the sacred gospel of boycott and disseminate national education from village to village, after which God will assuredly grant *Swaraj* to them. And when they have obtained *Swaraj* the wealth which is now drained away to foreign countries will remain with them. May God bless them, so that they may succeed in accomplishing their sacred mission.

*Swaraj.*

10. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 12th December 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "What should we do in the present struggle?" The paper remarks that the present is a time of severe trial for Indians and they should profit fully by (their) experience of the past. They stand arrayed against the ruling race which wishes that India should remain England's slave for ever. On the contrary, Indians do not, and should never, desire that the English should become their slaves because this would be falling away from justice. They merely wish that their country should become free, and that they should become an independent people. If they fight the English with weapons of truth and justice, they will assuredly gain the day, because they will have God's powerful support at their back, in which event even the greatest power in the world will not be able to prevent them from gaining their object. The paper adds that those who preach the gospel of freedom in the country will be prosecuted, will be subjected to all sorts of hardships, will be charged with sedition and creating unrest, will have to rot in jail, and will be transported and exiled. They should, however, be prepared to endure all this with smiling faces, bearing in mind that *Swaraj* cannot be attained without suffering troubles and hardships. They should carefully avoid replying to oppression with oppression, *i.e.*, they should not imbibe the spirit of revenge, because this will be suicidal and going against the commands of God.

**Anarchism in India.**

11. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 16th December 1908, publishes a communication headed "Anarchism in India." The writer begins by saying that not long ago he used to be under the impression that the sedition scented by the authorities in India existed only in their brains. The murder of Mrs. and Miss Kennedy, the throwing of bombs at different places, the murder of the approver Gossain, and the attempt on Sir Andrew Fraser's life, however, have convinced him that he was labouring under a mistake. He cannot but admit that there does exist a party which has been making secret attempts to put an end to the British rule in India. He is, however, of opinion that it is Government which is mainly responsible for the evil. The

failure of justice in cases between natives and Europeans has inflamed the hearts of some of the country's youth. After remarking that such miscarriage of justice is the more deplorable since it takes place under a civilized Government like the British, the writer says that the indifference of the authorities to the demands made by the National Congress led to the appearance of some extremists in the country. The new party began to preach boycott and *Swadeshism* from motives of self-respect, thinking it better to abandon the policy of mendicancy and to learn to stand on their own legs. Again, the repressive measures adopted by Government have led to the appearance of anarchists (in Bengal). After remarking that anarchism is condemned by all religions, especially Hinduism, the writer says that the only way to put down the evil is for Government to abandon its repressive policy forthwith; otherwise there is fear of all native young men making common cause with the Bengali anarchists. It is the authorities, he adds, who are creating unrest by making invidious distinctions between natives and Europeans, who should be repressed. In conclusion, the writer says that repression has proved powerless to stop the publication of the *Yugantar* or to keep the *Indian Sociologist* out of the country, seeing that he received a copy of the latter journal on the 30th ultimo in a closed cover bearing the post stamp "London, E. C." He adds that he forwarded this copy to the District Magistrate.

Anarchism and political prosecutions.

12. The *Azad* (Lahore), for July (received on the 15th December) 1908, publishes some verses on "The rainy season" from the pen of "Guhar" of Lucknow. Towards the close of the poem the writer refers to bomb-throwing and speaks of the "pleasant" shouts of *Bande Mataram*. He also makes mention of the prevailing unrest, and says that the anarchists have caused the entire population to be regarded as seditious. After deploring the murder of "two innocent ladies" (Mrs. and Miss Kednedy), he charges Government with injustice and oppression for imprisoning "patriots" for loving their country. The prisoners, he adds, are happy even in jail, which they look upon as paradise. Only those leave behind them a name who lay down their lives for their nation and country.

How to put down anarchism.

13. The *Zamindar* (Karamabad), of the 8th December 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "Effect of the King Emperor's message." The paper regrets that even the generous message should have failed to result in any abatement of the prevailing unrest. Extremists and anarchists continue as mischievous as ever, and the only way to remedy the evil is either to concede the demands made by the agitators or to proclaim martial law in the parts of the country concerned. It concludes by remarking that it was misplaced leniency to sentence the assailant of Sir A. Fraser only to 10 years' imprisonment.

The situation in Bengal.

14. Writing under the heading "The change in Bengal" the *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 12th December 1908, says that the Bengalis, who used to be looked upon as cowards, have become so changed that Anglo-Indians apprehend danger from them and are requesting Government to proclaim martial

law in Bengal. The present condition of the Bengalis, it adds, resembles that of the Sikhs in the time of Farrukhsyar when the Guru's followers were grossly persecuted by the Moslem Government. After remarking that Farrukhsyar proved powerless to extirpate the Sikhs, the paper says that the English also will not be able to exterminate the Bengalis by hanging and imprisonment. All those natives who do not openly sympathise with Bengalis are so many hypocrites and wish to deceive the authorities. It is human to sympathise with the oppressed, and the entire Indian population have genuine sympathy with the Bengalis in their present troubles. What is better still, however, the Bengalis have God at their back. The change that has come over them is due to their repressive treatment by Lord Curzon and by Anglo-Indian officers of his views. After remarking that it does not view the present situation in Bengal with favour, the paper says that if a statesman like Lord Ripon or Sir Henry Cotton were placed at the helm of affairs in that part of the country, the unrest now prevailing there would disappear at once.

The situation in Bengal.

15. The following is from the *Punjabee* (Lahore), of the 19th December 1908:—

A gentleman from the Punjab who now happens to be in Calcutta sends us the following:—

Contrary to expectations, the Bengalis of Calcutta have taken the whirlwind of deportations which has followed so quickly upon the passing off of the new Act very coolly. Even those whose names are said to be the next on the list are carrying themselves as if such things are to be expected in the natural course of things. The reasons for this attitude of comparative indifference seem to me to be three:—(1) The Bengalis have for some time past been accustomed too much to sensations to be taken aback by any new development. (2) They know that the Government, if not actually playing a game of bluff, are most anxious at the present moment to make a demonstration of force, not merely to terrify the Indians, but still more to please the people at home who have lately been accusing them of weakness (the *Times* and *hoc genus omne*) (3) The panic of the Government is too apparent and ludicrous to call for a serious protest. The vernacular journal *Hitabadi* hits off the temper of the authorities most accurately. The Government may now go to sleep, it says, with the flattering consciousness that its task in the pacification of the country is done. The people are quite pleased with its latest legislative measure as well as the deportations; for if it were otherwise there would have been a huge storm of protest. The Partition was an unpopular measure and there was great protest, and so were the Seditious Meetings Act and other measures which called forth loud remonstrances. Now, however, there is hardly any protest worth the name, and the deportations have not elicited anything more than mild expressions of regret. It follows therefore that the people are satisfied and pacified, and the Government may congratulate themselves.

Of course, the people and the Press are at a loss to find out the grounds of the deportations, and even the *Indian Mirror* believes that in the case of Babu Kristo Kumar Mitter at least "a grave blunder" has been committed. The majority of the leaders, however, are taking the situation with amused disgust. They regard the Government's last action as a clear proof that the authorities are gone clean off their senses, and that there is no use arguing with them. Whether, however, the people will give up Swadeshi or take to it more thoroughly and less noisily remains to be seen. There is one reason for satisfaction, at least, namely, that the Government have by their own action furnished an argument against the new legislative enactment for where was the need of it if they had to resort to the time-worn Regulation of 1818 so soon after its passing? Where was the need, in fact, of making a show of any legal

procedure, summary or otherwise, when they were prepared not to scruple at the use of even that discredited weapon? Evidently the authorities do not seem to know their own minds.

Again, it is said, that the suppression of anarchism cannot be the object of the Government in obtaining fresh powers, as it is pretended to be. The trial of the anarchists, going on for so many months, ought to have placed enough materials in the hands of the authorities for the suppression of the movement by means of the new Act, which was passed with that express purpose. Evidently, then, there is some other object in view. The Government seem inclined not to tolerate any individuals or institutions like the Samities, National Schools, &c., who or which in any way represent the principle of self-help, self-respect and self-culture for Indians. Swadeshi and the Samities have evidently come under the ban in Bengal for the same reason which has placed the Arya Samaj under suspicion in the Punjab, namely, that they wish to produce a manly, self-reliant, and patriotic race of men for India. Somehow or other the development of India's manhood is considered to be inimical to the interests of British rule. The result of the short-sighted action of the Government, it need hardly be said, will be the inevitable one of making the situation still more complicated. Even if the latest repressive measure might have been swallowed by the people with some effort, in expectation of the much-talked-of reforms this fresh resort to the Regulation of 1818 will discount the value of *any* reforms that may come by placing in strong relief the *absolutely* despotic and unsympathetic character of British rule. If the Reforms will not be positively a laughing stock, at any rate all chance is gone for their favourable reception in Bengal. The same may probably be said of the chances of reconcilation. Far from killing the Extremist movement, the Government have done their best to convert all Bengal into uncompromising extremism. The Bengali would now laugh at anyone who speaks of liberal, not to say sympathetic and generous, treatment from the British Government.

As a natural consequence the Congress is losing in whatever interest might have been left in it among the Bengalis after the failure of the compromise proposals. Even the foremost leaders do not know what they are going to do about the Congress. They say they have no time to think of it now, local politics being far too pressing. It is even surmised that the latest blow has been aimed to show the powerlessness of the Congress as much as of the people at large, and to create demoralisation among the Moderate politicians, leaving nothing for them but to turn into "Jo-hukum" loyalists.

I will conclude by referring to an instance of the panic-stricken mind of the authorities and how scares are got up. The revelations in connection with the arrest of 3 youngmen at Tuticorin on suspicion of complicity with the murder of Sub-Inspector Nanda Lal Banerji should prove the next laughing sensation of the world. Two of the boys (the Dutts) are sons of an eminent medical practitioner of the city, well-known in high circles and much esteemed for his scholarly tastes and habits which are the very reverse of the politician's. And the sons, aged 19 and 17 respectively, have been trained up accordingly. All the three young men were running away to England for study without the consent of their parents and without sufficient funds. They had booked passage for Colombo, hoping that their parents would relent after they had absconded, and would furnish the necessary supplies. On arrival at Colombo they sent the necessary intimation home and were waiting for replies, which being delayed in coming, they crossed over to Tuticorin, on landing where they were immediately arrested. This is the true story of the sensational arrest which is being wired all over the country.

Recent deportations in Bengal.

16. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 16th December 1908:—

"ON the eve of the belated announcement of long-expected reforms comes the news from Bengal that the antiquated Regulation III of 1818 has once more been brought into requisition, this time in the two provinces of Bengal, and as many as nine

persons have been placed under personal restraint. It is a pity that the Government of of Lord Minto should have felt called upon to resort to this weapon in the face of all the legal facilities placed at their disposal by a number of legislative measures including the most recent one which has received the sanction of the Viceroy's Council. We have expressed nothing but clear and unequivocal condemnation of violent action as well as of anarchist crimes, nor have we pandered to extremist views or tendencies, but we cannot see eye to eye with His Excellency the Viceroy that on the very eve of the announcement of the long-expected step forward on which so unconscionably long have the eyes of the people been fixed, the Government should have proceeded to revive the old and antiquated Regulation which has never received the support of the constitutional party in India. Dr. Rashbehari Ghosh took the only course open to him, even at the risk of being misunderstood, when he declared from his seat in Council that Lord Minto's Government might have reserved any further repressive action or legislation to come, if it indeed became necessary, after Lord Morley's statement. Dr. Ghosh was not only right but represented the sober, mature, and deliberate opinion of the whole country. The fact remains that the situation in Bengal demands the exercise of the highest statemanship to undo the great mischief wrought by the Partition of that Province, and several other administrative blunders that followed upon it, while the suicidal acts and mental aberrations of a small body of misguided men which found vent in insane exhibitions and anarchical crimes have hardly facilitated the task of throwing oil over the troubled waters of Bengal. What was wanted at the present juncture was the voice of conciliation and the acts of pacification which would have knit into bonds of sympathy and good fellowship the Anglo-Indian community and the discontented section of the Indian community. Dr. Ghosh pleaded in vain that Lord Morley's statement should be permitted to have full play on the hearts and minds of the perturbed section of the Bengali population, and the implication was clear that if any persisted in their solation and refused to be drawn towards Government and to accept any concessions or reforms in a proper spirit, the Government could proceed to take any steps it thought proper against such confirmed irreconcilables. We can only deeply regret that His Excellency the Viceroy did not see eye to eye with the President-elect of the forthcoming Madras Congress, and could not see his way to postpone the measures since taken till the coming reforms had been announced and sufficient time had elapsed to watch their effect on the people at large and the extremist section in general and cult of violence in particular. Lord Minto declined to accept this view which must be taken to be the deliberate opinion of the sober and constitutional party in this country. If Dr. Ghosh's voice had been listened to, the recent measures would have been kept in reserve, and Lord Morley's statement announced without a moment's delay. As it is, the serious step of deporting as many as nine British Indian subjects has been taken on the eve of the date when the coming reforms are to be announced. We cannot say what they will be, but in the light of recent action it has become all the more necessary that they should comprise a modification of the ill-fated measure of partition, for without it, the scheme, however beneficent, may run the risk of falling flat on the Bengali-speaking population. And that would be little short of a misfortune for the perturbed Province as well as the general administration. Let us still hope for the best and trust that England's statesmanship may rise to the occasion and at all events take steps to satisfy sober and moderate opinion in India."

An appeal to the Indian nation.

17. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 12th December 1903, publishes an article headed "An important request to the nation," in which it deplores the ignorance of Indians, and remarks that nine-tenths of them do not know how to read and write. The majority of the remaining one-tenth, it adds, are engaged in strengthening the foundation of British (*lit.* foreign) rule, which is the cause of all the troubles and sufferings of the people. They feel no scruple in murdering their conscience and in cutting the throats of their fellow-countrymen. They are as irreligious as they are

fearless of God, bear their nation not the least love, and think only of their creature comforts. After remarking that they consist of native servants of Government, the Editor says that only very few of the educated can attend to the needs of the country. They have established Gurukuls, orphanages, girls' schools, &c., but they are too few in number to cope successfully with the work before them. Again, they cannot achieve much because of their having been brought up under a defective system of education. Continuing the Editor says that the present condition of Indians is very critical, and he suggests that they should be educated on the old and cheap Gurukul lines. He adds that he has written a pamphlet on the subject entitled "National Reform, Part I," that the compilation is priced at five annas, and that those who cannot afford to buy it can obtain copies of it by remitting one anna on account of postage. He then makes the following appeal :—"Beloved countrymen, remember that it is with the aid of effort, courage and sacrifice that you can throw off the foreign yoke. There is no other way in which you can save yourselves from this fatal disease." Continuing, the paper says that if native youths are educated on the suggested lines they will become *Swadeshists* from the very first, will eschew drinking, and will love national education and *Swaraj*. They will also love their religion, nation and country from the bottom of their hearts. The students of the national schools in Bengal are quite different from those of Government schools and love their nation and country, the opposite of which is the case with the latter. The paper concludes as follows :—"Indians, arise. You have slept long. Be courageous (and) God will help you. Japan, China, Persia and Afghanistan are making strides in national awakening and progress . . . . . God helps those who help themselves. It is to be wished that our Muhammadan brethren would convert their mosques into schools where it would be the sacred duty of the Imam to impart the light of knowledge to the children of the nation! Our *Dharamsalas* should become Gurukuls where the sun of knowledge would shine."

An appeal to natives to serve their country.

18. The *Azad* (Lahore), for July (received on the 15th of December) 1908, publishes some verses entitled "Mother India," written by one Munshi Kundan Lal, *Sharar*, of Saharanpur. The writer says that it is incumbent on his countrymen to serve Mother India, who does not withhold her love even from those of her children who have deserted her and gone over to the foreigners. If each and every Indian, he adds, were to die in her service, even then he would not repay the debt he owes her. After urging both Hindus and Muhammadans to serve their mother land, to tells native youths that they are entirely indebted to her for even their flesh and blood. He regrets that they should be so floolish as to sell such sacred blood for a few rupees. It is a heinous sin on their part to squander this priceless trust and to forget their duty to Mother India.

"Every drop of this blood forms (part of) the price of that milk (which she gave you).

(And even if you spend it in her service) you will still remain under obligation to her."

How to reply to oppression.

19. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 12th December 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "Oppression should be replied to not with oppression but with justice." The Editor begins by saying that the truth of this maxim is borne out by the doings of nations as well as indviduals. *A* wrests two pice from *B*, who is powerless to offer resistance, and appeals to *C* for help. The last named not only compels *A* to disgorge the pice but also insults him and eases him of his own money. If *C* had contented himself with doing justice and had not become tyrannical himself, the matter would have ended there and no bitterness of feeling would have remained between him and *A* or between *A* and *B*. As it is, however, the oppressed *A* will always seek for an opportunity to avenge himself on *B* and *C*. The Editor then shows how the Protestants of England, who were oppressed by the Roman Catholics, have come to acquire such great power in their country that no Roman Catholic can now occupy the throne. This, he adds, should show that oppession cannot be put an end to by oppression, because one must reap what one sows and like begets only like. Again, those who have studied the history of India know that the Sikhs and Mahrattas owed their rise to the oppression practised on them, while if they had not become tyrannical in their turn, they would have pleased both Hindus and Muhammadans. As, however, it is human nature that after suffering oppression a people cannot restrain themselves from committing excesses, both the Sikhs and Mahrattas were guilty of this conduct and of this mistake on their part England took advantage to secure the sceptre of of India. If they had not committed this mistake, India would not have been under foreign rule to-day.

The *Swadeshi* movement.

20. The *Asad* (Lahore), for July (received on the 15th December) 1908, publishes an article headed "Self-respect and self-reliance" in which the writer, one Har Kishan Lal, *Ruswa*, of Delhi, says that the virtue of self-respect is as necessary in a nation as it is in an individual. A people wanting in self-respect do not deserve to be called a nation, much less a living nation. Nor can they produce great men or attain any great achievements. National self-respect means that a nation should so respect itself that other peoples also may feel compelled to show it respect. If even one member of it is insulted by a foreigner, the whole nation should condemn the occurrence with one voice and should impress upon the offending people in different ways that it respects itself. The writer then states how a slight offered to a Japanese at the Chicago Parliament of Religions led to all the Mikado's subjects, high as well as low, boycotting American goods. Continuing he says that no self-respecting nation will ever depend upon another people for anything. For instance, it it will never consent to its members using foreign-made cloth or imported condensed milk and ground salt. It will import only those articles which are calculated to benefit it as a whole, and will export such goods alone as are likely to add to its fame and to stamp it with greatness. After remarking that by exporting her manufactures England enriches herself and puts bread into the mouths of her poor children, the writer observes that natives wanting in self-respect and common sense grow fond of glossy foreign-made things and of wasting their money on them. Most pitiable, he adds, is the condition of the nation the members of which are strangers to a sense of national self-respect and allow themselves to be fleeced by foreign traders.

The National Congress.

21. Writing under the heading "The new and the old Congress," the *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 12th December 1908, says that the Congress has become a synonym for faction, and that patriotism and national sympathy seem to have disappeared from India. After remarking that (several) leaders and (other) patriots have been thrown into jail since the Congress *fiasco* at Surat, and that natives are an afflicted and starving people, the paper says that only those who abide by the resolutions on *Swaraj*, boycott, *Swadeshism* and national education adopted at Calcutta can have the right to identify themselves with the *National* Congress. It also exhorts the Panjabees to join forces with such men and to attend the nationalist Congress at Nagpur. Further, it advises the nationalists to spend only a very small part of their time in making speeches and adopting resolutions and to concern themselves chiefly with doing more practical work. After denying that nationalists are anarchists or revolutionaries, it suggests that very few of them should assemble at Nagpur. Indeed, it adds, it is impossible for them to gather together at any one place, seeing that the entire nation has come to favour nationalism. Nor is it expedient that they should so meet and thereby fall victims to official intrigues.

Pandit Rambhaj Dat.

22. The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 15th December 1908, publishes an article headed "Pandit Rambhaj Dats' political mission." After publishing the substance of an article contributed by the Pandit to *Reynold's Magazine* on Indian affairs, the paper says that the entire Indian population endorses most of the demands made by him on Government. A very large class of natives, however, it adds, cannot agree in his statements that the partition of Bengal is the sole cause of the present unrest in the country. Again there is no truth in his remarks that, among other things, the insults to innocent women by Muhammadan rioters or Gurkha soldiers have been deeply wounding the people's feelings. After regretting that Pandit Rambhaj Dat should have tried to prejudice the British public against Indian Muhammadans for no reason, the paper agrees with him that the inscription ("Will you be governed by pen or sword?") on the pedestal of Lord Lawrence's statue at Lahore undoubtedly injures the Panjabee's feelings of self-respect. How many persons, however, it asks, among the 175,000 residents of Lahore and among 2½ crore inhabitants of the Punjab even know of the existence of the inscription or care for it? It is, therefore, wrong on the part of the Pandit to place the inscription among the causes of the prevailing unrest.

Ajit Singh and Sufi Amba Pershad.

23. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 12th December 1908, publishes a communication headed "Sardar Ajit Singh and the Deputy Commissioner, Lahore," in which the writer states as follows :—

"Having read in the *Punjabee* and in your paper that Colonel Parsons had again summoned Sardar Ajit Singh before him and had given him certain directions, I went to the Sardar's village in the Lyallpur district with a view to ascertain detailed facts (regarding the matter) from the Sardar. I met Sufi Amba Pershad also there, and the conversation I have had with these two

persons is not without (some) interest. I, therefore, communicate it to you. After a little conversation I enquired from the Sardar 'Is it true as I hear that you were summoned by Colonel Parsons?'

*Sardar Ajit Singh.*—"It is true."

*The writer.*—"You have not given an account of this in any newspaper this time."

*Ajit Singh.*—"I never did so before. The *Hindustan's* correspondent came to me and asked certain question which I answered."

*The writer.*—"Was the same discourteous treatment accorded to you this time as formerly?"

*Ajit Singh*—"I did not notice."

*The writer.*—"Why were you summoned?"

*Ajit Singh*—"Probably the Police officials had dinned into his (Deputy Commissioner's) ears that the Sufi and myself were writing some seditious books."

*The writer.*—"Were you prohibited from writing books?"

*Ajit Singh.*—"How can one know that there is sedition in the brain of any person so long as no book is published, and how can one direct the latter to cease writing? Who is there who can comply with such orders?"

*The writer.*—"What did Colonel Parsons say to you?"

*Ajit Singh.*—"He said 'I have been informed that you are writing some seditious books. I have summoned you only to warn you (in the matter of writing seditious books). We do not desire to get up a case against you. It will, therefore, be well if you do not publish these books.' I replied 'I am not writing any seditious book. I am only translating into Urdu what was written in your books.' Later on some books might be published."

*The writer.*—"What answer did you get?"

*Ajit Singh*—"Colonel Parsons enquired 'What is your object in making these translations?' I replied 'to teach (lit. inform) the Indian public and to enrich our literature, so that those who are ignorant of English may not remain ignorant of the affairs (of their country). Colonel Parsons again enquired 'what will be its effect on the people?' I replied 'the same as on the English educated Indians.' The Colonel then said 'you must have read the definition of 'law.' I replied 'all persons know 'law' more or less. There is, however, no law in India. Here your word is law. You may get any body entangled if you so desire and that is law. You may also connive at (the shortcomings of) any body if you so desire. No lawyer or distinguished person can therefore be safe. Otherwise who would like to go to jail of his own accord. But I shall do my duty without fail. My duty and the welfare of my countrymen lie in this that they should open their eyes and be on their guard. It is, of course, your interest that they should remain ignorant. Here

is the difference between you and us ?' Colonel Parsons then asked 'Is Sufi also writing (books) in co-operation with you ?' I replied 'I am writing books as well as he ?'

"Although Colonel Parsons received reports daily as regards our whereabouts, yet wisely feigning ignorance he enquired where the Sufi was. I replied that he must know (the Sufi's whereabouts). He replied 'Yes, he is perhaps at Lyallpur. I have written to warn him also ?' After this I came back. I am now regularly engaged in translating books which are the works of famous men and which are nearly all histories, especially connected with Indian history. In other words, they show the other side of the picture which is hidden (from the people). Some books are connected with arts and industries. Indeed, one of them is entitled 'A pathetic story of India', in which a complete history of trade as given from the early says of British rule down to 1903 and in which by reference to Parliamentary blue-books and other authoritative publications it has been shown what the condition of our trade (formerly) was and how cruelly it has been killed for our benefit. (The expression is ironical.)

"Besides, there is a detailed and true history of the Mutiny of 1858. In this book those facts have been openly given (exposed) which the Government should have published. If this is sedition, Colonel Parsons or Government will of course do what they desire and I cannot help it.

"After this I addressed Sufi Amba Pershad. He is a strangely vivacious person. He was dressed as a Fakir and was sitting on a leopard's skin. I enquired how long he had been there and how long would he remain there. The Sufi replied that he had been there some two or three months and was about to go.

*The writer*.—"Tell me, what is the condition of the Police ?" I knew that he is an expert in police matters.

*The Sufi*.—"It is a strange and interesting question. There was a time when one (police) wearing a red *pagri* was considered to be a Lieutenant-Governor, but the poor fellow is now required to efface himself."

*The writer*.—"How ?"

*The Sufi*.—"In this way. Sardar (Ajit Singh) went to Calcutta on the 27th ultimo so as to arrive at a decision with the lovers of the nation whether there should be a sitting of the Congress or not, because a committee was to be held there (to discuss the matter). Accidently the police officials came to know about his departure several days afterwards. It also happened that a certain boy made an attempt on the life of the Lieutenant-Governor (of Bengal) there. When the news came to Lahore the authorities became anxious to know whether I had accompanied the Sardar because at Calcutta the latter was alone. How can one know whether I was in my village or somewhere outside it ? A detective was sent from Lahore for the purpose. He, however, did not take the trouble to come alone to my village and see me there. He, therefore, went to Lyallpur for help. The Superintendent of Police, Lyallpur, wisely told him that he should (himself) go and see because he had come to made a secret investigation, and that there was no need of giving him help. But he returned to Lahore. Then a person named Mathra Pershad, a Sergeant, was told off for the work. This man knows me.

He too could not muster courage to come alone to the village. He also went to Lyallpur seeking help. He was told to go to Khurrianwala, where arrangements would be made (for him). Accordingly, he obtained help, stopped in a village and concealed himself in a cotton field. In this condition he could see me. Does this not amount to a misfortune to them? Verily, the prestige of Government is now at its zenith.

"On the day after I came from Lahore orders were sent to Lyallpur that I should be carefully watched in secret. I heartily laughed at that senselessness. It is an excellent practical proof of the proverb 'Conscience makes cowards of us all.'"

## V.—Native Societies and Religious Matters.

Hindus and Muhammadans.

24. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 12th December 1908, publishes a communication from one Devi Singh headed "The sayings of greatmen." After dwelling on the advantages of union, the writer regrets that Hindus and Muhammadans should not join forces in spite even of the country being very poor and in the grips of hunger. If the two communities, he adds, were to unite to-day, they would obtain *Swaraj* to-morrow.

The Aligarh Vedic Ashram.

25. Writing under the heading "The Vedic Ashram has been closed," the *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 12th December 1908, reports that the District Magistrate, Aligarh, has ordered the local Vedic Ashram, the Superintendent of which was recently sent to jail, to be closed on the ground of its being a seditious institution. After remarking that this has been done in spite of remonstrances on the part of the Managers, the Editor enquires whether such kind attentions to religious institutions do not go against the Proclamation of 1858 and whether they are not calculated to bring British into discredit.

## VI.—Legislation.

The Criminal Law Amendment Act.

26. The following from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 15th December 1908:—

"As published in our last, the Viceregal Legislative Council met on Thursday last to pass into law, in a summary manner, an Act for the summary trial of political offenders, who may be suspected of being in any way connected with the Anarchical propaganda. We have from the very beginning expressed our deep sense of abhorrence at the Anarchist movement which we consider to be an exotic tree transplanted into India from the West, and which is entirely foreign to the nature of the people and to the best traditions of the country. But at the same time, we cannot help saying that the methods which the Government has adopted for extirpating this evil are such as are likely to fan the fire of Anarchy, rather than to extinguish it. This new phase in Indian life and politics is the direct consequence of the policy of coercion which the Government has persistently pursued in the two provinces of Bengal during the last three years, and every coercive measure which the Government has devised for the suppression of the popular movement has had the effect of sinking the iron deep into the souls of the populace who, exasperated by the oppression, which they have been subjected to, have taken to new means of a more formidable character. Thus as soon as that ill-fated measure—the Partition of Bengal—was conceived, the Bengalees began to petition and memorialize the officers of the Government, from the Secretary of State down to the local Hazoor. But the voice of the people was unheard, and the measure was carried

through in the teeth of united opposition of the entire Bengalee nation. Although a large number of the officers of the Government were themselves opposed to the measure, and the authorities were fully cognizant of the fact that an amount of indignation, which was unheard of in the annals of this country, had been aroused in the minds of the people, yet they thought—as indeed do all Governments where autocracy is supreme—that abandoning the Partition would be yielding to the popular movement and destroying the 'prestige' of the Government; and 'considerations of political expediency' left no alternative to the Government but to rush the measure through in the manner in which it was done. Bengal was partitioned, and what was the result? The sense of humiliation went down deep into the soul of every Bengalee, and the idea of seeking assistance from Government in every phase of life, of which the Bengalee had for the preceding forty years been a veritable apostle, was pooh-poohed in the very heart of Bengal itself and the gospel of self-help proclaimed. This new idea manifested itself in many ways—in the *Swadeshi* movement in its purely economical aspect, in the boycott, and in freeing education from Government control. The Government, however, regarded all these as a sort of insult to its dignity and position, and a well-defined policy of the persecution of all persons concerned in these innocent enterprises. was inaugurated. Then followed a series of Hindu-Muhammadan riots, an era of newspaper prosecutions and press confiscation, of prohibition of meetings and dispersion of assemblies, and what did all these result in? In the appearance in the amiable East of what has been aptly described as the curse of the Western civilization—the bomb! It is our firm conviction that the origin of the Anarchical movement is to be directly traced to the systematic policy of coercion which the Government has for a number of years adopted; and the only means by which this evil can be rooted out is a policy of conciliation and not of further and greater coercion. This is the verdict which History has written in its pages with unerring pen, and this is the lesson which the march of events in Bengal itself has taught; and we hope that the Government, in its own best interests as well as in the interests of the people, will not fail to benefit by it. We are confident that if the authorities in Bengal adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards the people, and if one of the reforms of Lord Morley, which are to be adumbrated this week, is a cancellation of of the Partition of Bengal, or at least a substantial modification of it, a death blow shall have been struck at the Anarchical movement in that Province and the necessity of all coercive measures, like the one now passed, be obviated.

"The Act is intended to provide for the more speedy trial of certain offences and for the prohibition of associations dangerous to public peace. The provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure relating to the holding of a Magisterial enquiry prior to commitment of the case to the High Court or the Court of Sessions are abrogated in cases where the accused person is charged with one or more of the offences enumerated in the schedule to the new Act. The new procedure in such cases restricts the recording of evidence for the prosecution only to so much as in the opinion of the Magistrate is sufficient to raise a presumption that the accused has committed the offence. This evidence shall be recorded *in camera*, and in the absence of the accused person or his pleader. It would thus appear that the police are practically masters of the situation in all proceedings prior to commitment, for it will frequently happen that the Committing Magistrate may be required by the prosecution to commit the accused to take his tria before the High Court on the mere evidence of one or two police officers or informers, the truth of which has not been tested by cross-examination. Further, the time-honoured practice of letting the accused person know the case against him before he is called upon to enter on his defence has also been dispensed with. Indeed it has always been the first principle of Criminal Jurisprudence that the law should not be such as to be a source of unnecessary annoyance to the public, and that it should be so applied that no innocent person suffers by reason of its administration. The cases against the six lawyers at Rawalpindi and the Raja of Narajole and his fellow-co-accused at Midnapore have proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that Magisterial enquiry into cases of such importance held prior to commitment is often the only safeguard which accused persons can avail themselves of against the arbitrary powers which Police in this country enjoys.

No doubt it is highly important that such cases should be brought to a speedy termination, but the desire to attain this object should be such as not to result in the enhancement of the powers of the police over the public. This is followed by a provision that in such cases bail shall not be allowed if there appear to be 'sufficient grounds for further enquiry into the guilt of the accused,' which is tantamount to laying down that bail shall never be granted in such cases. We think that, in framing the Act, the authorities have had their mind very much disturbed by the Midnapur fiasco, and the new Act now makes it impossible for any Judge to release on bail an accused person in such cases as the Midnapur Trial, for it is notorious that in that case the Police went on urging up to the last that there were sufficient grounds for further enquiry. No doubt the Act provides that no proceedings under the Act will be initiated until the sanction of the Governor-General in Council has been obtained beforehand and the trial shall be before a Special Bench of three High Court Judges. But it is clear that it will be easy enough for an unscrupulous detective or an ambitious policeman to start a story of a certain person being connected with Anarchical propaganda; and the Government being naturally horrified at such information, its sanction is sure to be granted as a matter of course. Thus, however laudable may be the desire to bring to speedy justice the guilty few in such cases, it is evident that the new Act opens the way to the harrasment and persecution of the innocent many."

The Criminal Law Amendment Act.

27. The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 15th December 1908:—

"The proposal set on foot in Calcutta about a non-official anti-anarchisms association may, if carried out in a proper spirit, bear good fruit, and it is to be hoped that it will take bodily shape and form without delay. Indeed, we should have been very glad had the association come into existence ere this, for it would certainly have, even from the Government point of view, obviated the necessity of special legislation which is already on the *tapis*. The existence of an active association like the one suggested would have made any special legislation entirely superfluous. It will now afford a practical and living testimony that the public co-operates with the government is discountenancing in an effective manner the noxious views that have found favour in certain immature minds. We trust that not only the nobility, but all men of light and leading in Bengal will join the association and strengthen its ranks. The association has hit upon a wise line to adopt for the extension of its activities. It will act indepenbently of the Police and the Magistracy and endeavour to persuade the misguided among Bengalee youths not to be led away and duped by anarchist propaganda. If will warn young men of the danger of listening to the poisonous advice of wild and irresponsible men and guard them against being infected by the corroding influence of such papers. It will take steps that school-boys may not be weaned from their studies and become the pliant tools of irresponsible or violent orators and writers. Nay it proposes to do more. It will use its influence with the conductors of irresponsible papers and point out to them the unmitigated mischief that has ensued from their writings, and that as gentlemen and members of Society they should desist from their suicidal plan of action. The association will bring all the social and moral forces to bear upon the purveyors of violence, and backed, as it will be, by the support and co-operation of the whole community, it is to be hoped it will prove more efficacious than any special weapons forged by the Government."

The *Anand* Marriage Bill.

28. Writing about the *Anand* Marriage Bill, the *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 5th December 1908, says that the measure has received the fullest support from the Sikh public, and that resolutions of approval are being passed by different Sikh associations. A correspondent, it adds, says that the form of

marriage in question has long been in vague among the Sikhs, having been introduced by the third Guru, Ram Das. It, however, fell into disuse in the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, on the Brahmans securing a large hand in the administration and in consequence of the Maharaja's policy of drawing Hindus towards him. It has now been revived by some well-wishers of the Sikh Community, who wish to keep the Gurus' followers separate form Hindus. After remarking that during the past few years several Panjabi Sikhs of note and position have observed the *Anand* form of marriage, the writer goes on to say that as the same was not interdicted by any of the Gurus, every Sikh is bound to observe it.

Commenting on the above, the Editor admits the force of the correspondent's reasonings. He adds that when Government wishes to maintain intact the religious traditions of every native community, and has legalised the Parsi, Hindu and Moslem forms of marriage, there seems no reason why it should make an exception in the case of Sikhs. The courts have been admitting the legality of the *Anand* form of marriage, and now that the Sikhs have asked for formal legalisation, it is to be hoped that the Bill referred to will be placed in the statute book.

The *Anand* Marriage Bill.

29. Writing under the heading the *Anand* ceremony, the *Watan* (Lahore), of the 11th December 1908, says that the legalisation of the ceremony, which was introduced by the third Sikh Guru, will remove all the doubts with which it has come to be regarded by not a few Sikhs. The paper also reproduces the remarks published by the *Hindustani*, of Lucknow, on the subject.

The *Anand* Marriage Bill.

30. The *Zamindar* (Karamabad), of the 1st (received on the 12th) December 1908, reports that at a meeting of the Singh Sabha, Sialkot, held on the 26th ultimo it was resolved to thank the Tika Sahib of Nabha for introducing a Bill in the Viceregal Council to legalise the *Anand* form of marriage obtaining among the entire Sikh community, including Princes. Another resolution requested Government to pass the Bill into law, the existing state of affairs being a source of many difficulties to the Guru's followers. It was further placed on record that the Khalsa Diwan was the only institution which represented Sikh public opinion. Continuing the paper reports that a similar meeting has been held at Faridkot.

Muhammedans and Viceregal and the Punjab Legislative Council.

31. The *Sada-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 5th December 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "Punjab's representative on the Viceroy's Legislative Council." Mahommadan newspapers, says the Editor, are right in suggesting that as Hindus have been representing this province on the above Council for a long time, a Muhammadan should be nominated to succeed the Tika Sahib of Nabha. If Government decides to confer the honour upon a Musulman, he would request it to nominate either Nawab Sir Amir-ud-din Ahmad Khan of Loharu or Malik Umar Hayat Khan, Tiwana, C.I.E. In the event, however, of its deciding to nominate a Hindu lawyer, he would suggest the name of Rai Bahadur Babu P. C. Chatterji, C.I.E., who though a Bengalee

has spent the best part of his life in the Punjab and acquitted himself with great credit as a Judge of the local Chief Court. Continuing the Editor suggests that Mian Fazl-i-Husain, B.A., Barrister-at-Law, should be selected to fill the vacancy caused on the Punjab Legislative Council by the resignation of the Hon'ble M. Shah Din. The Mian, he adds, is not only a successful lawyer, but also possesses great literary qualifications, while his respectable descent also fits him for the distinction.

## VII.—General Administration.

### (a)—*Judicial.*

The *Jhang Sial* libel cases.

32. The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 12th December 1908, acknowledges the following subscriptions towards the fund in aid of Banke Dial:—

| | Rs. | A. | P. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Babu Sobha Ram, of Srinagar ... ... | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| Anonymous subscribers ... ... | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| Received through subscriber No. 3913 (to the *Jhang Sial*) ... ... | 15 | 0 | 0 |
| Lala Karam Chand, Talwar ... ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Total ... | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| Add amount already acknowledged ... | 429 | 2 | 0 |
| GRAND TOTAL ... | 459 | 2 | 0 |

### (d)—*Education.*

Primary education.

33. Writing under the heading "Primary education from the economic point of view," *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 16th December 1908, endorses Sir John Hewett's remark that it would be to the interest of both factory-owners and labourers to extend primary education in the country. After remarking that primary education is free and compulsory in several European countries, as also in the United States, the paper says that nothing has as yet come of the proposal adumbrated by the Government of India on the subject two years ago. Some of the Local Governments, it adds, seem averse to making primary education free in India. Government should not, however, listen to them for the reason that the adoption of the proposal is calculated to benefit natives industrially.

Muhammadans and Indian Universities.

34. The *Watan* (Lahore), of the 11th December 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "Muhammadans and Indian Universities," in which it says that just now the number of Mussalmans on the Senates of Indian Universities is very small, and that, in spite of repeated representations, Government has taken no steps to remove the defect. The complaint exists even in those provinces in which the educational condition of Muhammadans is thoroughly satisfactory. For instance, although the Prophet's followers in the United Provinces are ahead of other communities in education, the number of Moslem fellows of the Allahabad University does not exceed ten. After

remarking that the four vacancies caused by death and retirement among these Fellows have not been filled up as yet, the Editor complains that things are no better in the Punjab. The entire management of a University, he adds, is directed by the Syndicate, but in the recent elections in the Punjab not a single Muhammadan was appointed to the Syndicate. Again, of all the various boards, only that which deals with oriental languages has a Mussalman on it. Indeed, so long as members of these boards are elected on the present lines, matters will assuredly never improve. It is, therefore, to be hoped that His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor will look into the matter in his capacity of Chancellor, for having regard to the numerical strength of Muhammadans they should have more than half the seats (on the boards referred to).

### (e)—*Agriculture and questions affecting the land.*

A suggestion.

35. The *Zamindar* (Karamabad), of the 1st (received on the 12th) December 1908, publishes a communication headed "Piteous condition of the cultivators of Palwal, Gurgaon district." The writer says that the *kharif* crops sown by the said cultivators were destroyed by the recent heavy rains, which also brought down hundreds of houses at Palwal. Again, malarial fever rendered these cultivators wholly unfit to take the *rabi* sowings in hand. In spite of all this, however, they are being dunned to pay the land revenue and water-rates due from them for the *kharif* season. The writer concludes by appealing to the Financial Commissioner to look into the matter, and says that if the above dues are not remitted, life will become a burden to the cultivators of Palwal.

Money-lenders and agriculturists.

36. The *Zamindar* (Karamabad), of the 1st (recevied on the 12th) December 1908), publishes a communication headed "Illegal exactions by money-lenders," in which the writer says that hunger drives zamindars to borrow from sahukars at usurious rates of interest. When, adds the paper, it has been admitted even by Lord Curzon and Members of Parliament that the Indian peasantry are a deaf and dumb community, it is difficult to understand why Government should not bring transactions between them and money-lenders under the sections of the Contract Act which invalidates contracts made by lunatics or under compulsion. Continuing, the Editor suggests that, as even the Alienation of Land Act has not placed agriculturists above the necessity for raising loans, Government should pass a law fixing the rates of interest chargeable from them. If this cannot be done, all transactions between zamindars and sahukars should be exempted from the operation of the existing laws. This will exempt the former from being sued for debts and thereby render it impossible for them to borrow. The paper adds that the existing state of things is proving the ruin of thousands of householders, and that if the evil is not remedied, hunger will drive agriculturists, who number crores, to take to theft and robbery, when Government will find it very difficult to keep them in hand. In conclusion, it says that they have already begun to kill money-lenders.

### (f)—*Railways and Communications.*

The Mustafabad collision.

37. Writing under the heading "A very serious collision between two mail trains," the *Haq Pasand* (Amritsar), of the 11th December 1908, says that, according to the official report, 18 persons have been killed

and 20 more have received different injuries in the Mustafabad accident. It is, however, the opinion of the general public that the collision is the most serious which has so far occurred in India; and God alone knows how many poor natives have been killed in it. Indeed, a consideration of the facts that it was two mail trains which collided and that several carriages in each train were totally smashed, should show that the loss of life must have been very great. Continuing the paper requests the Railway authorities to find out why collisions have become frequent of late and to minimise the chances of such accidents occurring in future. In conclusion, it suggests the doubling of all railways as the surest way of gaining the desired end.

The Mustafabad collision.

38. The *Civil and Military Organ* (Ludhiana), of the 10th December 1908, publishes an article headed "Terrible collision between two mail trains." The paper questions the accuracy of the official list of casualties in the Mustafabad accident, and says that hundreds of passengers must have perished in the three third class carriages smashed. Some ignorant persons fix the number of casualties at 700, but the Editor regards the statement as exaggerated. Continuing he observes that the frequency of railway collisions has seriously prejudiced the public against travelling by rail. After remarking that the authorities concerned should do their utmost to remove the prejudice, he suggests the construction of double lines and the strengthening of the railway staff. He is also of opinion that more effective arrangement should be made for the supervision of subordinate officials, and that station masters, signallers and drivers should not be allowed to drink while on duty.

*(h)—Miscellaneous.*

The *Inqilab* newspaper.

39. The *Inqilab* (Lahore), of the 12th December 1908, publishes a paragraph headed "Editor's request to the patrons of the *Inqilab*." After remarking that 1,000 copies of the paper have been printed from the very beginning, the Editor says that only a few of them are subscribed for, and that the rest are distributed (?*gratis*) in the mufassil through agents. He did not start the paper to make money, but owing to Government's present policy towards the press, the sword of Damocles hangs over the heads of the Editor, printer and publisher (of every native newspaper) and all of them are sent to jail in the event of the authorities disliking its tone. He is not afraid of his imaginary coming troubles, for the reason that he is neither a rebel nor does he publish seditious writings. Again, he neither makes bombs himself nor does he ask others to manufacture the same. He does not like or preach disorder and anarchy, and his mission is one of love and peace. It is the birthright of every one, he adds, to obtain liberty, to gain which England sent thousands of youngmen to the gallows. After remarking that it is the example of these pure souls which the Indians are emulating, the Editor requests the patrons of the *Inqilab* to secure five new subscribers each to place the paper on a permanent footing. He is not a rich man and cannot afford to bear heavy loss every month for long.

G. A. COCKS,

*Asst. to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*
*Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.*

LAHORE:
*The 19th December* 1908.

Punjab Government Press, Lahore—29-12-08—7160—97—K. C. M.